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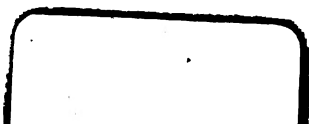
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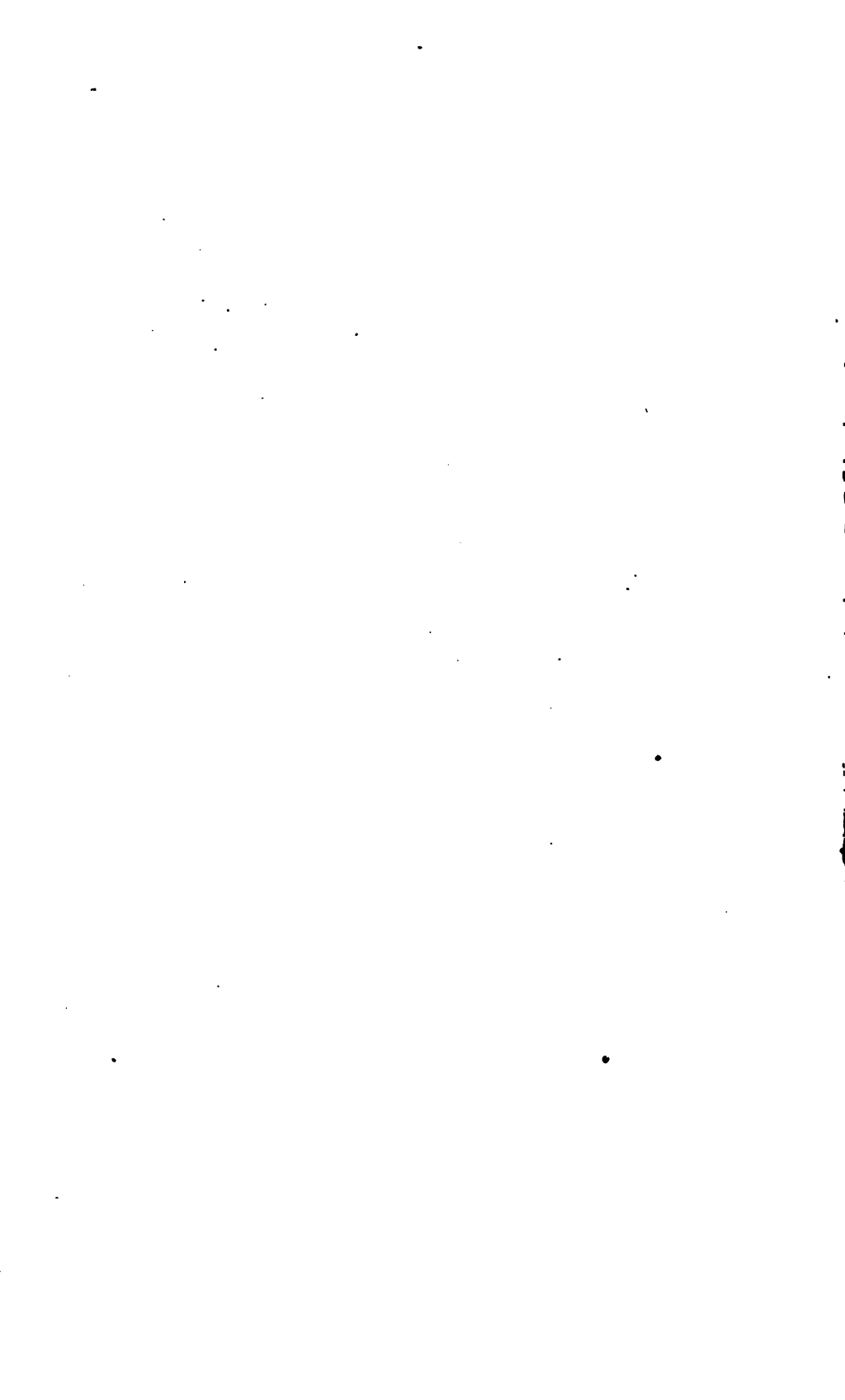
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THE
HISTORY OF FRANCE.

BY
PARKE GODWIN.

VOL. I.

(ANCIENT GAUL)

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P R E F A C E.

MANY years ago, when I first began to read history, I was surprised as well as disappointed in not being able to find in our English literature a good general history of France. As I did not then understand the French language, my curiosity was forced to satisfy itself with imperfect compilations and abridgments.¹

This deficiency seemed the more remarkable to me, as I discerned at a glance that no nation in Europe had been more intimately connected with the whole course of European civilization than the Gallic nation. Descended from a peculiar and lively race, which was among the first of the western races to submit to the Roman yoke and to appropriate the Roman culture, it had ever taken a leading and active part in the great movements which shaped and controlled the destiny of historic mankind. It was on the soil of Gaul, as a kind of middle or debatable ground, that the most stupendous struggles took place between Romanic and Germanic influences; there that the only durable barbaric monarchy was established after the great invasions; there that feudalism flourished in its most splendid as well as wretched forms; and there that royalty, aristocracy, and democracy, wrestling with each other for centuries, alternately achieved the most brilliant successes and experienced the most disastrous defeats. Something in the inmost peculiarities of the Gallic or French nature, at once so ardent and so impassible, so avid of glory and so reckless of results, so inconstant and yet so intelligent, and so brave withal, has induced it to take part in whatever was going forward in the world, and to ac-

¹ I have since seen a work on the subject, in eight volumes, by Dr. Alexander Rankin (*History of France*, London, 1801), which appears to have been composed from original sources, after the method of Henry's *History of England*. It is elaborate, and in some respects entertaining, but, both in the plan and the manner of the execution, defective.

cept, to test, and to abandon by turns every system of political and social life that has arisen in the thought of man. Original and imitative in a high degree, France has received life from the rest of Europe, and imparted life to the rest of Europe in almost equal measures. While she has drawn, as Ranke observes,¹ her literature and arts from Italy, her politics sometimes from Spain and sometimes from England, and her religion sometimes from Germany and sometimes from Rome, she has yet sent forth powerful impulses of her own to all these nations; her arts have conquered no less widely than her arms; and as her language is the language of every court, and her fashions the fashions of every domestic circle, so her ideas are the inspirations of European science, and her impulses the springs of European politics. The movements of thought in France have commonly spread over all the Continent, and the leading epochs of her local history are also the leading epochs in the general history of the world. At no period in her existence, indeed, has the restless and impressible genius of her people consented to play a secondary part in the great drama of human progress.

That such a nation should have failed to find a competent English historian is strange, and the fact, I presume, is to be ascribed, not to the insular prejudices of English authors, among whom we naturally seek for one (for they have written of particular periods in the French annals both learnedly and well), but to the probable familiarity of the English reading public with the French historians themselves, whose labors, to those that can read them, render any other attempts not only unnecessary, but presumptuous. But, if this may have been the case in England, it is certain that in this country, where we have no such general acquaintance with French literature, we need a history of France in the English language. Now, as my studies had gradually led me over the whole field of French history, I came to conceive that I might perhaps turn the materials and the knowledge I had collected to some account in supplying this need. I will frankly confess, however, that the magnitude of the project frightened me for a long time from

¹ Preface to his *History of France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*.

undertaking it; and, even after I had begun the execution of it, the studies requisite to render it worthy of modern scholarship seemed so numerous and so difficult, and my own information and ability so inadequate, that more than once I was induced to abandon it in utter despair. Yet my interest in the matter remained, and I persuaded myself to go forward for my own instruction and amusement, if not with a view to an ultimate appearance before the public. In this way this first volume has grown up, with ample collections of notes and materials for other similar volumes.

My plan at present contemplates a narrative of the principal events in French history, from the earliest recorded times to the outbreak of the great revolution of 1789; but I shall treat the subject by periods, so that each volume which I may be permitted to publish shall be complete in itself. The periods I hope to describe are Ancient Gaul, terminating with the era of Charlemagne; Feudal France, closing with St. Louis; France during the national, civil, and religious wars; France under the great ministries (Sully, Mazarin, Richelieu); the Reign of Louis XIV.; and the Eighteenth Century. No literature in the world is richer in historical monuments than the literature of France, and these have been made so accessible by the collections of the Benedictines, of the various literary and antiquarian societies, and by those issued under the auspices of the French government, that I can not fail for the want of resources.

In respect to this first volume, which embraces a stretch of many centuries, and refers almost exclusively to the origins of the nation, it must be said that it contains more of dissertation than I hope will be found necessary in the later volumes. A consecutive narrative of early and obscure eras which shall be rich in character and local coloring is quite impossible. At the same time, it is important to describe them as fully as we are able to do, in order to convey to the reader some notion of the sources of the national life, of the fundamental races and institutions, and of the events by which direction was given to the national development. Of course, in a labor so extended in its scope as this is, and relating to so many recondite questions, and to conditions of society so dif-

ferent from any that we know, I have fallen into many errors, some inevitable in the nature of the task, and others the result of my own impatience or ignorance. The learned Dr. Lingard, who spent his life in historical studies, remarks with great truth in his Preface to the History of England, that "Those only who are accustomed to historical composition can be fully aware how difficult it is in works of multifarious research to guard at all times against mistakes. In defiance of the most vigilant eye, a wrong name, a false date, will often slip unobserved from the pen; sometimes a valuable authority or an important circumstance will be overlooked or forgotten; and the writer, as he is always exposed to the danger, will occasionally suffer himself to be misled by the secret prejudices or the unfair statements of the authors whom it is his duty to consult." In reading my proofs, I have been often convinced that if a veteran needs to use such language in his preface, a mere tyro like myself ought to repeat it as a foot-note to almost every chapter.

Nevertheless, I have taken such pains as I could; I have labored long and conscientiously on what I had to do; I have neglected no source of information within my knowledge or reach; and, though the great collection of Bouquet and others (*Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum Scriptores*, 20 vols., folio, 1738) has been my principal reliance, the works of the more modern writers, of Dubos, Montesquieu, Sismondi, De Petigny, Fauriel, Guizot, Raynouard, the Thierry's, Michelet, Martin, etc., have been always open before me. I have availed myself freely of their references and suggestions. Fortunately, the reproach addressed to America by the late Justice Story, I believe, that it contained no library in which a student might verify the notes of Gibbon, is no longer deserved. There are now many libraries here, both public and private, in which this could be done, and, chief among them, the Astor Library of New York, to which the scholarship of our country owes a debt of endless gratitude.

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ANCIENT GAUL.

CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT GAUL—ITS INHABITANTS AND RACES—THEIR ORIGIN, AND EARLIEST APPEARANCES IN HISTORY.

THE country at the western extremity of Europe which is now named France was originally named, in the language of its principal race, *Gael-tachd*, or the land of the Gaels,¹ from which term the Greeks probably derived their *Galatia* and *Keltika*, and the Romans their *Gallia*.² It was defined by a remarkable series of natural boundaries—by two large oceans, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic; by two lofty chains of mountains, the Alps and the Pyrenees; and by the most beautiful river of Europe, the Rhine.³

Being in length and breadth nearly equal, i. e., about six hundred and fifty English miles in one direction, and five hundred and seventy in the other, it comprised an extent of territory larger by one fourth than that of modern France.⁴

¹ *Gael-tachd*, or *Gaid-heal-tachd*, is still a name for the Highlands of Scotland. (Armstrong's Gaelic Dict. apud Thierry Histoire des Gaulois, t. i., c. 1; ed. Paris, 1828.)

² For the multitudinous learning that has been expended upon the origin and meaning of the names of ancient Gaul, see Picot (Hist. des Gaulois, t. i., c. 1. Geneva, 1804). It is quite obvious to me that *Keltika*, *Galatia*, *Gallia*, and *Gall-tachd* are only different forms of the same designation.

³ In the Kymric, *Rhean* means a stream. Mone (Celtische Forschungen, p. 31. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1857). Latham (Germania, p. 14. Lond. 1851) conjectures that Rhine, Rhone,

and Eridanus (the Po of Italy) have all the same root, and that this was Keltic.

⁴ From the old geographical Gaul we must deduct a part of Sardinia, formerly the Duchy of Savoy, the Cantons of Switzerland, the Rhenish province west of the Rhine, the whole of Belgium, and part of Holland, in order to form France. For a while, under the Empire of Napoleon, the French recovered the ancient limits of their fathers, with something beyond, but they have never succeeded, much as they yearn for it and talk about it, in making the Rhine a permanent boundary. (Sismondi, Hist. des Français, t. i., c. 2, p. 45, ed. Bruxelles, 1849.)

Of the descriptive geography of this territory little was known *its geography*. to the ancients, whose random notices inform us that, for the most part, it was covered by forests and marshes. The sea-coasts north and west were the least inviting parts.¹ In the peninsula which is now Brittany, the rough and frowning cliffs lent a gloomy grandeur to the scenery, but as these fell away at once into ranges of low sand-hills on one side, and into vast heaths and fens on the other, the aspect of the country became flat and monotonous. It was more picturesque on the Mediterranean shores, which were, however, exposed to fearful and desolating winds; in the spring to the *circius*,² whose abrupt and choleric gusts shook down houses, and in the summer to the sultry *autan*, laden with the miasms of Africa.³

But the beauties of the interior, described as presenting the happiest intermixture of high and low land, compensated for the defects that might be found elsewhere. The Alps on the east and the Pyrenees at the south, sending forth the great secondary spurs of Jura and the Vosges, of the Cevennes and the mountains of Auvergne, formed a series of magnificent valleys, through which many noble streams ran, with various beauty and in opposite courses, to the seas. The swift Rhone, gathered from the meltings of the Alps, and passing hurriedly through Lake Lemman, shot southward to the Mediterranean; the Garonne, after breaking away from the unwooded slopes of the Pyrenees, was gradually swollen and propelled by the tributary waters of the Tarn, the Lot, and the Dordogne, till it broadened at last into a great arm of the Atlantic; farther inland, the Loire and the Seine turned their petulant currents to the same ocean; while the lordly Rhine, taking its departure from nearly the same mountain sources as the Rhone, reversed its direction, and roamed the wild borders of Germany in search of a wintry outlet to the northern gulfs.

¹ Compare Cæsar, Strabo, Ptolemy, Mela, Pliny, *passim*.

² Pliny, l. ii., c. 47, et l. xvii., c. 21; Aul. Gell., l. ii., c. 22. *Kirk*, in the American, means impetuous or stormy. (Adelung, *Mithridates*, t. ii., p. 58.) In Gaelic, *Cuir-rach* is striking or destructive. (*Arms. Gael. Dict.*) The *kirk* was the *Vent de Bize* of the mod-

erns. See Arthur Young's *Travels*, v. i., p. 299. "*Voilà le vent*," writes Madame de Sévigné, "*le tourbillon, Pouragan, les diables déchainés, qui veulent emporter votre château; quel ébranlement universel!*"

³ Michelet (*Hist. de France*, t. ii., l. 3, p. 551, note, ed. Paris, 1855).

As the hill ranges of Gaul were not, for the most part, impassable, so the extensive valleys between them afforded an easy passage from one extremity of the country to the other; and it was natural that an old Greek geographer, contemplating this advantageous configuration, should see in it the hand of an intelligent Providence preparing the residence of a great people.¹ But while it was thus well organized within and well defended externally, it was not wholly secured by the mountain and river barriers of its eastern lines from the two mighty and opposing forces of the ancient world, Italy and Germany. Its topographical relations in these respects may be regarded as pledging it beforehand to centuries of terrible and desperate struggle. They indicated it as the probable field of battle for the robust civilization of the south and the robust barbarism of the north; but, in exposing it to this source of suffering, they also offered its people, as a compensation, the means of reacting upon Europe, and of assuming, if they pleased, a leadership among the nations.²

The physical characteristics of Gaul were more austere and Climate, etc. savage than those of modern France are now. Covered more extensively by forests and morasses, the winters were severer and the winds ruder.³ Animals which are found chiefly in the colder regions, such as the elk, the bison, the aurochs, and the urus, were not uncommon, and the largest streams were frequently frozen to a solidity which allowed of the passage of armies over them.⁴ In the north the marshes and the over-

¹ Strabo, l. iv., c. 1, § 14. "The perfect correspondence maintained throughout," he says, "enabling the inhabitants to communicate and to furnish each other the necessities of life, is not the work of chance, but of some disposing mind."

² It is not mere national vanity in the French, I think, which leads them to consider their country as the focus of Europe. History will quite justify every thing that is claimed by Guizot on this head. (*Hist. de la Civilisation*, t. i., lec. 1. Paris, 1855.)

³ Diod. Sic., l. v., c. 25. Strabo speaks of the north of Spain as extremely cold, l. iii., c. 1. (*Comp. Cass.*, l. v., c. 10; Varro, *de Re Rustica*, l. i., c. 7.)

⁴ Solin. *Polyhist.*, c. 32, and other

authorities in Thierry (*Hist. des Gaulois*; l. iv., c. 1, ed. 1858). Sidonius, in the *Panegyric of Majorian*, speaks of breaking the surface of the Loire with the axe:

"*Ligerimque bipenni
Excelsum per frustra bibit.*"

According to Arago, however, the climate of France has not changed since a century before the Christian era (*Mrs. Somerville, Phys. Geog.*, p. 278; ed. Phil. 1853). M. Dureau de la Malle, by computing the periods of the vintages and harvests, came to the conclusion that the climate of Italy is the same now as it was in the time of Cato the Censor, 147 B.C. (*De la Malle, Sur la Climatologie*. Paris, 1850.)

flowing of the rivers diffused a perpetual humidity.¹ The immeasurable woods of oak, beech, elm, and pine, with which gloomy yews and boxes were often mingled, kept the genial sun from the earth.² But toward the south, in the rich valleys of the Rhone and on the fertile plateaus of the Narbonnese, the asperities of the soil and of the seasons relaxed. The climate there softened into that of Italy, and even the fruits of the East ripened.³ The earth in the spring put on a tropical luxuriance; wild vines climbed the trees; the fig, the olive, and the pomegranate, dropped perchance by wanderers from the East, flourished in the open fields; and millet, corn, barley, and wheat, if not of indigenous growth, were easily cultivated.⁴ It may be added that the sands washed from the Pyrenees sparkled with the precious metals;⁵ that from the earliest ages the shores of the Mediterranean supplied a fine carbuncle, or garnet, to Oriental commerce; and that a beautiful coral rewarded the labors of the brave fishermen of the Stœchades.⁶

This varied region was occupied by a multitude of people—
Races of people. estimated, I know not on what authority, at from eight to ten millions—who, from immemorial time, were known to the literate nations of antiquity by the common name of Kelts, or Gaels.⁷ But little more than the name was known of them for a long time; for the ethnographic science of the older

¹ Diod. Sic. (l. ii., p. 303); Aristot., *Genera Animal.* (l. ii., c. 25).

² Plin. (l. xvi., cc. 8, 10, 17, 18); Cæs., *Bell. Gall.* (l. vi., c. 16).

³ Strab. (l. vi., c. 1, § 2); Cæs. (l. i., c. 14).

⁴ Strab. (l. iv., c. 1, § 5).

⁵ Ibid. (l. iv., c. 2, § 1).

⁶ Theophrast. (*Lapid.*, pp. 393–396).

⁷ Amedée Thierry (*Hist. des Gaulois*, *Introduct.*, p. 29) contends that Kelt was the name of a single tribe of foresters in the south of Gaul (derived from the Gaelic *Coille*, or *Coillt*, a forest), but that the Greeks ignorantly extended it to the whole race properly called Gaels. He cites in proof Strabo, l. iv., c. 1, § 14, Polybius, l. iii., p. 195, Aristot., *Genera Animal.*, l. ii., c. 8, and Dionys. *Perieget.*, v. 280. De Curson argues to the same effect

(*Hist. des Peup. Breton.*, l. i., *Introduct.*, 1), but as I regard these terms as only different pronunciations of the same word, I do not think the question important. (See, however, as to the priority of the term Kelt, Pausanias, l. i., c. 3; Appian, in *Præfat.*; and Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, l. i., c. 1.) I shall use the words Kelt and Keltic, according to the received practice of the modern ethnologists, as the *generic* designation of all the races to which it may be applied, as, for example, the Breton, Belgian, Welsh, Hibernian, etc.; and the terms Gallic, Gall, and Gael, in a more restricted and specific sense, as applying chiefly to the central inhabitants of Gaul. The word Gauls is the popular name for the Keltic inhabitants of Gaul.

classics was confused, and that confusion, I may add, has been singularly perplexed by the loose and reckless speculations of their modern commentators.¹ The earlier Greeks, dividing the world into four parts—Asia east, Libya south, Scythia north, and Keltica west—were apt to class all the dwellers in those regions respectively under a single term.² Even after a more enlarged intercourse among the nations had been opened by the Phœnician and Carthaginian navigators of the Mediterranean, after Alexander, “the greatest practical geographer of antiquity,”³ had explored the East, and those “terrible pioneers of knowledge,” the Romans, had made their first inroads into Italy and Spain, the most accomplished authors fall into the grossest errors.⁴ In respect to Gaul, indeed, though the Gauls had been for two centuries at least in contact with both the Greeks and Romans, they were quite ignorant, nor was it until about fifty years before Christ that the obscurity was illumined.

At that time, Julius Cæsar, whose peculiar fortune it was to reveal to mankind by his conquests the ancestors of the three greatest modern nations, France, Germany, and Britain, penetrated Gaul with his eyes as well as with his sword. The most competent observer of his age, both by native endowment and the accidents of his career, he still remains our best though not exclusive authority.

¹ “No probability is too faint,” says Sir G. C. Lewis (*Credibility of Early Rom. Hist.*, v. i., p. 270), “no conjecture is too bold, no etymology is too uncertain to resist the credulity of an antiquarian in search of evidence to support an ethnological hypothesis. Gods become men, kings become nations, one nation becomes another nation, opposites are interchanged at the stroke of this historical magician, centuries are to him as minutes; nor, indeed, is space itself of much account, when national affinities are in question.”

² Up to the time of Alexander, or about B.C. 338, all the inhabitants of the west and northwest of Europe were called Kelts. Herodotus, however (l. ii., c. 33), distinguishes between the Kelts and the Cynesii, or Cynetes of

Iberia, and Plato (*De Legg.*, l. i.) separates the Kelts from the Scythians, Thracians, and Iberians. But Aristotle was the first to mark characteristic distinctions between the Kelts, the Scythians, the Iberians, the Bretons, the Epirotes, the Italians, and the Ligurians. (*Comp. Hist. Animal.*, l. viii., c. 28; *De Generat. Animal.*, l. ii., c. 8; *De Mundo*, t. i., p. 850, ed. Duval.) Polybius, who wrote about B.C. 152, begins to confine the name of Kelt to the inhabitants of Gaul (*Polyb.*, l. i., et. ii.).

³ Malte Brun (*Geog.*, *Introd.*, London, 1851). For the influence of these on geographical knowledge, see Humboldt (*Kosmos*, vol. ii., part ii., § 1-4).

⁴ See Remarks of the Editor on Bishop Percy's Preface (Mallet, *Northern Antiq.*, ed. Bohn, 1847).

Cæsar's first affirmation is that the Gauls were not all of one race. The memorable opening sentence of the Commentaries, which has initiated so many youth into their Latin, says, "All Gaul is divided into three parts, of which the *Belgæ* inhabit one, the *Aquitani* another, and the *Galli*, or, as they are called in their own tongue, the *Keltæ*, the third." Proceeding then to assign to the Belgæ the north of Gaul, to the Keltæ the centre, and to the Aquitani the south (the Garonne being the dividing line of these, and the Seine and Marne of those), he adds that "they differed from each other in language, customs, and laws." This was substantially correct, according to the best conclusions of modern ethnology; but it was not a complete enumeration of the races in Gaul, nor was it precise as to their degrees of affinity. It overlooked (purposely, of course, inasmuch as they dwelt in a part of Gaul which was then a Roman province) certain Greeks in and about Marseilles; and it failed to state that the differences between the *Keltæ* and the *Aquitani* were far more fundamental than those between the *Keltæ* and the *Belgæ*, the former being distinct races, and the latter only varieties of the same race.¹

It would have been more definite to say that there were three principal races in Gaul: 1st, the Keltic; 2d, the Iberian; 3d, the Greek; of which the first, or the Keltic, were subdivided into the Gallic, the Kymric, and the Belgic stems; and the second, or Iberian, into the Aquitanian and the Ligurian stems.² I shall briefly describe the position and character of these Keltic and Iberian stocks, reserving the Greeks, who are known to have been colonists merely, to be introduced hereafter.

The Gauls, or
Galls.

The Gallic branch of the Keltic race possessed the middle of Gaul; and a line drawn from the junc-

¹ Strabo (l. iv., c. i., § 1) is more accurate. "Gaul is divided," he says, "into three nations: the Aquitani, the Belgæ, and the Keltæ. The Aquitani differ completely from the others, not only in their language, but in their figure, in which they more resemble the Iberians. The others are *Galatæ* (i. e., Galls, or Gauls), although they do not all speak the same language (*sed paululum variata*), but make a slight differ-

ence in their speech; neither is their polity and mode of life exactly the same."

² I follow the divisions of Thierry (Hist. des Gaulois, Introd., ed. Paris, 1858). But another excellent scholar, De Curson (Hist., des Peup. Bretons, Introd., Paris, 1846), contends that the Gauls and Kelts, though related, were not the same, while the Kymri and Gauls were.

tion of the Tarn and Garonne up the former stream to the Rhone, thence along the Isère to the Alps and the Rhine, as far as the Vosges, across to the Seine, as far as Rouen, and back again southwesterly to the confluence of the Dordogne and the Garonne, would perhaps have circumscribed its possessions. It was composed of about twenty-two tribes, some of them independent, others subjects, or clients, but the greater part grouped into three great leagues, of which the Arverni, the Ædui, and the Sequani were respectively the heads. The Arvernians were the mountaineers of the high volcanic region now called Auvergne,¹ whose chief seat, Gergovia,² was a famous stronghold, and whose adherents were the Helvii, the Velaunes, the Gabales, the Rutenes, and others, mostly borderers of the Cevennes. The territory of the Æduans lay between the Allier, the middle Loire, and the Saône, having Bibracte (Autun) for its capital, and Noviodunum (Nevers), a place of considerable trade, for its second city or town. Among its dependents or allies were the Ambrones, the Segusians, the Bituriges, and the Isombres, or Insubrians, traditionally connected with ancient Italy. The Sequani possessed the part of Gaul esteemed most beautiful, between the Saône and the Jura;³ their capital, Vesontio (Besançon), was grandly fortified alike by nature and the resources of the Gallic military art; and they appear to have been an industrious and commercial, as well as warlike people. Interested in the free navigation of the Arar, or Saône, which they held in common with the Æduans, there was no end to the battles the two nations waged with each other. Among the other important tribes of Gaels were the Helvetii, between Lakes Lemman and Constance;⁴ the Pennine tribes of the high Alps; and the Allebrogians, dwelling in and about the regions now occupied by the cities of Geneva and Vienne.⁵

The Kymric division of the Kelts, or the Armoricans, as they The Gallo-Kymri. may be also called,⁶ dwelt on the sea-shore to the

¹ *Al*, high, and *verann*, country.

² About a league from the modern Clermont.

³ Corresponding to Franche-Comté and a part of Alsace. But their frontier must have extended originally to the Seine, or the *Σαοναῖος* (Steph. Byzant.), from which they took, or to which they gave their name.

⁴ Now Switzerland.

⁵ Savoy, or Sapaudia, and a part of Dauphiny. For more detailed descriptions of all these tribes, and their localities, see Thierry, t. ii., l. 4, c. 1.

⁶ From *ar*, upon, and *môr*, sea—or the Littorals.

west of the Gaels, from the mouth of the Garonne to the mouth of the Seine, and principally in the rude peninsula of Brittany, where they made themselves skillful and daring sailors. Among their leading tribes were the Pictones, the Lemovikes, the Santones, the Nanpetes,¹ the Carnutes, whose capital, Autricum (Chartres), the reputed centre of Gaul, was the head-quarters of Druidism, and whose second city, Genabum,² was a place of considerable commerce; and the Lingons, Cenomans, and Senones, whom we shall hereafter meet in Italy. In spite of a supposed community of origin, the Kymri differed from the Gael in many respects, both physical and moral. The Kymri were smaller, darker, and more reserved, not so turbulent and enthusiastic as the Gael, and remarkable for their attachment to their country, their customs, and their creeds.³ The soil they occupied, with its vast heaths heaped by fragments of granitic rock, easily mistaken for the ruins of so many buried cities,⁴ and its rugged, melancholy coasts, beaten incessantly by tempestuous and moaning seas, imparted some of its own savage and inhospitable traits to the people. "Nature was fierce," says Michélet, "and man was fierce:"⁵ and down to the latest times the Armorican proved a hard, stubborn, conservative, superstitious, and almost untamable stock.

The Belgic Gauls, whose native name, Belgiaidd, is derived from the Belgians, from the Kymric root *belg*, signifying warlike,⁶ dwelt between the Seine, the Vosges, the Rhine, and the ocean. They were extremely ferocious and powerful, taller than the Gaels, less gregarious, more constant, and ruder, having made no advances in civilization or intellectual refinement, because, as Cæsar says complacently, of their distance from the Roman prov-

¹ *I. e.*, the people of Picton, Limousin, Santoigne, Nantes.

² Called Aurelian by the Romans, and now Orléans.

³ Martin (*Hist. de France*, t. i., p. 21).

⁴ See Mahé (*Essai sur l'Antiquité de Morbihan*. Vannes, 1825).

⁵ *Hist. Franc.*, t. i., l. 3.

⁶ Thierry (*Introd.*, t. i., c. 37). Consult Prichard on the affinities of the Belgs and Galls (*Phys. Research.*, v. iii., c. 8). Formerly (see Cluverius, *Ger-*

mania Antiqua, and Pelloutier, *Hist. des Celtes*) the Belgs were considered Germans, as Cæsar himself intimates (*Bell. Gall.*, l. ii., c. 4): "*Plerosque Belgas esse ortus ab Germanis*;" and this view has been recently revived by Holtzmann (*Kelten und Germanen*. Stuttgart, 1855), among other vagaries. Zeuss (*Die Deutsche und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 191) and Niebuhr (*Lectures*, v. iii., p. 43) are both clear that the Belgs were Kymri. Doubtless many Germans were intermixed with them.

ince.¹ Nearly all their twenty-three tribes were distinguished for martial excellence—some, as the Leukes, for throwing the lance; others, as the Suessiones, for their infantry; others again, as the Treviri, for their cavalry, while the Eburones, the Nervii, and the Menapii constructed impregnable defenses, consisting of young trees bent and interlaced in such a way as to form a dense and thorny wall.² Notable also among the rest were the Remi, the founders of the modern Rheims, the Morini on the Gallic Straits, and the Mediomatrici, who roamed the forest of Ardenn.³ Remotest of all, almost unknown, were the Batavi, a poor and wretched tribe which dwelt among the dunes and sand-banks heaved up by the ocean to receive the slimy deposits of the Rhine and the Meuse, living upon fish, snails, and birds' eggs, and without flocks or houses. But it is worthy of note, that in after years, when their blood came to be mingled with that of the Germans, they succeeded in chaining up the ocean, in fertilizing the land, in spreading a fruitful commerce over the globe, and in constructing, by means of a noble perseverance and courage, the first Christian republic of the world.⁴

The Aquitains, consisting of about twenty tribes south and west of the Garonne, are identified by modern science with the ancient Iberians, whose principal residence was Hispania, or Spain.⁵ They were the ancestors of those peculiar people

¹ Bell. Gall., l. i., c. 1.

² *Ib.*, ii., 17; Strab., iv., 3.

³ *Ar*, deep, *denn*, forest—the Ardennes.

⁴ I introduce this last sentence simply that I may have the pleasure of referring to Motley's able work ("The Rise of the Dutch Republic," *Introd.*, New York, 1856), which has told the story of the poor Batavi in such inspiring words.

⁵ William von Humboldt (*Prüfung der Untersuchungen über die Urbewohners Hispaniens*. Berlin, 1821); Fauriel (*Hist. de la Gaule Meridionale*, t. ii., c. 18. Paris, 1836); Prichard (*Researches Phys. Hist.*, v. iii., c. 3, § 5. London, 1836-44). The general results arrived at by Humboldt, after a laborious comparison of the local nomen-

clatures of France and Spain, with other sources, are, 1st, that the ancient Iberian and the existing Basque tongues are identical; 2d, that Basque names of places are distributed over the whole Spanish peninsula, showing that the Iberians were once spread over it; 3d, that in certain places the names are of Celtic origin, so that the Kelts must have intermixed with the Iberians; 4th, that the mixed races dwelt chiefly in the interior and on the northern coasts; 5th, that the Iberian Kelts were affined to the Kelts of Gaul, but the Iberian type predominated; 6th, that in Gaul the Iberians were confined to Aquitaine and the coasts of the Mediterranean; 7th, that Basque names occur in Italy; and 8th, that, though the Basques differed from the Kelts, there is no reason for

still to be found among the gorges and slopes of the Pyrenees, who call themselves Eusk, or Euskuldunac, but are called by others Basques.¹ Differing from the Gauls in figure, in the color of the hair and skin, in language, costume, and customs, and especially in their military habits—the one being short, the other tall; the one dark, the other light; the one reserved, the other sociable; the one dressing in black, the other in plaid; the one acting and fighting in small squads or guerrillas, and the other in large masses—they only resembled each other in the structure of their societies, to which I shall hereafter advert.²

The Ligurians, whose land lay between the Rhone, the Alps, the Isère, and the sea, preserved less clearly than the Aquitains the Iberian type, owing perhaps to their greater distance from the original cradle, Spain, and to a greater intermixture of Kelts and Greeks. They were of low form and dry, nervous complexion,³ and, though sober, economical, and toilsome, were reputed to be great thieves and liars.⁴ On the coast they were daring pirates, giving infinite trouble to the timid navigators of the Inner Sea. "An agile and indefatigable people," says Florus, "more given to rapine than war, and trusting in the rapidity of their flight or the remoteness of their hiding-places for escape."⁵ It was also a common saying that "the feeblest Ligurian could overcome the strongest Gaul;"⁶ yet there were Gauls among them—the Folkes Tectosages and the Arekomikes—two Belgian tribes which had invaded and seized their domains, together with the rich city of Tolosa (Toulouse).⁷ A part of them, also from the large infusion of Keltic blood among them, were denominated by the geographers Celto-Ligurians.

denying all affinity between the two. (See Michelet, Append.)

¹ The radical *Ausk* or *Eusk* is supposed to be found in a contracted form, *-ask-*, in *B-asq-ue*, in *V-asc-on*, and in *G-asc-on*.

² For the peculiarities of the Iberians see Strabo, l. iii., c. 4, § 5, and iv., 1, 1; Florus, ii., 17; Cæsar, iii., c. 2; Valer. Maxim., vii., 6; Polyb., iii., 144. As to their differences from the Gauls, Livy, xxii., 46. The species of vassalage which prevailed among the Aquitains under the name of Saldune,

or Saldunac, by which a dependent devoted himself to his lord for life and death, though it is supposed to be peculiar to them, was found among the Kelts and Germans also, as we shall see.

³ Diod. Sicul., l. iv., c. 20.

⁴ Cato ap. Servium ad *Æneid.*, xi.; but Niebuhr generously defends them from this (*Rom. Hist.*, v. i., p. 96), nor does he admit their Iberian descent.

⁵ L. ii., c. 3.

⁶ Diod. Sic., v., 29.

⁷ Their position was in Upper and Lower Languedoc.

Into the origin of these several races, or the time and manner of their arriving in Gaul, it would be interesting, but, I think, almost fruitless, to inquire. The theory, accepted by many ethnologists, which represents the whole of Europe as having been peopled from the East, first by Finnic, then Pelasgic, then Keltic, then Teutonic, and then Slavavic races, is, perhaps, speculatively satisfactory, but it can not be adopted in history.¹ For, in fact, history can not know any thing of the beginnings of nations;² its sphere is exclusively that of progress and development; and, while it acknowledges with cordial sympathy the services of archæology, and rejoices particularly in those beautiful labors of the science of language which have unfolded the analogies of the sacred tongues of Upper Asia—the Sanscrit and the Zend—with the European dialects, it yet preserves a studied caution amid the half-lights and false lights of all unrecorded eras.³

If I may not enter into the difficult questions which relate to the primeval seats and migrations of the Gauls, it is, nevertheless, a part of my subject to refer to some of their earliest appearances in general history and tradition. I have remarked that, in a remote antiquity, they were known to the classic nations; and it should now be added that, from a remote antiquity, they were actively engaged in influencing the destinies of mankind. A peculiarly restless, mobile, and eager race always, its traces are discoverable every where—in Europe, Asia, Africa, and, as some do not scruple to assert, even in Australia and America.⁴ But its principal home was the west of Europe,

¹ Compare Prichard (Researches into the Physical Hist. of Mankind, vol. iii., p. 23; also vol. iv., p. 605). Hamilton Smith (Natural Hist. of Human Species, pp. 296–320. Ed. Boston, 1851) deduces the Etruscans and Ligurians from the Finnic family, and finds remains of it in the Cagots of France and in the Basques of France and Spain. De Petigny (Études sur l'Histoire, etc., de l'Époque Mérovingienne, t. i., p. 21, et seq. Paris, 1851) argues these aboriginal movements plausibly, and connects the loose and scattered indicia of the ancients in an ingenious manner. On the other hand, Agassiz wishes to

prove that mankind, created, not in single pairs, but by nations, were established in certain local zones corresponding to those of the *fauna* and *flora* (Christian Exam., p. 118, et seq. Boston, 1850. See also his paper in Nott and Gliddon's Types of Mankind. Phil., 1854).

² Niebuhr (Rom. Hist., v. i., p. 235).

³ Mone (Celtische Forschungen, Vorrede, p. 7) remarks on the necessity, for all genuine historical purposes, of considering the nations as independently-developed communities, influencing each other in various ways, but having no consciousness of their unity of origin.

⁴ See note in Humboldt (Kosmos, v.

whence it spread early in many directions. Long before any recognized historical era the Kelts were distributed over Britain and the northern islands, giving names to the hills, the streams, the towns, and the populations. When the Romans landed in those parts they found the sea-coasts peopled with Belgian and Kymric tribes, who may have been recent colonists from the continent, although the people of the interior, manifestly of kindred race, claimed an occupancy so ancient that they called themselves the aborigines.¹ By the testimony of Cæsar we know also that there were Kelts in Germany, although we do not know whether they preceded the Germans in their settlement there, or whether they were merely straggling colonists from Gaul.² In the same way, there is evidence, as it has been already intimated, that, anterior to all written monuments, they were mingled, and, doubtless, engaged in hostilities, with the clans of the Iberic peninsula. But whether, in their hostilities with the Iberians, they were the conquering or the conquered race, learned men are again in doubt.³

The general persuasion of the ancient writers was that the Kelts were the invaders of Spain; and the Iberians the aborigines;⁴ but Niebuhr and others have recently argued that the Iberians, originally possessing the district of Betica only, overpowered the Kelts, who held the other parts, and expelled all but a few, whom they forced to take refuge in the regions called Keltiberian.⁵ It is an objection to this hypothesis that the Iberians, a more passive and less warlike race⁶ than their aggressive and ferocious neighbors the Kelts,⁷ were not likely to drive them from a soil so easily defended as that

ii., p. 235), though this refers to comparatively modern times.

¹ Cæsar (Bell. Gall., l. v., cc. 12-14). Tacitus (Agric., c. 11). Percy (Preface to Mallet's North. Antiq., 1, 39). Comp. Welsh Triads (Triad. Myv. Archæology of Wales, t. ii.).

² Cæsar, Bello Gallico, l. vi., c. 2. Mone (Celtische Forschungen, *passim*) detects in the local names, as well as in the terms which designate persons, classes, customs, utensils, etc., of Germany, many Keltic originals. Several expressions, quite unexplainable by any Teutonic dialect, are thus made clear.

³ I ought to except, perhaps, some of the French historians (Michelet and Amadée Thierry among the rest), who assign a positive date to the Gallic conquests in Spain, viz., sixteen centuries before Christ. A *Tableau Chronologique* appended to Picot (*Histoire des Gauls*) says B.C. 1649 precisely! I wonder it did not give the day of the month.

⁴ Diod. Sic., v., 33; Lucan, iv., 9; Silius Ital., iii., 140; Strabo, iii., 162.

⁵ Hist. Rome, v. ii., p. 235. Humboldt was of the same opinion.

⁶ Strabo, l. iii., c. 4, § 5.

⁷ Ibid., l. iv., c. 4, § 2.

of Spain.¹ All that may be safely asserted is that they probably waged many wars with each other across the summits of the Pyrenees, in the course of which many Gauls got scattered through Spain, as many Iberians did through Aquitaine.

A tradition² connects these Spanish forays of the Kelts with the expulsion of an Iberian tribe called Sikans into Italy.

Upper Italy, which, opening a new route for adventure and battle to the Gauls, shifted their excursive valor from the rough mountain paths of Spain into the more seductive plains of the Po.³ Numerous hordes of them, under the name of Amrah,⁴ or valiant men, are said to have wound through the difficult passes of the Alps, and, seizing Sub-Alpine Italy, extended their conquests to the mouth of the Tiber.⁵ In this beautiful and fertile region, deemed the garden of the world,⁶ they proceeded to divide their possessions into three great provinces, which, after the manner of their race, they named respectively Is-Ombria, or Lower Umbria; All-Ombria, or Upper Umbria; and Val-Ombria, or Umbria of the Shore.⁷ The first embraced the plains about the Eridanus, or Po; the second the two declivities of the Apennines and the coasts of the Upper

¹ There is still no little force in the analogical reasoning of Niebuhr, viz., that we find the Kelts, principally, where we should most expect to find a primitive population, in the mountain fastnesses and on the extreme western promontories, to which they would betake themselves naturally to escape foreign invaders.

² Thucydides, l. vi., c. 2; Ephorus ap. Strabo., l. vi., c. 2, § 4; Servius ad Æneid., vii. See the note of Grote (Hist. Greece, v. iii., c. 22) on this supposed origin of the Sikans, who afterward settled Sicily. Sir G. C. Lewis (Cred. Rom. History, v. i., c. 8) shows that the story is wholly confused. Muller, however (Die Etrusker, v. i., p. 10), calls it "a firm tradition of antiquity." Thierry (Hist. des Gaul., t. i., c. 1), on the strength, probably, of Freret's investigations (Œuvres Complètes, t. iv., p. 200), assigns the very date, viz., B.C. 1400!

³ Strab., l. iv., c. 6, § 3; Avienus, Ora. Marat., 129.

⁴ Whence the Latin, *Ambro*, *Ambrones*, *Umbri*, and Greek, *Ἀμβρων*, *Ουμβριος*, *Ουμβριος*.

⁵ Solinus Polyhist., chap. 8; Isidor. Orig., l. ix., c. 2; Servius in Æneid., xii., 758. Comp. Dion. Hal., l. i., c. 19-28.

⁶ Polyb., ii., 15; Tacit. Hist., l. ii., c. 17; Cicero, Phil., iii., 5.

⁷ In Gallic, says Thierry, *Is* means lower, *All*, upper, and *Val*, the shore (Armstrong's Gaelic Dict.). This account of the Ombrians is that of Freret, Bardetti, and Thierry, who identify them with the *Veteres Galli* of Roman tradition. Cluverius (Ital. Antiq., l. i.) and Maffei (Ragion delli Itali primitiva, i., 2) reject the interpretation altogether. Niebuhr does not decide (Roman Hist., v. i., pp. 75-88), simply regarding the Ombrians as a "most ancient nation." But Sir G. C. Lewis demonstrates that there is nothing really known of the primitive nations of Italy (v. i., c. 8).

Sea, not yet named the Adriatic; and the third the maritime region between the Arno and the Tiber, which is the actual Tuscany.¹ Under the favorable influences of climate and soil the Umbrians grew apace, but at the top of their wealth and power they were scattered by the sombre and mysterious tribes of the Rasena, or Etruscans.

Another ancient story brings Gaul into relations with the Oriental civilization as early as the eleventh century before Christ. At that time there stood on a narrow strip of the Syrian coast the famous Phœnician towns whose opulence and splendor the fervid imagination of Ezekiel has portrayed,² and which contained more daring enterprise and invincible industry—more manufacturing skill and commercial wealth than all the rest of the contemporary world.³ Their hardy navigators, it is said, had already explored the Red Sea and the coasts of Arabia in the days of David, and planted colonies in Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic Islands, and Spain as early as the Trojan war.⁴ Under the guidance of their tutelary god Melkarth (the Tyrian Héraklés), the companion and friend of adventurous colonists, they had penetrated also to the gold-mines of the Pyrenees and the Cevennes.⁵ It is of course only a mythological tale which tells us how this intrepid and vagrant deity landed at the mouths of the Rhine, and gave battle to the fierce children of Neptune, Albion and Ligor; how he built the city of Nemausus (Nîmes) as a monument of victory;⁶ how he taught the woodland tribes to till the land and to construct houses;⁷ how he opened a way for them across the Col di Tenda into Italy;⁸ how he softened their cruel and sanguinary laws; and how, when the terrible mountaineer Tauriskus⁹ descended to destroy the fruits of his labor, he raised the wall of Alesia for his tower and defense.¹⁰ It is only a mytho-

¹ Comp. Polyb., l. ii., c. 18; Plin., l. iii., c. 8, 19.

² Ezek., cc. xxvii., xxviii.

³ Grote (Hist. Gr., v. iii., c. 18).

⁴ If one may know when that was! (Strab., xiv., p. 754; Heeren, Idéen, band ii., theil 1, abtheil. 2.)

⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xv., c. 9.

⁶ Mela, l. ii., c. 5, says Alebion and Geryon. For Nemausus, see Stephanus of Byzantium.

⁷ Diod. Sicul., l. iv., p. 226.

⁸ "Which," says Michelet, "the Romans found, and converted into the Via Domitiana and Aureliana." Hist. France, t. i., l. i.

⁹ Cato (in Pliny, l. iii., c. 24) places a confederation of Taurisks in the Alps.

¹⁰ Diod. Siculus, l. iv., c. 19. See Ritter (Die Vorhalle Europäische Volkergeschichten, p. 378. Berlin, 1830).

logical tale, and yet beneath the legend the ingenuity of a pro-saic and rationalizing erudition discerns the traces of deeds actually accomplished by the Phœnician people. "The voyages of a god in the language of myth," says Ampère, "express the diffusion of his worship."¹ Héraclès in Gaul meant the Phœnicians spreading their commerce from Gades (Cadiz), where they were settled, into the countries beyond the Pyrenees.² The traditions of the Gauls themselves, moreover, long perpetuated the story of beneficent ameliorations wrought among them by a divine race of strangers; which are confirmed, as many argue, by the traces of Semitic words to be found in French, as well as by the analogies of the Phœnician and Druidical religions.³ It is certain that when the Romans entered Gaul they found the people possessed of some degree of civilization; they were skillful miners and workers of metals, and their dyes and party-colored cloths, or plaids, soon acquired a high repute.⁴ But as these were arts for which the older Phœnicians had been distinguished, and as they were practiced chiefly in those parts of Gaul where the Phœnicians must have landed, the inference as to their origin would seem to be obvious. As the purposes of the Phœnicians, however, were purely commercial, they did not acquire any extended or permanent political dominion; whatever influences they exerted in that way were at most transient and incidental; and with the decay of the mother-empire the prosperity of the colonies ceased.

The Rhodians are reported to have established a colony, some time in the seventh century B.C., at Rhodanusia, near the Rhone;⁵ but either their stay was short or the remembrances of it were swallowed up in those of another Grecian people destined to affect the interests of Gaul far more largely and permanently. These were the Asiatic Phœkæans—the most adventurous mariners of their race—one of whose armed pentekonters, in B.C. 600,⁶ while prosecuting what was still a for-

¹ Ampère (*Histoire Littéraire de la France, avant le douzième Siècle*, t. i., c. 4, p. 86. Paris, 1839).

² Grote (*Hist. Greece*, v. iii., c. 18, pp. 273-4).

³ Ampère (*Hist. Lit.*, t. i., c. 4); also Abbé de Fontena (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscrit. et Belles Lett.*, t. vii.).

⁴ Plin., ll. xviii. and xxxiv.

⁵ Ste. Byz. and Plin., l. iii., c. 5.

⁶ Grote says B.C. 600, in vol. iii., p. 280, and B.C. 597, on page 400, assigning for the latter Skymnus Chius, 210, Livy (l. v., c. 34) alleges the later date—the 45th Olympiad—the authority of both being Timæus.

midable voyage, to the Straits of Calpe,¹ cast anchor upon the Gallic coast.² A multitude of romantic legends of course adorns and embarrasses the narrative of the fortunes of these first Greek settlers; but it is still possible to gather from them, with some assurance, that the leader of the expedition, named either Protis or Euxenus, acquired lands and a wife from the Gallic tribe of Segobriges, which possessed the coast near the mouth of the Rhone, and maintained an independent position there, in the midst of a powerful Ligurian population.³ Profiting by the native hospitality, the Phokæan, while he dispatched some of his companions to Phokæa for recruits, proceeded to lay the foundations of a new colony. Nor can we fail to admire the sagacity he evinced in the selection of a site. It was a natural harbor, dug into the bowels of a rocky peninsula, facing the genial South, and adapted alike to commerce and to defense.⁴ The Greek name of Massalia given to this infant city, like the city itself, survives the mutations of twenty-four hundred years in the French MARSEILLE.

As the Greeks brought with them their arts, the little colony on the banks of the Rhone soon reflected all the splendors of the Ionic cities of the East;⁵ but it did not escape the usual fate of colonies. It was involved in wars with the jealous and predatory Ligurians of the neighborhood, and once, when on the point of being overwhelmed, was saved by a remarkable event. This was the arrival beneath its

New Invasions
of Italy.

¹ From Corinth to the Pillars of Hercules was about 100 days' sail. Skylax Periplus, c. 110.

² Herodotus, l. i., c. 163. Justin, l. xliii., c. 8. Aristotle ap. Athenæum, l. xlii., c. 36. Plutarch in Solon. There are the usual discrepancies in these tales of the foundation, but the leading facts appear to be pretty well established. Sir G. C. Lewis carries his skepticism in regard to them perhaps too far; while, on the other hand, Raoul-Rochette (*Hist. des Étab. Colonies Grecques*, vol. iii., pp. 405-413) is inclined to accept too much.

³ Livy says that the Greek had to fight for a place; but Aristotle and Justin assert he was received in the most friendly manner by Naan, the chief of

the Gauls. It seems he had prepared a great feast, to celebrate the betrothal of his daughter, to which the Phokæans were invited. When the time came for the maiden to make a choice among the guests, as the custom of the tribe ordained, she gave the cup (either of water or wine) to the young leader of the Greeks, who was accepted as bridegroom by the father. Justin calls the daughter Gyptis; Aristotle, Petta; but, at any rate, her dowry was the whole Gulf of Lyons with the adjacent territory. Protis was probably the eponym of the first colonists—the Protiade.

⁴ Avienus, v., 701. Strab., l. iv., c. 1, § 4; Cæs., *Bell. Civ.*, l. ii., c. 1.

⁵ Justin, l. xliii., c. 8.

walls of a numerous and powerful band from the centre of Gaul, on a freebooting expedition into Italy. According to Livy,¹ a great potentate of the Bituriges (Berryans), either finding his territory overcrowded or fearing the factious spirit of his people, had proposed a grand evacuation across the Alps. The enterprise was committed to his two aspiring nephews, named Sigovesus and Bellovesus; and three hundred thousand men eagerly flocked to the standards of the brothers.² Dividing their forces into two bodies, and taking their courses, in the manner of the times, from the flight of birds, Sigovese led his clans toward the Hercynian forest in Germany (where we will leave them for the present), while Bellovese went to the south of Gaul. Wandering at the foot of the Alps, to find a pass, the latter was induced to help Massalia against the Ligurians, and then he crossed the mountains, by the vale of Aosta, into Italy.³ He carried with him, in addition to the Biturigians, Arvernians, Æduans, Ambarri, Carnutes, and the Aulesks,⁴ nearly all mountaineers, and of the fiercest tribes of Gaul. Pushing forward to northern Etruria, the Etruscans disputed with them the passage of the Ticinus, but were routed and

¹ Liv., l. v., c. 44.

² Justin, l. xxiv., c. 4.

³ Niebuhr (Rom. Hist., v. ii., p. 241). Nothing in history has been more controverted than the time in which these Gallic invasions of Italy took place. The single authority of Livy (v. 34) refers them to the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, B.C. 600, by connecting them with the incident of the rescue of Massalia. Other writers assign subsequent periods—generally two centuries later—or just before the burning of Rome by the Senones, B.C. 390. (Zonares, vii., 23; Appian, Rom. Hist., iv., excerpt. 2; Justin, xxiv., 4.) Diodorus, xiv., 113, fixes the time as coeval with the siege of Rhegium, which would be B.C. 388. Plutarch (in vitâ Camill.) alleges that the Gauls crossed the Alps at an indefinite time before the taking of Rome. Polybius, ii., 7, 18, says that it was "some time after" crossing that they took Rome. Dion Cassius, xxxviii., 40, describes the Gauls as frequently

crossing the Alps, in early times, to ravage Italy. On the strength of these conflicting authorities the moderns get divided. Müller (Die Etrusker, vol. i., pp. 147-154) agrees with Livy, and thinks there is nothing improbable in the oldest date. Amedée Thierry (Hist. des Gaulois, t. i., c. 1) coincides. But Niebuhr (Rom. Hist., v. ii., pp. 231-34) rejects the date of Livy altogether, as do Arnold (Hist. Rome, c. xxiv.) and Michelet (Hist. de France, t. i., l. 1). The controversy is clearly summed up by Sir G. C. Lewis, in his Credibility, etc., c. xxi., sect. 24, and c. xiii., sect. 79. I myself prefer the latest date, simply because it brings us nearer to the historical ages.

⁴ Livy, l. v., cc. 34, 35. Comp. Polyb., l. ii., cc. 17, 18. In this account I simply select from the old writers such incidents as appear to me not improbable; but there were no contemporary annals, and all the writers found themselves upon general tradition.

dispersed, while the Gauls seized the entire territory between that stream and the Padus and Addua.¹ Thus they avenged their ancient kindred, the Amrha, or Ombrians, in connection with whose descendants they built the city of Mediolanum, now the beautiful Milan.² On their invitation, also, other hordes of Gauls, principally Cenomans from about Manceaux, under the command of a chief who called himself the Hurricane,³ came into Italy, and helped to drive the Etruscans entirely out of Transpadania, as far as the frontier of the Venetes, when they either seized or laid the foundations of Brescia and Verona.⁴ A third emigration, composed chiefly of Kymric Gauls, i. e., Boians, Anamans, and Lingons, entering Italy by way of Helvetia and the Pennine Alps, and finding the whole region to the north of the Po occupied by their fellows, crossed to the southern side, and took possession of the banks quite to its mouth on the Adriatic.⁵ Last of all came the Senones, another swarm of Kymri, who pushed the Umbrians themselves from the shores of the Upper Sea, and founded there the city of Sena, now Sinigaglia.⁶ Thus, year after year, for an indefinite length of time, these streams of savage life poured along the defiles of the Alps, and overflowed the magnificent plains of northern Italy. Before them the civilization of the Etruscans, gloomy and sacerdotal, yet largely in advance of any in Europe, gradually disappeared: their twelve flourishing cities gave place to towns without walls and habitations without furniture, and their cultivated fields were abandoned to forest or to waste.⁷

Of the fact of these later Gallic invasions there can be little doubt; but of the causes of them, of the precise date, and of the attending circumstances, our information partakes of all the vagueness and incoherence which marks the

¹ Anthon, *Ancient and Mediæval Geog.*, p. 276.

² Livy, v., 34. Comp. Pliny, iii., 17.

³ *Aele*, wind; *dabh*, stormy.—Thierry. In Latin, *Eliatarus*.

⁴ These were more likely of Tuscan origin.

⁵ Arnold (*Hist. Rome*, c. xxiv.) disputes Thierry's distinctions in regard to these, Boians, Lingons, etc., but without reason. If they were Boians and

Lingons, then they were Kymri, according to the best evidences.

⁶ Most of the writers confound this with Sena Julia, which was Etruscan, and the modern Sienna. (Anthon, *Anc. and Mediæval Geog.*, p. 300.)

⁷ Polyb., l. ii., p. 106; but of the twelve cities, neither Müller, Niebuhr, nor other modern scholars can make out more than ten.

earlier Roman annals. In order to account for them, the legends invent the story of an injured Etruscan husband who invited the Gauls in to avenge his wrongs; when they, finding the wines and fruits of the peninsula very pleasant, were not only induced to remain, but to send back for all their friends. This story we may dismiss as both unauthentic and trivial.¹ The expatriation of such numerous hordes points rather to the existence of some violent commotions in Gaul. Niebuhr conjectures that the pressure of Iberian tribes, driving the Kelts out of the north of Spain and of Aquitaine, gave occasion to movements eastward, yet his conjecture is unsupported by any authority.² Thierry, on the other hand, contrives a great invasion of Kymri, from the north of Europe, which drove the more southern Gauls through the Alpine passes of the south-east.³ Identifying the Kymri with the Kimmerians of the *Palus Mæotis*, he brings them along the valley of the Danube, about the seventh century before Christ.⁴ From the first homes which they founded in the Kymric-Chersonese, or Jutland, he supposes them to have passed the Rhine, under the lead of a great warrior-priest named Hesus, or Hu, the Powerful. The force of the invasion expended itself along the maritime region, or Armorica, but spread out thence from north to south and west to east. Nor is this theory sustained by any authentic history. Justin, who abridges his narrative from Trogus Pompeius, himself of Gallic descent,⁵ knows nothing of either, asserting simply, what is most probable, that the Gauls passed into Italy because of their incessant civil discords.⁶

¹ Livy, v., 35; Dion. Hal., xiii., 14-17; Appian, *Hist. Rom.*, iv., 2 and 7.

² *Rom. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 285, Am. ed.

³ *Hist. des Gaul.*, t. i., l. i., c. 1. His authority is the Welsh traditions.

⁴ He connects this movement with what Herodotus says (l. iv., c. 11) about the Scythians having expelled the Kimmerians from the Kimmerian Chersonese, or Crimea; but there is not a particle of proof going to show that the latter ascended the Danube, or any part of them. What Plutarch alleges (in

Mario) is mere assumption. All the historical monuments show that the movements of the Kelts were ever from west to east. (Prichard, v. iii., p. 50; also Anthon, *Anc. and Med. Geog.*, p. 78, sect. 4.)

⁵ Nieb., *Rom. Hist.*, p. 232, note.

⁶ Just., l. xx., c. 5. If we must believe in some great migration, in order to explain the Gallic movements, there is none more probable than that suggested by De Petigny (*Etudes Mérovingiennes*, t. i., pp. 36-7), who brings the Teuton tribes out of Scandinavia into North Germany about this period. They

That the Gauls were early in Italy, and in great numbers, and that they came in contact with the Romans about the year 390 B.C., is all we may prudently say. It would seem likely, however, that they encountered the Romans, not as transient and marauding, but as settled tribes.¹ The way in which they were involved was this: they demanded lands of the Clusians, which the Clusians refused, and then, being threatened with war, asked aid from the little aristocracy on the banks of the Tiber. The Romans were willing to mediate, but not to interfere, and dispatched three envoys to adjust the difficulty.² These envoys were rash and headlong enough to take part in some incidental skirmish against the Kelts, which so offended them that they sought satisfaction of the principal government. Not obtaining it, they marched upon Rome itself; met the army of the city on the banks of the Allia, a brook some twelve miles distant, defeated it with a dreadful slaughter, and then pushed on to the capital. The multitude of the city, with the priests and the vestals, fled to the country; a few youths, braver than others, garrisoned the chief fortress, while the old men, senators, who had been consuls and censors, either bound by official honor to remain, or resolved to propitiate the angry gods by the sacrifice of themselves, assumed a position of state and dignity in the forum. When the Gauls entered and found the city deserted, the very solitude filled them with terror; the sight of those venerable figures in their curule chairs smote them with awe, as if they had been admitted to the presence of the gods; but the momentary irritability of one of the Romans, whose beard an incautious Gaul had touched, betrayed that they were men, and, being men, they were murdered. The greater part of the city was then burned; the citadel besieged; and it was only when the Gauls were themselves half famished that they relinquished the prosecution of the siege for the sake of a ransom in gold.³

drove the Kymri and Belges into Gaul, who in turn partly displaced the central tribes of Kelts, and partly themselves crossed down into Italy.

¹ In the advance to Clusium, which first brought the Gauls in conflict with Rome, they did not carry their women

and children with them, which shows that they were settled near by.

² Dion. Hal., xiii., 18, 19; Plut., Camill., 17; Liv., v., 35.

³ Thus much, I think, one has a right to adopt out of the conflicting testimonies. A capital review of all the

While this money was getting weighed out, the audacious Brenn,¹ who led the Kelts, cast his sword into the scales, shouting against all remonstrances that famous *Vae victis!*² (Woe to the vanquished!) which in after years Rome echoed with such fearful resonance into the ears of all his kin.

This event—about the first really historical event in Roman history—fell like a stroke of destiny upon the Romans: the anniversary of the battle of the Allia became thereafter an accursed day in their calendar;³ every future whisper of the return of the Gauls was construed into an occasion for a tumult;⁴ and a fund was amassed to be specially devoted to Gallic wars, on the condition that whoever might turn it to other purposes should be sacrificed to the infernal gods.⁵ Nor was Rome able to avenge in less than two centuries the stigma inflicted on that terrible July day. Steadily she pursued the object, but just as steadily was she thwarted and baffled. The Gauls often cut in pieces her legions, often threatened her capital, were often the life and soul of those formidable Samnite, Etruscan, and other leagues which stayed her progress north; and when at Sentinum, at Aretinum, at Vadi-
mon, their principal tribes were overthrown and their power broken, their spirit was not yet subdued. Incessant and bloody revolts evinced the strength of their animosity and the invincibility of their valor. If unable to conquer for themselves, they were yet the instruments of conquest in others.⁶ During the second Punic war they helped the great commander of Africa, Hannibal, to his greatest victories; the Gallic arms were distinguished at Trebia, at Thrasymene, and at Cannæ; it was Gallic blood, under Hasdrubal, which stained the waters

authorities is to be found in Sir G. C. Lewis (Cred. Rom. Hist., vol. ii., c. 12, § 83).

¹ Brenn, according to Leibnitz, Etymol., means a chief or general.

² Dr. Arnold translates this exclamation, which, it should seem, could not be more strongly rendered than by a literal reading, "The weakest must go to the wall," which is incomparably feeble.

³ Plut. in Camill.; Lucan, l. vii., v. 409; Florus, l. i., c. 18; Æneid,

vii., 17; Cicero, Epist. ad Att., ix., 5; Varro, vi., 82.

⁴ Appian, Bell. Civ., l. ii., p. 458; Cicero, Phil., viii., 1, and v., 12; Livy, vii., 9, 11, 28. All business ceased, and every citizen was expected to enlist as a soldier, without regard to the customary exemptions.

⁵ Dion Cass., l. xxi., c. 71; Florus, l. iv., c. 2.

⁶ The details of these Gallic wars in the Cisalpine belong to Roman history, and it is for me only to allude to them.

of the Metaurus; and it was over the Gauls, as well as over Carthage, that Scipio triumphed at Zama. Eleven years after the defeat of the Carthaginian, the mutilated clans of the Boians still held out against the else irresistible city; nor did they succumb at last; they withdrew to the confluence of the Danube and the Save, where they founded a new home, and continued their name in history. Rome became mistress of the north of Italy, and named it *Gallia Cisalpina*, as if her conquering instincts already divined a *Gallia Transalpina*, or another Gaul beyond the Alps.

Meanwhile, other bands of Gauls, whom the traditions connect with the bands of Sigovesus, left by us in the Hercynian forest, were running the same brilliantly-bloody career in Eastern Europe and Asia Minor which the Senones and the Boii ran in Italy. Giving a name, and probably a race, to the Carnic Alps, and depositing the Skordisks, a numerous and powerful tribe, among the fastnesses of the Illyrian Mountains, to subdue the nations around them, and to become in later days a new source of trouble and bloodshed to the Romans, they moved downward into Thrace, where many of them pitched their tents and remained.¹ There they emerge prominently into historic light in the times of the Macedonian Alexander, whose restless and daring genius was kindled into sympathy by their exploits. It is told that as he approached the Danube, in B.C. 335,² an embassy of the Gauls came to him, either out of curiosity or to solicit a friendly alliance, when he asked them what they feared, and they replied, naïvely, "Nothing but the falling of the skies." "Swaggerers!" he rejoined, and took them into pay. Under the ascendancy of his character their predatory impulses were restrained, but during the reigns of his incompetent successors they too often decided by their mercenary aid the fate of struggling nations. Nor were they long satisfied with playing a hireling's part. About the year 281 B.C., a powerful force of Tectosages, who were Belgians, under the leadership of a *Brenn* called the Terrible, overran

¹ Strab., l. vii., c. 5, § 2; Florus, l. iii., c. 4; Liv., Epit., lxxiii.

² Thierry (Hist. des Gaulois, t. i., c. 4) has put this date at B.C. 340, when

Alexander could have been but sixteen years of age. It occurred probably at the time of his expedition against the Triballi and Illyrians. Comp. Grote.

nearly the whole of Macedon. Ptolemy Keraunos, or the Thunderbolt, at first derided their threats, but when he attempted to resist even a single division of them he lost his army and his head.¹ The young Sosthenes next—ignoble by birth, but noble in his enthusiasm and energy—rallied the flying youth of his country in order to get quit of them, and for a moment he forced them to retreat. They retreated only to return in augmented numbers and with whetted appetites. Swarms of Teutosages, Boians, Teutons, and Illyrians fell upon Sosthenes, and ravaged Macedonia anew.² Passing thence into and through Thessaly, they halted before the immortal defile where, two centuries before, the Persian hosts had fallen. Their design was to move against central and southern Greece.³ The Greeks, though broken and dispirited by their own factions and the Macedonian domination, were yet inspired to a momentary thrill of ancient vigor by the glorious name of Thermopylæ.⁴ They combined and withstood the Gauls, who only by cunning succeeded in crossing Mount Ceta and making their way to the temple of the Delphian god.

The oracle, it seems, had promised to protect itself, and, according to the legends, when the barbarians ascended the almost inaccessible rock where the opulent and pious offerings of Greece were treasured, the thunder of the deity's wrath fell from the skies, and the rocks trembled, and the earth opened.⁵ It was not, however, the god, but Grecian valor, driven

¹ Compare Strabo, l. iv., c. 8; Justin, l. xxiv., cc. 4, 5; Polyb., l. ix.; Memnon., Hist. apud Phot., c. 15.

² Justin, l. xxiv., c. 6.

³ Pausanias, l. x., c. 6.

⁴ Nor is the merit of their defense any the less because the consequences are not so important. The Greeks who fought against Xerxes fought under the sustaining impulses of religion, patriotism, and hope. The Greeks who fought against the Gauls, dispirited by years of oppression, and by the conviction that national or Hellenic unity was forever a dream, had invested their new and unknown enemy with every horrible feature which superstition lends to fear. Taught by their learned men, they must

have seen in the Kelts the descendants of those old Kimmerians, who were rather Titans than men, who made war upon the gods, who opposed their bucklers to the thunder-bolts, and did not move when the earth shook or volcanoes vomited flame. (Aristot. de Morib., l. iii., c. 10.) One finds it hard to believe, however, what Pausanias tells, that, in the then exhausted condition of the Grecian States, Bœotia furnished a contingent of 10,000 hoplites for the defense. Paus., x., 20.

⁵ Justin, l. xxiv., cc. 6, 7, 8. Pausanias, x., 6, places this expedition in B.C. 278. Compare Diod. Sic., l. xxii., p. 870.

to a desperate extremity in defense of its altars and its fires, which precipitated those sacrilegious Gauls from their intent. A scene of prodigious terror and havoc signalized the attack, and yet the retreat was even more disastrous than the attack. Famished, frozen, wounded, beset by enemies on every side, the poor Gauls, during the second night after their departure, were thrown into a sudden panic, fell upon each other in the darkness, and slew six thousand of their brothers. The Brenn, in his utter despair, advised them, in order to relieve their sad flight, to burn their booty and cut the throats of their many thousand prisoners; which advice they followed, except that they kept the baggage, and barely escaped with their lives into Macedon.¹

Other detachments of the Gauls, again, after cruelly ravaging Thrace, passed into Asia Minor by the Bosphorus and the Hellespont. Dividing the country into three parts, according to the number of their tribes, they made themselves virtually its masters.² The sunken and luxurious populations of the East easily submitted to their exactions: the country furnished them subsistence; the cities paid them tribute; and multitudes of indolent and outcast natives flocked as allies to their tents and chariots. Through their instrumentality Nicomedes won the throne of Bithynia from his brother, with whom he was at war. "Indeed," says Justin, "such was the terror of the Gallic name and the invariable success of the Gallic arms that the princes of the East conceived that it would be impossible to hold their sceptres secure, or to recover them when lost, without the aid of the Gauls." In B.C. 241 they first encountered a really effective resistance in King Attalus of Pergamos, who drove them through lower Phrygia into the mountains, near the Halys, where they were gradually concentrated into a distinct province which took the name of Galatia, or Gallo-Græcia. It grew into something of an Asiatic power, bearing on its civiliza-

¹ Justin's story referred to by Strabo, l. iv., c. 1, § 13, that the Tectosages carried the pillage of Delphi back to their native country and deposited it at Toulouse, is generally discredited. (De Petigny, *Etudes*, t. i., pp. 40-1.) As to the end of this expedition, see Comte

du Buat (*Hist. Anc. des Peup. de l'Europe*, t. ii., cc. 11, 12).

² Livy, xxxviii., c. 16, who speaks of the Trocmians, Tolistoboiæans, and Tectosagians. Strabo, l. xii., c. 6, gives the same names.

tion the threefold imprint of Gallic, Grecian, and Phrygian manners.¹ In the end, by mingling in the wars of Antiochus against the Romans, they were assailed by Manlius Kelso (B.C. 188), and subjected to the all-devouring republic;² but in their fall they left a sting behind, for Manlius was the first of the Roman generals who ventured to make war without the authority of the Senate, and his example, followed in after years, bore a fatal progeny of evils for his country.

Thus, in all the early glimpses which we get of the Gauls, they are seen rambling the world in search of adventure. "Whoever," says Michelet, "wished to buy headlong courage and blood cheaply, bought them."³ They were in the pay of Pyrrhus; they led the mercenaries in the bloody revolt at Carthage; we hear of them with Mithridates, with Juba, with Cleopatra, with Berenice, and with Herod;⁴ but every where—in Asia, Europe, Africa—it became their fate to encounter the solid legions and the incomparable science of Rome. "The victors and vanquished on the banks of the Allia," says Thierry, "followed each other over the earth, to decide the old grudge of the Capitol."⁵ Every where, too, the result showed that this nomadic race of the Gauls was nearly run. Other tribes, Teutons, Huns, and Slaves, were about to succeed to their career, but not to a career more ferociously agitated and brilliant. Surely the Gauls had accomplished enough! What with sacking Rome, scaling Olympus, plundering Delphi, besieging Carthage, menacing Egypt, establishing an empire in Asia, and associating their names with those of Hannibal, Alexander, Pyrrhus, and Mithridates, they had carried terror into every quarter of the globe, and stamped a fatal remembrance of their deeds on the annals of nearly every ancient people.

¹ Comp. Liv., l. xxxviii., c. 16; Justin, l. xxvii., cc. 2, 3; Appian, de Bell. Syriac., p. 180; Strabo, l. xii., who gives an account of its government. The Galatians are made forever memorable by the address of one of St. Paul's Epistles.

² Livy, l. xxxviii., c. 25. See Niebuhr, vol. iv., p. 125.

³ History of France, tome i., c. 1.

⁴ Joseph., Bell. Jud., l. i., cc. 15, 21; Polyænus, Stratag., l. iv., c. 16; Cæsar., Bell. Civ., l. ii., c. 40, etc.

⁵ Hist. des Gaules, Introduction.

CHAPTER II.

CHARACTER, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, GOVERNMENT, AND RELIGION OF THE GAULS.

“ALL the Gauls are tall, fair-skinned, golden-haired, and terrible for the fierceness of their eyes. They are greedy of quarrels, great braggarts, and insolent. A whole troop of strangers could scarcely resist a single one of them in a brawl, and particularly if he were assisted by his stalwart blue-eyed wife, who, gnashing her teeth, distending her neck, brandishing her large snowy arms, and kicking up her heels betimes, will deliver fisticuffs like bolts from the twisted strings of a catapult.”¹

This amusing description by the old soldier Ammianus, who fought in Gaul and knew of what he wrote, is in substance confirmed by all the ancient writers.² They represent that the Gauls were of large stature, light-eyed, yel-

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, v. 12. No Parisian *belle* would be likely to recognize her ancient mother in this description, *i. e.*, outside of the *Marché au Poisson*, and I hasten, therefore, to add, that Athenæus, unquestionably an arbiter in such matters, pronounces the Gallic women the most beautiful of all the barbarians. (Deipnos, l. xiii., c. 80.) They were, also, early distinguished for the propriety and elegance of their toilette, and, if I may infer from the frequency with which Gallic costumes are noticed by the Roman writers, set the fashions.

² Polybius, who wrote near the middle of the second century before Christ, and traveled in Gaul (Anthon's Dict., art. Polyb.), speaks of the “gigantic bodies” of the natives (l. ii., c. 5). Cæsar, who spent so many years among them, says they looked with contempt on the little Romans (De Bell. Gall., l. ii., c. 80). Pausanias (in Phocicis, c. 20) calls them the tallest of the human race; and all the other authorities

that I have consulted—Livy, Diodorus, Silius Italicus, Appian, whatever the age in which they wrote, seem to agree in the description of their physiological character. Prichard (Researches, etc., vol. iv., c. 3, p. 192 et seq.) gives their testimonies. St. Augustine, in the 4th century, opposes to the *nigros Æthiopes* the *candidos Gallos* (contra Faust., xxii. 83). Radlofe (Neue Untersuchen des Keltenthums. Bonn, 1822) quotes two writers of the Middle Ages who distinguish the Kelts as “a fair, milk-white people.” Dr. O’Conner cites an early Irish poem which represents the Gaels as fair and yellow-haired (Rerum Hibernicar. Scriptores, Prolegomena, 124). Yet Prof. Kombet, in his remarks on the ethnographic map of Great Britain and Ireland (Johnstone’s splendid edition of Dr. Berghaus’s Physical Atlas), ascribes to the Celtic races as now known the following features: “Dark (sallow) complexion, dark brown eyes, and black hair.” “Stature of middle size, slender make, legs curved somewhat in-

low or auburn-haired, of quick, irritable temperament, and very loquacious. They were also vain of their personal appearance, the poorest of them being always neat in their dress, while the richer affected showy garments and decorations. They wore their hair long and flowing; their breeks (*braccæ*) were made of a variegated wool or plaid; and their sagum, or short cloak of the same material (*versicolor sagulum*),¹ clasped over the shoulder and falling to the hips, was often embroidered with gold and silver figures.² The more opulent chiefs covered themselves with a profusion of rings, collars, bracelets, and torques, or chains twisted of a flexible wire.³ These peculiarities of dress begat them among the Romans the nick-names of the long-haired Gauls, and of the Gauls in breeches.⁴ But it was chiefly on going to war that the Gaul put his finery on: his huge head-piece of feathers or fur; his quadrangular shield, painted in various and dazzling colors; his great sabre, suspended to a belt of gold and silver, inlaid with coral; and his splendid ornaments of the neck, arms, and wrists.⁵ Yet, in the heat of the battle, he would often cast away such superfluities, to go to work as nature made him.⁶

Excitable and demonstrative in all things, the Gauls used swelling metaphors in their speech, talked noisily and fluently, not always sticking to the truth; and disputed

Their temper-
ament.

ward as in females, narrow chest, and narrow hips." "Temperament bilious, and bilious-nervous prevailing." Again: he says of the Teutonic races, "Fair complexion, fair, often flaxen, reddish, golden-colored hair, large blue eyes, ruddy cheeks, chest broad, figure tall, temperament sanguine," etc. What are we to deduce from this disagreement between the ancients and moderns? Niebuhr (*Rom. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 238, note, Am. ed.) was confessedly staggered by the discrepancy, believing, as he did, in the permanency of the physical characteristics of races. Arnold solves the difficulty by asserting that the modern Kelts (Irish and Welsh) are both "light-haired and tall." How, then, are they distinguished, physically, from the Teutons? Or was Pellontier (*Hist. des Celtes*) right in maintaining

the identity of the Keltic and Teutonic races?

¹ Tacit., *Hist.*, ii., 20, and Strabo, l. iv., c. 4, § 3.

² Virgil, *Æneid.*, l. vi.; Sil. Ital., l. iv., 152, etc. *Braccæ*, in Kymric, is *brykan*; in Armorican, *braga*; in Scottish, *breeks*; in English, *breeches*.

³ These *torques* are often mentioned in the Welsh poems (*Welsh Archæology*, *passim*).

⁴ *Gallia Comata* and *Gallia Braccata* (Diod. Sic., v., 30; Pomp. Mela, ii., 5; Cicero, *Pro Front.*, 11, et al.). The Roman province, in which the toga was worn, was called *Gallia Togata*.

⁵ Diod. Sic., v., 28; Vegetius, ii., 18; Sil. Ital., iv., 148; Varro, iv., 20.

⁶ As the Scotch Highlanders did, so late as 1578, at the battle of Rymenaut, near Mechin.

much, though willing to allow other speakers a chance.¹ Cicero compares them to town-criers or salesmen, and Cato refers to their argumentative acuteness.² Passionately fond of hearing stories told, they would, in the eagerness of their curiosity, compel strangers to stop with them, to narrate what they had seen or heard.³ Perhaps this last trait arose out of a feeling of sympathy and hospitality for which they were alike distinguished.⁴ In war and peace both, they were gregarious, liked to move or to get together in masses, always exhibited a strong fellow-feeling, were sensitive to the injustice inflicted upon any one of their own squad, and in their intercourse with each other, unless angered, were simple-hearted, kindly, and vivacious.⁵ At the same time they were scrupulous observers of their respective ranks and dignities, as it appears from a curious description by an ancient observer of one of their feasts.⁶ "When they sup together," he says, "they all sit about a round table,⁷ the bravest, or the superior in birth and wealth, in the middle, with the host next to him, and the other guests arranged in order, according to the degree of their eminence and distinction." Opposite these, in similar circles, sat their armor-bearers, cup-bearers, and various other retainers or companions.

But the chief trait of the Gauls was a sudden, impulsive, fiery *Bravery*. valor, which "boiled the brains" and led, in the phrensy of it, to an utter recklessness of death. Their festivals, as it happened among the more recent Highlanders of Scott's descriptions,⁸ seldom ended without a mortal fray; and sometimes, in an excess of wild audacity, they would allow themselves to be killed for a sum of money or a stoup of wine, which they previously shared with their friends.⁹ It was this bravado, doubtless, which acquired them a fabulous renown among the Greeks, who report that they refused to withdraw from falling or burning houses, that they encountered inundations with their swords,

¹ Strab., iv., 4, 8; Diod. Sic., v., 31.

² Cic. (Frag. Orat. cont. Pisonem); Cato has *argutè loqui*.

³ Cæs., Bell. Gall., iv., 5., vi., 20, vii., 42; Veget., i., 2.

⁴ Strab., iv., 4, 2.

⁵ Strab., *ibid*.

⁶ Posidonius (apud Athen. Deipnos, l. iv., c. 36).

⁷ Like the Knights of King Arthur, in later times.

⁸ See his novels, *passim*.

⁹ Posidonius (ap. Athenæum, l. iv., c. 40). Comp. Livy, xxi., 42; Horace, Carm. l. iv., od. 14.

stood unmoved amid earthquakes, and indignantly discharged their arrows at the lightnings.¹ Impetuous and irascible as they were, however, "any one being able to exasperate them at any time," says Strabo, their enthusiasm soon evaporated. They were inconstant and fickle and easily dejected. "Their frivolity of character," he adds, "renders them intolerable in victory and utterly despondent under defeat."² "Always in extremes," says another, "there was no limit either to their audacity or their discouragement."³ Conscious, apparently, of this versatile humor, their chiefs often bound them by oath, on going to war, never to see wife, children, or home again until they had trampled on the pride of the enemy.

With their natural aptitude and bent for war, the Gauls were, *Love of war.* of course, great fighters, sedulously educated and disciplined in all kinds of martial exercises. It was their custom to punish a youth who became fat, as it might interfere with his alacrity and vigor in battle: the man who arrived last at the rendezvous of the army was always killed, in order to teach others promptitude; and even old age did not exempt the soldier from his duty.⁴ Their weapons were, of course, effective, consisting of a long barbed, iron-headed spear, called the *gæsum*; a heavy broadsword like the Scotch claymore; and lances and arrows, which they hurled to a great distance, and sometimes cast inflamed among the enemy.⁵ In manœuvring a wheeled chariot, with scythes bound to the hubs of it, they showed re-

¹ Ælian. Hist., l. xii., c. 28; Nich. Damas, ap. Stobæum, Sermon. 48. But Strabo (l. vii., c. 2) seriously refutes these statements.

² Polyb. Hist., l. ii., c. 35; Strabo, l. iv., c. 4, §§ 5-6; Florus, l. ii., c. 4. Silius Italicus (l. viii., v. 17) says,

"Vaniloquum, Celtes, genus ac mutabile mentis."

³ Dio. Cass., l. xxxix; see also Cæs., Bell. Gall., iii., 19, iv., 5. The question has been raised whether this despondency in defeat is a characteristic of the modern French. Dr. Arnold (Thucydides, l. i., p. 70, note) compares French with Athenian vivacity in preserving an unbroken self-confidence amid the severest military reverses, and

cites from Dumas (Précis des Événements Militaires) an epigram of Favart, which begins,

"Le coq français est le coq de la gloire,
Par les revers il n'est point abattu;
Il chante forte s'il gagne la victoire,
Encore plus forte quand il est bien battu;
Le coq français est le coq de la gloire,
Toujours chanter est sa grande vertu," etc.

I confess, however, that there is to me a good deal of the *chanter* even in this. Judging by Napoleon's retreats, which were almost always disasters, we must conclude that the French do not sustain calamity with the fortitude and cheerfulness which Arnold assumes.

⁴ Strab., iv., 4; Cæsar, vii., 4, viii., 12.

⁵ Polyb., vi., 2; Cæs., ii., 48.

markable dexterity, driving and stopping it on the sharpest declivities, and dashing with it into the midst of the opposite ranks, which they mowed down in broad swaths.¹ Not averse to stratagems, in which, says Cæsar, they were consummately ingenious, their tactics were yet for the most part simple, consisting in a fierce tumultuous rush upon the foe, accompanied by a din of horns, shouts, jeers, and the fearful cry of *Terribin, terribin!*² Cæsar praises the art and the strength of their fortifications, and Sallust confesses that in every essential of military genius they equaled the Romans.³ "With others," says the latter, "we fight for glory, but with the Gauls in self-defense;" and when, after centuries of almost incessant conflicts, the Roman carried off the victory, he triumphed by means of his superior organization, and not his superior valor.

This fondness for war, the ferocious delight with which they engaged in it, and their brutal cruelty toward captives, whom they not unfrequently immolated to their gods, confirmed, if it did not beget, the opinion of the ancients, that the Gauls were little better than savages.⁴ Nor can we doubt as to their savage condition in the earliest times. They clothed themselves in skins, dyed or tattooed their flesh, rushed into battle naked, used the skulls of their enemies for drinking-cups, worshiped sticks, stones, trees, and thunder, and strangled the strangers whom the inhospitable tempests cast upon their coasts.⁵ Nevertheless, it was found, when they became better known to the Romans, that, either by means of a native susceptibility to improvement or through intercourse with the Phœnician and Greek traders who visited them, they had made a considerable, though unequal, advance in civilization. In the north of Gaul, as on the several British islands, and wherever they were in contact with the more barbarous Germans, they remained in a rude and primitive state; while to-

¹ Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, iv. 33. These were called *kowain* and *ess* in Keltic; by the Latins *covinus* and *essedum*. Livy, x., 28; Pomp. Mela, iii., 6; Lucan, i., 420.

² Polyb., i. ii., c. 5. *Terribin!* Off with their heads (Suidas).

³ Cæsar, vii., 28; Sall., *Bell. Jugurth.*, cxiv.

⁴ Polybius, i. vi., c. 2, also ii. 17; Seneca, *Consol. ad Helv.*, 8; Justin., xliii., 4.

⁵ Compare Strab., iv., 4, 5; Solinus, xxii., 43; Livy, xxxviii., 2, also xxiii., 24; Pomp. Mela, ii., 21; Max. Tyr., 38.

ward the south, and particularly on the banks of the navigable streams and the Mediterranean coasts, a decided progress had been accomplished.¹

The better classes among the Gauls lived in spacious houses of a conical form, constructed of poles and wattle-work, plastered with clay and thatched with straw.² They possessed villages which were strongly fortified by walls composed of alternate courses of beams and stones, surrounded by ditches and sometimes surmounted by turrets or towers.³ They were agriculturists, who cultivated wheat, barley, and flax, planted and dressed vineyards, and raised bees, cattle, swine, and sheep; they used, moreover, soap, butter, and salt; and their preserved meats and cheeses gained a foreign reputation. Before any other European nation, they leavened their bread with the foam of beer; fattened the earth with calcareous marls and manures; preserved wine in casks; cleansed grain with a sieve; plowed with a wheeled plow; and filled mattresses with wool instead of straw, all which were processes of their own discovery.⁴ Nor were they ignorant of several of the useful and even elegant mechanical arts. Their dyes were somewhat celebrated;⁵ they both extracted metals from the mines and fashioned them into utensils and ornamental vessels;⁶ they wove and embroidered carpets similar to the Turkey carpets of the present day;⁷ they invented a method for plating one metal upon another, for tempering copper to the hardness of steel, and of veneering woods;⁸ they fabricated a woolen felt which would resist the stroke of a sword; while their cloths of plaid and checkered linen were held in general esteem. Even commerce was carried on among them to a large extent; large emporiums were scattered along the principal rivers, such as Burdigalia (Bordeaux), Tolosa (Toulouse), Lutetia (Paris), and Genabum

¹ This follows, not only from the positive statements of Strabo (l. iv.), but from Caesar's accounts of the various tribes, *passim*.

² Strabo, l. iv., c. 4, § 3; Pliny, xxxvi., 22; Vitruv., i., 1.

³ Cæs., Bell. Gall., l. vii., cc. 22, 23, et v., 21, who says they were uniform in aspect and impregnable either by the battering-ram or by fire.

⁴ Pliny, viii., 48, xi., 9, xviii., 6, 11, 18; Strabo, l. iv., *passim*. I have a note that Pliny says the Gauls were excellent cooks, but I can not lay my eye on the particular passage.

⁵ Pliny, viii., 48.

⁶ Ibid., viii., 48.

⁷ Ibid., xviii., 7, 8.

⁸ Ibid., xxxiv., 8, 17.

(Orléans); free ports, *i. e.*, ports declared and held safe for all comers, were placed at the mouths of the Loire, the Seine, the Garonne, and the Rhone;¹ cargoes of foreign products, taken up the rivers in boats, were transported over land in wagons and on the backs of horses; and money of their own coinage, graduated in weight and value, was used in effecting exchanges.² To their brothers of the British islands they exported earthenware for domestic uses, salt for the preservation of provisions, brass or bronze for the fabrication of arms, and ivory and gold and silver trinkets for ornaments;³ in return for which they received tin, lead, corn, skins, slaves, hunting-dogs, and (toward the Christian era) iron, gold, and silver;⁴ and these again, together with various native products, were sold to the factors of the Mediterranean ports for the rich fabrics and luxuries of the Oriental marts.⁵ We shall hereafter see, too, that they possessed a marine; for the Veneti, in their war with Cæsar, brought out over two hundred vessels, oak-built, iron-fastened, and chain-cabled, which nearly proved a match for the well-equipped Roman galleys, and, both by the ingenuity of their construction and the skill with which they were managed, showed on the part of the Armoricans no despicable attainments in practical science.

All these were evidences of a civic instinct, or at least capacity, and of the partial cessation of that primitive period when the life of man depends merely upon the conditions and dispensations of nature; but it must be confessed they were exceptional evidences, not characteristic of all the tribes, many of which remained in a prostrate and backward state. At the same time, the structure and spirit of the Gallic society were repugnant to the introduction of the higher arts and methods of civilized life. It was still confined to that imperfect species of social and political aggregation which appears to have prevailed during the youth of nearly all nations, and which, in this place, may be called—THE CLAN.⁶

¹ See the remarks of Molke (*Histoire des Franks*, t. i.) on these very ancient free ports, which he compares to the free cities of the middle ages.

² Strabo, iv., 1, 14, and iv., 2, 1.

³ Ibid., l. iii., c. 5, § 11.

⁴ Pliny, iv., 22, xxiv., 17; Strabo,

iv., 5, 2; Cæsar, v., 12; Tacitus, *Agri cola*, xii.

⁵ Compare Dio. Cass. (l. c.), who, however, ascribes the prosperity of the Gauls to Cæsar and the Romans.

⁶ In the Welsh and Breton dialects *kenedl*, clan.

It would seem to be a law in the development of nascent societies that patriarchal kings, who are the first rulers, should give place to a small governing body, either of priests or warriors, or of both.¹ In Etruria, Rome, and, I think, Germany, this aristocracy combined the civic, or, which is the same thing, the military command with the priestly function; while in India, Persia, and Egypt the sacerdotal was separated from the civic or military class. The latter system prevailed in Gaul. "There are but two orders of men there," says Cæsar, "who are of any consideration or dignity;" namely, the priests, who called themselves Druids, and the warriors or chiefs of clan, to whom he gave the Roman name of Equites, or Equestrians. "All the rest of the people being in a nearly servile condition, without part or lot in public affairs."² The priests, he adds, were engaged in things sacred, conducting the private and public sacrifices and interpreting the mysteries of religion; the Equestrians led the armies in war, and administered civil affairs in peace; while the multitude (plebs), either crushed by debt or the enormity of the tributes, or the insolent oppressions of the powerful, were delivered up to the service of the nobles, who exercised an authority over them like that of a master over his slaves. In other words, it would appear from this description that the Gallic society was a mere conglomeration of chieftains and followers.

But, if we study the composition of the Clan more narrowly,
The nature of the Clan. we shall find that, like the Hebrew tribe, the Greek phratry, the Roman gens, and the German sipschaft, it was a union of families or houses, brought together, in the first place, doubtless, by ties of consanguinity, but expanded afterward, by intermarriage, conquest, and adoption, into a large gentile community.³

¹ Comp. Gervinus (Einleitung zur Geschichte der Neunzehn. Jahrhundert. § 2, ed. 1853). But Dr. Arnold, in the First Appendix to his Thucydides, treating of the "Social Progress of States," has deduced more clearly the origin and the several kinds of primitive aristocracy.

² De Bell. Gall., l. vi., c. 13. In the Welsh and Breton dialects of the Celtic tongue, the term which corresponded to Cæsar's *eques* was either *uchl-wr*, nobleman; or *arg-lwydd*, warrior (from *ar*,

over, and *lwydd*, army; or from *aelhcyd*, the father of a family, *pater familias*); or *march-wr*, horseman, chevalier, knight, from *march*, horse, *wr*, man. (De Cursion, Hist. des Peup. Breton., Gloss., p. 427.) In the Laws of Hoël-dda, *arg-lwydd* is thus defined: "Is est qui dominium et proprietatem habet."

³ Mr. Grote (Hist. Greece, v. iii., c. 10, p. 54 et seq.) describes the Attic gentilism thus: "The basis of the whole was the house, hearth, or family,

Thus, its components were of two kinds—the one natural, or the family proper in its various ramifications of kith and kin;¹ and the other artificial, or those who, not originally of the blood, had been received into it on extraneous grounds.

Of the family, in the stricter sense, the father was the head, *The family.* but his authority, in respect to the wife and children, was not absolute.² The wife was under the command or word³ of her husband, which authority he bought of her kindred for a price, and she had no legal existence except through him. Yet she possessed certain distinct rights: the dowry she received from her parents⁴ and her husband's gift the morning after marriage⁵ remained her own; while there was a community of property between them during coverture, and in cases of death or divorce an equitable division, according to the circumstances.⁶ Nor could the father alienate any portion of his estate without the consent of his kindred, who were, in a sense, joint proprietors with him,⁷ and especially of his sons, who were coequal heirs after his death;⁸ for, as the whole family participated in

a number of which, greater or less, composed the *gens* or *genos*. This *gens* was, therefore, a clan, sept, or enlarged and partly factitious brotherhood, bound together by, 1st, common religious ceremonies, and exclusive privilege of priesthood, in honor of the same god, supposed to be the primitive ancestor, and characterized by a special surname; 2d, by a common burial-place; 3d, by mutual rights of succession to property; 4th, by reciprocal obligations of help, defense, and redress of injuries; 5th, by mutual rights and obligations to intermarry in certain determinate cases, etc.; 6th, by possession, in some cases at least, of common property, an archon and a treasurer of their own." The Phratrises were unions of these gentes, as the tribe was a union of Phratrises. Comp. Niebuhr (Lect. Rom. Hist., v. i., p. 71 et seq.). For the German form, see my chapter ix. *post*.

¹ To the ninth degree, among the Welsh.

² Cæsar (l. vi., c. 19) represents the father as having the power of life and

death over wife and children, but, as this is opposed to what we know from other sources of the constitution of the Keltic family, he must have concluded, from some local or exceptional incident, that the *patria potestas* of Gaul was the same as the Roman. In the Welsh, *pen-teula* was the head of the house; *pen-kenedl*, head of the clan.

³ *Urth*, in the Kymro-Breton dialect, equivalent to the *mundium* of the Germans. See *post*, c. 9.

⁴ *Amohyr*, in Kymric, the same as the *scaet* of the Anglo-Saxons (Lex. Sax., vi., § 1), the *mundr* of the Icelanders (Grimm. Deutsche Rechts-alt., p. 125), and the *pretium nuptiale* of the Bavarian code (Luitprand., lxi.).

⁵ The *coryls* of the Welsh, *enep-guerth* of the Bretons, and *morgengabe* of the Germans (De Curson, t. ii., p. 14 et seq.).

⁶ Cæs., l. vi., c. 19, and the Breton laws.

⁷ Lex Wall., t. ii., l. 2, c. 1.

⁸ Ibid., Code Vened., t. i., lex 2, c. 16.

the acquisitions of the father, so they were mutually responsible (*solidaire*) for the debts or the compositions incurred.¹

The other members of the clan consisted of a number of dependents in various degrees of subordination, and of adherents whose ties were more or less voluntary.

Among the former were the slaves (*servi*), captures of war, or purchases in the open market; the bondsmen, who were either serfs, adscribed to the glebe (*villani*); or debtor-bondsmen (*obserati*), whom poverty and reverses had compelled to sell themselves for a longer or shorter time; and the strangers (*advenæ*) found in the country without a protector or lord, and forcibly set to work.² But the adherents, or *clientes*, as the Romans called them, were those who, personally freemen, had yet placed themselves deliberately in the protection of opulent chiefs, either to escape the vicissitudes or oppressions of life, or to serve those chiefs as companions (*ambacti*).³ These devoted themselves, as an act of friendship, to the fortunes of their chiefs, by whom they were thenceforth supported, and with whom they shared the dangers and glories of war, as well as the festivals and enjoyments of peace. "Throughout the country," says Cæsar, "in every state, every canton, and in almost every household, such associations (*factiones*) are formed around the men who are deemed to possess the greatest authority and influence,"⁴ and who engaged to protect their followers from all injustice and

¹ The compositions were sums paid for homicides and other crimes: *galanas* in Welsh, *weregild* in the German. Consult *post*, c. ix.

² Little is said directly in the ancient authorities in respect to these classes, though they are often implied, and constantly recurring in the later law-books (comp. Cæs., i. 4, vi. 13, with various provisions in the Welsh laws). In the code of Hoel-dda, slaves are termed *caeth*; the serfs or bondsmen *taeogs*; and the strangers, forced to labor, *al-tudd* (De Curson, l. ii., p. 47 et seq.).

³ *Am-bacti*, from the Gaelic *am*, about, and *pact*, bound; one bound, or connected. (See Meyer, *Esprit*, Origine, et Progrès des Institut. Judic., etc., t. i., p. 34, ed. Paris, 1823.)

⁴ Cæs., vi. 11 (a passage perverted by

the translators, in rendering *factiones* by our word factions or parties, to which an odious sense is attached). See also Cæs. (l. iii., c. 22), which refers to the Ibero-Aquitains, by whom these *devoti*, or companions, were called *soldurii*, or as Athenæus (l. vi., c. 54, ed. Schweighäuser) writes it, Σολοδούρους, terms obviously derived from the Basque *salduna*, a knight, a cavalier (Thierry, *Hist. des Gaul.*, ii., l. 4). Plut. (in *vitâ Sertor.*) speaks of them, and Langhorne translates his phrase "knights-companions." Meyer (*Esprit des Institut.*, t. i., p. 34) compares the *ambacti* and *soldurii* to the *comites* of Tacitus (*Germania*, c. 18, and *Amm. Marcell.* xvi., 18), in which he is confirmed by De Curson (*Hist. des Peup. Bret.*, t. i., *introduc.*). Nor can I doubt that the analogy is well drawn.

fraud, while the followers engaged to serve them in every extremity, even to the sacrifice of life.¹

As the union of several families constituted the clan, so a certain number of clans formed a canton (*pagi*), and a certain number of cantons a state (*civitas*).² Some of these states had common laws and magistrates, as the Suesiones and Remi;³ others maintained more or less permanent alliances of reciprocal protection and defense;⁴ but the greater part were grouped around the more powerful states, as individuals about their chiefs, in various forms of clientage and de-

¹ Cæs., l. i., cc. 4, 17-17. The laws of the Welsh, collected near the beginning of the tenth century, by Howel-the-Good (Hoël-dda), required every father to *commend* (*kēmen*) his son, on reaching fourteen years of age, to the parole or privilege (*urth*) of an *arglwyd*, or lord, to whom the son tendered homage and fidelity (*gwrhau*, *homagium fecere*, *fidelitatem promittere*: or, more literally, to make himself a man. Davis, Celt. Dict.). He then became the lord's man (*gwas*, *was*, vassal, servitor), and the authority of the father wholly ceased. At twenty-one years of age he received land (*kemenet*, gift, benefice) from the lord, for which he pledged his military services (Lex Wall., v. i., l. 2, c. 38; and v. ii., l. 8, c. 11. Translation of Aneurim Owen. Lond., 1841). As I have, and shall perhaps again make use of these laws for illustration, let me say here that, although they were redacted at so late a date, they may yet be considered as records of immemorial customs. The Kymri, both of Armorica and Cambria, driven into the mountains or marshes by the great invasions of the fourth and fifth centuries, clung with an unrelenting tenacity to the old ways and traditions of their fathers; a fierce hatred of the invaders, the Romans and Franks in Gaul and the Saxon in Britain, would tend to preserve them pure from the intermixture of foreign elements; and their ancient customs, therefore, gathered into the form of written laws, may be adduced legitimately, not as historical sources, of

course, but as illustrative monuments, in a question of antiquarian research. In the subject embraced in a former part of this note we have an instance in point. Cæsar (l. vi., c. 18) mentions it as a singular custom among the Gauls, that sons were not allowed to appear publicly in the presence of their fathers, until they were of an age to bear arms. By turning to the Welsh laws we shall see that the child was in the *power* of his mother till his seventh year; then, till his fourteenth, under the hand of the priest; and then, till his twenty-first, under the *urth*, or command of a lord, when he first assumed the rights and obligations of a man, and acquired a public *status* or function, which is the probable explanation of Cæsar's statement.

² The state of the Helveti, says Cæsar (Bell. Gall., l. i., c. 12), was divided into four *pagi* (or *kantref*, in the Breton); and, farther on, he speaks of Cantium (l. v., c. 22) as governed by four petty chiefs. This division by four existed among the Galatians of Asia (Strabo, l. xii., c. 4). The *pagi* appear, again, to have contained twelve towns (*oppida*), or at least, such was the case with the Helveti (Cæs., l. i., c. 5) and the Suesiones (ibid., l. ii., c. 4). Among the Welsh, each *cwmwd* (*pagus*) was divided into twelve *maenawr*, or *oppida* (Leges Wall., l. ii., c. 19, § 10). See De Curson (Hist. des Peup. Bret., t. i., p. 86, note).

³ Cæs., Bell. Gall., l. ii., c. 8.

⁴ Ibid., l. iii., c. 8, et ii., 4, i., 5, et al.

pendence.¹ It was only in cases of pressing danger and emergency that all the states acted together, and even then their counsels were liable to be distracted by a factious and turbulent spirit.² Kings appear, at one time, to have ruled over the whole country; but the Gauls, at the advent of the Romans, like the Greeks at the close of the heroic ages, and the Romans themselves after the expulsion of the Tarquins, were averse to a supreme or royal power.³ Nearly all the authority had been concentrated in the assemblies of the nobles or clan-chiefs, who chose their temporary rulers, or fought with each other for the command.⁴ They often overbore all regular authority. Cæsar speaks of one Dumnorigh, or Lord of the Hills, who was more powerful than the magistrates,⁵ and of another, the Or-geto-righ, or Lord of the Hundred Valleys, who, on a certain public occasion, mustered ten thousand vassals (*familia*), besides a number of debtor-bondsmen and retainers.⁶ From these instances we may learn the ability of the magnates to embroil themselves, and to embroil the entire country, in destructive wars. Nor were the incentives of their position usually of a pacific kind: despising labor, which they left to serfs and slaves, destitute of intellectual tastes, which, such as they were, belonged to the priests, they had no outlets for their activity but ostentation, debauchery, and war. Hence the story which Atheneus and Strabo both tell of one Luern, who was in the habit of riding about in a magnificent car, scattering gold and silver to the crowd, and who kept open cisterns of wine, and open tables profusely furnished for the use of every comer;⁷ hence the vast marauding expeditions which, for so many years, harried the entire surface of Europe; and hence, too, the innumerable intestine feuds which produce Gaul before us wasted, wan, and disheveled, even in the youth and outset of its historical career.⁸

¹ Cæs., Bell. Gall., l. v., 39, et l. vi., cc. 4 and 12.

² Livy, l. xxi., c. 20; Cæs., l. i., c. 31, vii., 43; Strabo, l. iv., c. 2.

³ Cæs., l. ii., c. 4, v., 27, 54.

⁴ Ibid., i., 18; ii., 1; v., 20; vii., 4.

⁵ Bell. Gall., l. i., c. 18.

⁶ Ibid., l. i., c. 4. Just as in later times among the Scotch Highlanders, says Niebuhr (Lect. Rom. Hist., v. i., p.

71), the clan Campbell consisted of five thousand armed men, each one of whom called himself the cousin of the chief, the Duke of Argyle.

⁷ Athen., iv., 37; Strab., iv., 2, 3.

⁸ As the allusions of Cæsar to the political government of the Gauls are only incidental, it is difficult to derive from them any clear or systematic view of the constitution. Still see Thierry.

Nor was the priestly order, which participated in the governing power, a fixed restraint upon the other nobles, although it was both strongly organized and influential by means of its superstitions. It consisted of three kinds—bards, prophets, and high-priests, which together formed a sacred association or college of Druids.¹ The bards were the national poets—not only religious, but martial and satiric—who sang to a wild accompaniment of the *rotle* (a kind of harp) the genealogies of the clans, the exploits of heroes, the loveliness of women, and the glories of the gods. Often, as the battle was about to be joined, their voices, lifted above the din of conflict, animated the combatants to the charge.² The vates—prophets or diviners³—were the revealers of the future, as their name imports, and took charge of the sacrifices and of the interpretation of them, as well as of all public ceremonies.

Mingling as a kind of popular branch of the priesthood among the personages, and dealing with the events and relations of domestic life, they ministered between the people and that higher branch, the Druids proper.⁴ These were the real powers—the Coryphei, the Archimagi, the Masters—who, inhabiting the depths of the oak forests, guarded the interior and vital principles of the mystic faith. They were the teachers of youth, some of whom passed twenty years in their novitiate, the monopolizers of knowledge, the depositaries of the will of the gods, having no superior but an arch-Druid, whose office, though supreme, was elective.

Exempt from taxation and imposts, and from every other *its powers.* burden of peace or war,⁵ possessed of their own properties, and operating among a people prone to superstition, the priests were, in addition, endowed with ample and exclusive judicial functions. At a stated period every year, they held their assizes in the country of the Carnutes (Chartres), whither every one was bound to repair who had a cause to prosecute

¹ Strabo, l. iv., c. 4.

² Diodorus Sic., l. v., c. 31.

³ Ammianus (l. xv., c. 9) calls them Euhages, which is doubtless a corruption of the Greek *οἰαρις* = vates.

⁴ The name Druid has been derived from the Kymric *derw*, the Armorican

dera, Gaelic *dair*, and Greek *drus*, all meaning oak. A simpler etymology I find in De Chineac (p. 11, note), who gives *De*, God, and *ra-wydd*, a speaker. *Derawydd*, God's speaker, or a theologian.

⁵ Cæs., Bell. Gall., l. vi., cc. 13–16.

or a remedy to solicit. If any offense had been perpetrated, any murder committed, any inheritance or boundary invaded, the Druids decreed the award or the punishment. All men, whether in a public or private capacity, were compelled to submit to their judgment; nor was there any legal appeal from it, once given. Woe to the man who dared to resist their verdict! They used no force; they did not appeal to the strong arm for the execution of their sentence; but, like the popes of the Middle Ages, they issued against him a ban of excommunication. The unhappy victim of it was thenceforth an outcast and a criminal; no one might communicate with him; he was incapable of office; denied justice when he required it, and even the benignities of the heavens were closed upon him forever.

Affiliated to the male Druids was a class of females also, to *Druidesses*, whom supernatural power was imputed, and who passed for sorceresses.¹ The functions ascribed to them were often whimsical and sometimes licentious. Their worship consisted chiefly in nocturnal rites, when, with their naked bodies stained black, hair disheveled, and torches in hand, they abandoned themselves to transports of fury.² Their favorite retreats were the island of Sena³ and the several nameless islets opposite the mouth of the Loire. One day every year, between sunset and sunrise, they destroyed and rebuilt the roof of their temple; but if any one chanced to let drop a particle of the sacred material, she was torn to pieces amid frantic dances, in which the Greeks saw the rites of their own Bacchantes and the orgies of Samothrace renewed. The Gallic mariner, as he skirted by night the wild reefs of the Armorican seas, often fancied that he heard strange cries and chants, weird melodies, mingling with the wail of the winds and the deep moanings of the waves. On the summit of the misty crags he saw red phantoms gliding, with streaming hair and burning torches, whose flames made the lightnings.⁴ These were the Druidesses weaving their magic spells, healing maladies, raising the elements, consulting the dread spirits of fate, or perhaps waiting to receive the souls of

¹ Strabo, l. c.

² Thierry, l. ii., p. 94.

³ Strabo, l. iv., c. 4. Festus Avienus, *Orbis Periplus*.

⁴ Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. i., p. 50.

the shipwrecked, which the Breton peasant still discerns in the white and fugitive spray, hastening to rejoin their loved and lost companions of the earth.¹

The eye of curiosity strains itself in vain to penetrate the origin and even the belief of these mysterious oak-haunting hierarchs. Guarding their own secrets with more than usual sacerdotal jealousy, they refused to commit their knowledge or their doctrines to writing, while the reports of the ancient foreign writers are both scanty and vague. Were we permitted to give credit to the Welsh traditions, we should learn that they came into Gaul from the East during what is termed the first invasion of the Kymri, and under the lead of Hu-Cadern, or Hu the Mighty.² Nor is it difficult to conceive of their eastern derivation when we regard the many analogies which learned men discover between their supposed doctrines and rites and those of certain Asiatic nations.³ Yet it must be considered, at the same time, that the differences in these cases are quite as many as the resemblances, and scarcely justify the identification of Druidism with any other known form of religion. Even if the analogies were stronger and more numerous than they are, it might still be plausibly contended that the faith of the Keltic races was an indigenous product, springing primarily out of the depths of their own hearts, and modified in a slight degree afterward by the various Phœnician, Carthaginian, Greek, and Roman influences, with which we know the Gauls were assailed.⁴

¹ See the exquisite sketches of the existing superstitions of the Breton peasants and sailors in Souvestre (*Les Derniers Bretons*, t. i., cc. 1-2).

² See *Triads of the Island of Britain*, No. 8, in Williams's *Poems*, vol. ii., appendix.

³ Pictet (*Du Culte des Cabires chez les Anciens Irlandaise*. Geneva, 1824) traces affinities between the Druidical and the Cabiric worships of Samothrace. Extracts from his work are given by Michelet in his *Appendix*. Pelloutier (*Hist. des Celtes*, p. 18) argues that the Druidical and Persian religions were the same. Maurice (*Dissertation on the Origin of the Druids*, in *Indian Antiquities*, vol. vi., part 1) says they were the descendants of a

tribe of Brahmins. The Rev. Wm. Lisle Bowles (*Hermes Britannicus*) likens theirs to the Egyptian faith. Godfrey Higgins (*The Celtic Druids*, page 305. Lond., 1829), in his elaborate work, observes that the Druids held much in common with the Pythagoreans. Nor can the ingenious reader fail to detect some similarities between them and the Aztec priests, as described by Prescott (*Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i., c. 8). A philosophical discussion of Druidism, much lauded by the French critics, is to be found in the *Encyclopédie Nouvelle*, article *Druidisme*, by Reynaud. I have not seen it, but I understand that he compares Druidism with Zoroasterism.

⁴ See the article on the Worship of Isis, by the Abbé de Fontena (*Mém.*

What was characteristic in Druidism, according to Higgins,¹ in all ages and nations—for he discovers traces of it in Hindostan, Persia, Syria, Arabia, Greece, Italy, and wherever else his supposititious children of Gomar wandered and settled—was the adoration of one Supreme Being, the belief of the metempsychosis, and of a future state of rewards and punishments, the hatred of images, the use of open circular temples, the worship of fire as the emblem of the sun, the celebration of the most ancient Tauric festival, and the possession of a seventeen-letter alphabet, although their instructions were always orally given.

If the Druids, however, believed in but one Supreme God, the Gauls adjoined to him a multitude of inferior deities, to whom, from the functions ascribed to them, such as presiding in heaven, ruling war, teaching the arts, warding off diseases, protecting travelers, etc., the Romans found it easy to give the names of their own Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Apollo, and Minerva.² Tarann, who was the Keltic god of thunder,³ was identified with Jupiter; Hesus, god of battles and the vanquisher of giants and darkness, became Mars;⁴ Teutates, or Theut,⁵ the inventor of the arts and guardian of roads and commerce, was easily assimilated to Mercury; Belenus, or Bel, the sun or fire god,⁶ was the Gallic Apollo; and Belisanna, his companion, mistress of the heavens, was Romanized into Minerva.⁷ There was, moreover, a Gallic Hêracles, named Og-

de l'Académ. des Inscript. et Belles Lettres, t. 7).

¹ Celtic Druids, p. 305, and *passim*.

² Cæs., de Bell. Gall., l. vi., c. 17. All the passages concerning the Druids to be found in the classic writers are collected by Dom Bouquet (Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum Scriptores, vol. 1).

³ Taran, in Welsh, means thunder.

⁴ Cæs. (l. c.); Lucan, l. i., v. 446; Florus, l. ii., c. 4; Aul. Gell., Noct. Atticæ, l. xvi., c. 6; Macrob., Saturnal., l. vi., c. 9. A bas-relief, found under the Church of Notre Dame, at Paris, in 1711, represents Hesus half naked, crowned with leaves, and with an axe cutting down a tree. Montfaucon, Ant. Explic., t. ii., cc. 1-5.

⁵ The name of this deity is perhaps

descended from *Tuantes* of the Phœnicians, or the *Teutat* of the Carthaginians. As late as the time of Nero a famous Gallic sculptor, Zenodorus, employed six years in making a statue of this god, which cost forty millions of sesterces (Pliny, l. xxxiv., c. 7).

⁶ Bel recalls the Bel or Baal, the sun-god of the Babylonians. The Druids kindled fires upon the *cairns* on May-day eve, in honor of *Beal*, or *Bealan* (the sun), and the day still retains in Ireland the name of *Bealtain*, or Beal's fire-day. (Toland, Hist. of the Druids, let. xi., pp. 101-104.)

⁷ Minerva-Belisanna appears in an inscription found in Novempopulania. (Ampère, t. i., p. 90, note.) There was a Syrian god Belisama.

mius,¹ who was no longer a god of brute strength, but of that moral force which resides in eloquence, and who was represented as a venerable old man armed with mace and bow, and drawing the crowd after him by golden chains which passed from his tongue to their ears.² But the Gauls, in fact, like all other wild and deep-feeling primitive people, to whom nature was new and wonderful, flashing in forever upon their childlike minds its beautiful and awful forms, saw a preternatural life in every object, and divinized the mountains, the woods, the lakes, the rocks, and the trees. Every dear locality, and towns and cities even, had their animating genii: Kirk rode upon the black north; Leucotetia 'inspired' Lutetia (Paris); Rhot was adored at Rouen; Pennia frequented the high Alps; the lovely Arduinna the Ardennes, and Namus uttered oracles at Namur.³ Especially sacred to the Gaul—taught, perhaps, by his Druids—were the obscure depths of the oak forest, and the gloomy reverence with which he contemplated them seems to have passed into the soul of the Latin poet, who shudders as he describes a consecrated wood.⁴

"Behold," sings Lucan, "the forest, inviolate for ages, where the interwoven branches canopy the dark air, and cold shadows repel the sun. The rural Pans, the gentle Sylvans, and the wood-nymphs inhabit them no more, driven away by horrid barbaric rites, and altars streaming with frightful holocausts. Every tree has been washed in human blood; the birds will not light upon the branches, nor the wild beast lie down in its lairs, nor the winds blow through the trees, nor the lightning descend to dispel the noisome damps. A black stream murmurs from a thousand fountains, and huge and unformed trunks are the horrible images of the gods." "Tradition, relates how the earth often shakes, and the deep caverns groan, and the jews bend and rise of a sudden, and the woods, with-

¹ Ogham was the name of the Irish letters, or alphabet, and meant science or mystery. (Toland, l. c.)

² Lucian, in *Hercul. Gallico*; *Amm. Marcell.*, l. xv., c. 9. See *Mém. de l'Académ. des Inscip. et Belles Lettres*, t. x., p. 104.

³ *Max. Tyr.*, *Serm.* 18. *Seneca*,

Quæst. Nat., l. ii., c. 17. *Gruter*, *Collect. Inscriptionum*, pp. 94, 110, *et al.* As late as the time of Gregory of Tours (*De Gloriâ Confessorum*, c. 2), the Gallic peasants worshiped the lakes.

⁴ *Lucan*, *Pharsal.*, l. iii., v. 399 *et seq.*

out burning, shine with flames of fire, and the dragons glide along the roots. The religion of the people forbids them to approach it; it is given up to their divinities; and, whether Phœbus shines or the shadowy night veils the heavens, even the priest fears to penetrate the dwelling of his god."

In the sombre hues of this picture there is, perhaps, some poetic exaggeration; for the same author and others relate how the Gaul cherished a firm and cheerful faith in the immortality of the soul,¹ which the priests had intellectualized into an Indian-like scheme of metempsychosis; or rather, as Ampère suggests, into a metasomatosiis, or eternal change of bodies.² The life beyond the tomb was not for him the sad, pale, quasi-nothingness of the Roman elysium, but an immortal region, where he was destined to enjoy, in fullness of happiness, the passions and pursuits which had been his delight on earth. There the warrior would renew his battles, the hunter chase the wolf, the clansman serve his chief, and the priest instruct his faithful.³ It was reported, indeed, that the simple-minded Gaul carried his credulity to the point of depositing letters on the graves of his friends, to be read in another world, that he contracted debts to be paid after his own death, and that he sometimes sacrificed the kindred and servants of the deceased upon his bier in order to keep him company.⁴

But in the more scientific conceptions of the Druids this faith in the future life took the shape of a belief in a series of progressive *courses* through which the spirit passed in its ascent from the lowest animal to its final incorporation in the human form. Arrived at this stage, the choice of good and evil was presented to it, and, accordingly as it exercised this responsibility, it returned after death either to the body of reptile or brute, to reassume the *course* of probation, or to the circle of felicity, where it would experience unending joys.⁵

The great moral object of Druidism, as expressed by itself, was "to reform morals, to secure peace, and to encourage goodness;" and, as conducive to these ends, it in-

¹ Lucan, v., 460-462. Pomp. Mela, iii., 2; Cas., vi., 14.

² Hist. Lit., t. i., c. 2, p. 42.

³ See Thierry (Hist. des Gaulois, t. ii., p. 81).

⁴ Diodor. Sic., l. v., p. 308; Mela, l. iii., c. 2.

⁵ See the Welsh Triads and writings of the Bards. (Davies, Celtic Researches, 245 et seq.)

culcated "obedience to the laws of the god, concern for the welfare of others, and fortitude under the accidents of life."¹ But these unexceptionable principles were overlaid, it seems to me, by a mass of pernicious superstitions and pretenses. They discoursed, says Cæsar, of the hidden nature of things, of the extent of the universe and the earth, of the forms and movements of the stars, of the virtues of plants, of the secret forces which control the order of events, and of the essence, power, and actions of the immortal gods.² Some knowledge of the movements of the heavenly bodies, beyond what pertained to the regulation of their festivals, they appear to have had;³ they composed the year by lunations, which supposes an acquaintance with the solar year;⁴ and this again supposes a degree of familiarity with mathematics and numbers. Eloquence, it is to be presumed, they cultivated, inasmuch as they had a god of eloquence, and in order to maintain a persuasive influence among the people; and to music they devoted a distinct corporation. But their medical and physical science generally I can make nothing of more than a medley of astrology, divination, magic, and a rude knowledge of plants as simples. Yet, it may be, in all such cases, that our ignorance, not theirs, is at fault. No one is permitted to say that falsehood or imposture alone lie concealed in doctrines which are to him inscrutable. Like many other mystic sects, the Druids possessed their mysterious rhynn, or language of the initiated, which might have appeared significant to them, although to others only fantastic. Retaining, perhaps, from earlier times, some broken fragments of the great mirror of correspondence which the Scandinavian seer assures us reflects the glories and shames of the interior world, they may have discerned in the trees, and shrubs, and leaves, and flowers, to which they paid so profound a reverence, the expressive symbols of deep spiritual truths.

¹ Triads, 171, 182, in Davies. It is confirmatory of this that Diogenes Laërtius says their practice was controlled by three precepts: "To worship the gods, to do no evil, and behave courageously" (Proem., p. 5).

² Cæsar, l. vi., c. 14; Mela, l. iii., c. ii.; Plin., l. xvi., c. 44.

³ Freret (Mém. de l'Académ. des Inscrip., etc., t. xviii., p. 226).

⁴ Curious Druidical relics found in Ireland are plainly astronomical instruments designed to show the phases of the moon. (Sir William Betham, in Transactions Roy. Irish Acad.)

But, whatever their unknown wisdom, whatever goodness or truth lurked in their mystic lore, the system of the Want of vitality in Druidism. Druids was not of enduring vitality. It speedily passed away, leaving no memorials save a vague and hazy tradition, and certain rude unshapen stones (if they were Druidical) which have for us no meaning.¹ The imagination is impressed by those huge monoliths (menhirs), which, like the Egyptian obelisks, rise forty or fifty feet perpendicularly into the air; by those immense horizontal stones poised upon others which are upright (dolmen), by those vast ranges of pillars (cromlechs), which seem like the broken columns of some giant's temple; and it easily connects them with the rites and superstitions of a primeval religion.² It is easy to fancy that from the lofty summit of one the midsummer fires blazed, that on the surface of another the victims were offered by white-robed hierophants, who divined the future from the palpitating entrails, and that through the sinuous avenues of others the pompous processions wound, as they advanced to the bloody human sacrifices which, amid wild songs and frantic clamors, were devoted to the offended gods; and yet for all this we should have little other authority than conjecture.

The Druids for a time, doubtless, wielded a very great power; they had seized with tenacity upon the popular mind; The lingering bards. and yet they do not appear to have been able to organize Gaul, or to produce any well-rounded civilization, like some of the Oriental priesthoods. Of their several orders, the bards alone survived the conquering energy of pagan, the persuasive zeal of Christian Rome. The spirit of poetry and song was stronger in the Gallic heart than the spirit of theology or science. Long after the last priest had disappeared from the earth, wherever an offshoot of the old Keltic race remained, in Wales, in Ireland, in Scotland, the office of the bard was continued, even up to a recent period,³ while in Brittany, to this

¹ It is now, I believe, the general belief of the antiquarians that the "Druidical stones" were not peculiar to the Druids, inasmuch as they are found in several parts of Europe and Asia; but I have no knowledge on this subject, nor have I been able to investigate it.

² It is remarkable that Cæsar, who

for ten years traversed and encamped in Gaul, and who was in intimate relations with many of the Druids, makes no mention of these curious monuments, with which the soil of France is still covered.

³ Sharon Turner (*Hist. Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iii., appendix) proves the suc-

day, the wandering minstrel still perpetuates his function and his fame.¹

cession of the bards from century to century.

¹ Villemarqué (*Barzaz-Breiz*, *Chants Populaires de la Bretagne*, t. i.), and

Emile Souvestre (*Les Derniers Bretons*, t. i.). See also Walker (*Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*).

CHAPTER III.

EARLIEST INROADS OF THE ROMANS IN GAUL.

THE Romans, as I have said in the first chapter, were two hundred years in expelling the Gauls from the Cisalpine; and, once in possession of the north of Italy, they had yet to cross the formidable barrier of the Alps to reach the enemy in his original home. This was an undertaking not easily accomplished; for the lithe and sinewy Ligurians of the mountains, falling upon them suddenly like the torrents, and dissipating as suddenly like the mists, long baffled and thwarted their efforts. Yet these tribes were at last subdued in the midst of their icy and rocky defiles, and then the Massaliotes invited Rome to a more important conquest.

Massalia, after the signal service rendered it by the marauding hordes of Bellovese, is reported to have received a large accession of inhabitants, in the shape of fugitive colonists from the parent state.² Cyrus, King of Persia, besieging Phokæa with an overwhelming force, the entire population took secret leave,³ and sought safety, either in piratic excursions along the shores of the Mediterranean, or in joining their forces to those of their fellow-countrymen in Gaul.⁴ The wealth and maritime power which the latter acquired by this means gave a strong impetus to their prosperity. Their industry increased, dry-docks and armories were built, and their trade with the interior expanded. A timocracy, founded upon family and wealth, conducted a government which Cicero in his day called an admirable republic, although he confesses that the people under it were in a state bordering upon servitude.⁵ The sovereignty resided in an assembly of six hundred magistrates,⁶ of whom fifteen formed an executive council.⁷ Their laws were

¹ Tit. Liv. Epit., ll. xlv. et liii.

² De Repub., i., 27-28, and Orat.

³ See Raoul Rochette (Hist. des Colonies Grecques, t. iii., p. 420).

pro Flacco, 26.

⁴ Valer. Maxim., l. ii., c. 6.

⁵ Herodot., l. i., c. 165.

⁶ Cæs., de Bell. Civ., i., 35; Strabo,

⁷ Pliny, l. iii., c. 5; Aul. Gell., x. 16. l. iv., c. 1, § 6.

rigid and arbitrary, but at Rome, in the time of the Second Punic War, "Massalian manners" was a phrase synonymous with affability and honesty.¹ The Ephesian Artemis, the Delphian Apollo, and Athénê were the chosen deities, under whose tutelary care the young city advanced rapidly in numbers, in opulence, and in the arts and sciences. It was a Massaliote grammarian who put forth one of the earliest and most correct editions of the Homeric poems;² the Massaliote Pytheas, a contemporary of Alexander,³ determined the latitude of his native place, and prosecuted voyages, quite miraculous for that age, as far as the mouth of the Tanais in one direction, and to the Scandinavian peninsula in another;⁴ and his compatriot, Eurythemenes, explored the western coasts of Africa.⁵ Massaliote schools of learning must have taken early root, since we find them under the Romans attracting scholars in preference to Athens.⁶ But that gay mobility of mind and ever-wakeful spirit of inquiry which Humboldt ascribes to the Ionics⁷ was mainly displayed by the Massalotes in their colonizing enterprises. Their establishments extended from the Carthaginian settlements in Spain on the west to the frontiers of Rome on the east, embracing among others the flourishing towns of Monœkus, Nikœa, Antipolis, Athenopolis, Olbia, Tauroentum, Rhodanusia, Agathê Tychê, Rhoda, Halonis, Dianium, and the islands of the Stœchades.⁸ In the interior of Gaul, by cultivating friendly relations with the natives, they spread their shops along the banks of most of the principal rivers, whence they taught the natives in trades, in the use of weights and measures, and of the characters of the Greek alphabet.⁹ On the Mediterranean,

¹ Plantus, *Casin.*, Act. v., Scene 4.

² Wolff (Prolegom. in Homer, p. 175).

³ *Mém. de l'Academ. des Inscript. et Belles Lettres*, t. xix., p. 148.

⁴ Schöning (Abhandlung der Allgemeine Weltgeschichte, v. 31, ed. Halle, 1826), who says that Pytheas went as far north as Theilmark in Norway. His two works, a Description of the Ocean and a Periplus, are unfortunately lost. (Mannert, *Geog.*, v. i., p. 73.) Strabo and other ancient authorities are disposed to ridicule the

"traveler's tales" of Pythias; but Grote (*Hist. Greece*, v. xiii., last chapter) bears witness to the probable value of his lost writings.

⁵ Seneca, *Nat. Quæst.*, iv., 2.

⁶ Strab., l. iv., c. 1, § 5. Tacitus informs us that Agricola was sent there to be educated. (See *Agric.*, c. 4.)

⁷ Kosmos, vol. ii., p. 143, Am. ed.

⁸ Plin., l. iv., c. 4; Strab., l. c.

⁹ Cæs., de Bell. Gall., l. i., c. 29, vi. 14; comp. Ampère, *Hist. Litt.*, t. i., c., Ampère ascribes great influence to Hellenic genius in Gaul; but Michelet

also, they bore off the trophies of war from their powerful rivals of Carthage.¹

Massalia early allied herself to the Romans, and during the Punic wars rendered them effective service,² for which she was paid, after the fall of Carthage, by the rich harvests reaped from the commerce of the whole West. Indeed, she then attained her highest pitch of glory; wherever the Roman eagles penetrated, her adventurous traders followed; the wealth of the world flowed into her coffers; and she might long have continued her successful career, but for that scourge of all ancient peoples, war.

Wishing to extend their possessions, the Massaliotes encroached upon the territories of their Ligurian neighbors, Rome assists Massalia, B.C. 154-129. the Oxybes and the Deceates, and provoked a reprisal upon the settlements of Antipolis and Nikœa. Being hard pressed, they then besought the assistance of their former friends, the Romans, who defeated the Ligurians, and handed over their lands, as far as the river Var, to Massalia.³ Twenty-nine years later, they once more asked Roman aid against the fierce tribes of the Salurii, and the Roman senate, doubtless glad of an opportunity to get rid of Fulvius Flaccus, a friend of the Gracchi, who was then prosecuting a reform of the elective franchise, sent him to their defense. For two years he carried fire and sword into the country of the Salurians, when he was succeeded by C. Sextius Calvinus, proconsul, who completed their subjection. Many of them were sold into slavery, their villages were sacked, and their poor outlawed chief, Teuto-mal, was obliged to seek refuge among the Allobrogiens, be-

thinks it has been exaggerated. According to the witness of Strabo, Ammianus, Lucian, and others, Ampère is the more nearly right; but when he refers the peculiar genius of Racine, Fénelon, La Fontaine, Massillon, and André Chénier to any direct remains of this influence, he rather strains the point. Fauriel (*De l'Origine de l'Epopée Chevaleresque*, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1832) takes better ground, in tracing certain kinds of Provençal poetry, and certain customs, traditions, and superstitions of southern Gaul to

Grecian sources. There was a considerable number of Greek words in the popular Provençal dialect of the middle ages.

¹ Thucyd., l. i., c. 13; Justin, l. xliii., c. 5.

² Cicero, *Philipp.*, viii., 6. Justin relates that these services date from the time of the sacking of Rome by the Gauls, but the story is deemed fictitious.

³ Polyb., *Excerpt. de Legat.*, l. xxxiii., c. 4.

yond the Isara.¹ But on this occasion the Romans did not go home after they had succeeded. Sextius remained in Gaul over winter; and as schemes of colonization were then the fashion at Rome, where an absorbing discussion of the policy of the agrarian laws was going on, he selected a site for a new colony, on the little river Cænus, near some thermal waters, giving to it the name of *Aque Sextie*.² It was the first Roman colony established beyond the Alps, and is now the city of Aix in Provence.

Among the native tribes of Gaul an implacable enmity had long subsisted between the Æduans and the Allobrogi-
Rome interferes with the natives, B.C. 129 to B.C. 121. ans; and the Massaliotes, for secret purposes of their own, persuaded the former to seek an alliance with the Romans. The Æduans did so, and were soon pleased to see themselves dignified formally as "the friends and allies of the Roman people."³ Now, as the Allobrogi-
 ans had given shelter to Teutomal, the Consul Domitius, who succeeded Sextius, demanded his delivery from them, adding, at the same time, that they must cease to trespass upon the lands of the Æduans.⁴ The Allobrogi-
 ans, properly resenting this piece of insolence, replied with a defiance, and prepared for war. Their friends, the sturdy mountaineers of Arvernia, endeavored, through the agency of their king, Biteuth,⁵ to effect a reconciliation; but Domitius, without listening to his whimsical embassy, which consisted of several cavaliers dressed in gold and purple, a chorus of bards, and a train of enormous bull-dogs,⁶ fell at once upon the Allobrogi-
 ans, and beat them at Sindalium, near the present Avignon.⁷ Biteuth had therefore no other recourse than to assume the cause and quarrel of his clients.

A numerous army of Arvernians, Allobrogi-
 ans, and other friendly tribes, was concentrated near the confluence of the Isara and the Rhone. Domitius, with his two legions of twenty thousand men, was joined by Fabius, grandson of Paulus Æmilius, with another twenty thousand, and together they ad-

¹ Livy, Epit., l. lxi.

² Ibid., id., and Strab., l. iv., c. 1; Velleius Paterculus, l. i., c. 15.

³ Livy, *ibid*.

⁴ Florus, l. iii., c. 2.

⁵ *Bitusius* in Livy and Florus, *Bitus* in Strabo, and *Betultus* in Valer. Maximus.

⁶ Appian, Fulv. Ursin.

⁷ Livy, l. c.

vanced to the encounter. Biteuth, as he paraded before his hordes in a magnificent chariot of silver, boasted that the Romans were scarcely a meal for his dogs,¹ and it seemed likely to prove so in the battle which ensued; for the Arvernians had almost won the day, when Domitius ordered a charge of elephants, and the sight of those monstrous brutes, known only to the simple-minded Gauls from the traditions of Hannibal's transit through their country, threw them into a panic. Attempting to escape by means of the bridges they had thrown over the streams, those frail structures broke, and men and horses were drowned by thousands. An indescribable slaughter was carried on among the rest. Biteuth, the king, barely escaped with his life into the mountains, and it is estimated that one hundred and fifty thousand men perished.² All the lands of the Allobrogi, extending from Geneva, on Lake Lemman, to the Rhone, as far south as the Durance, and comprising the modern provinces of Dauphiny, Provence, and parts of Languedoc, were reduced to Roman possessions.³ As for the poor King Biteuth, after endeavoring in vain to rally his scattered forces, he was inveigled into the hands of Domitius by a gross piece of treachery, and sent to Rome among the trophies.⁴

The object of the Massaliotes, it is supposed, in promoting an alliance of the Æduans with the Romans, and the consequent conquest of the Allobrogi and others, was to obtain for themselves a larger territory along the sea-coast, in which object, if they entertained it, their ambition overshot its mark. The Romans, in consenting to play the lion's part, were determined also to take the lion's share. They did not push their conquests among the Arvernians—either fearing to assail these fierce warriors in their native hills, or perhaps deeming it wiser to open a way across Gaul to their possessions in Spain—but they routed, one by one, the tribes to the southwest of the Rhone. The Helvii, the Volcæ-Arecomicæ, perhaps the Sardones, were subdued, and the whole region from the Alps to the Pyrenees was declared a Roman prov-

¹ Florus, l. iii., c. 2.

² Orosius, l. v., cc. 13-14; Livy (Epit., l. c.) has 120,000.

³ Florus, t. iii., c. 2. Compare Niebuhr, Lectures, vol. ii., p. 314.

⁴ Valer. Max., l. vi., c. 9. The Roman Senate was disgusted at the treachery, but did not send him back. He was banished to Alba, near Lake Fucinus, now Albi.

ince.¹ Massalia was soon compelled to see a formidable commercial rival rising almost at its gates, in a new colony founded by Marcius Rex at the city of Narbo, on the Atax (Aude).² By turning the river from its bed, connecting it with the sea, and diking the vast Rubrensian lakes (*l'Etang de Buge* and *l'Etang de Sigean*), a capital harbor was formed, which in process of time diverted trade from Massalia, became the chief city of the whole transalpine province, and succeeded to the influence over the native people which the Greeks had formerly exercised.³ All the utilities and splendors of the Roman civilization were gradually transferred to it: temples, bridges, porticoes, baths, and amphitheatres presented a little image of the mother city, while the various political devices of senates, curia, and legions, assisted in completing the resemblance.⁴

But, while the Romans were thus sedulously pushing their plans of conquest in southern Gaul, an event "as immense and appalling as a second deluge" came to arrest their progress and to threaten even Italy with ruin. A mighty horde of barbarians, who called themselves Kymri and Teutones,⁵ and who, according to the later Roman

Descent of the
Kymri and
Teutones, B.C.
113-105.

¹ B.C. 118 is the usual date, but the precise time of this is unknown. We have no longer Livy to guide us—only a few wretched epitomes. Massalia, with its possessions, being independent, was not included in the Province. (Plin., l. iii., c. 4.)

² Vell. Paterc., l. i., c. 15; Polyb., iii., 39; Avienus (v. 585) makes Narbo a capital city of the unknown tribe of Elysykes. It was early colonized and enlarged by the Romans.

³ After the legion *Martia* was settled there it was called *Narbo-Martius*, then *Narbona*, now *Narbonne*.

⁴ Sdonius Apollinaris (Carm., xxiii.), as late as his time, describes it as flourishing.

⁵ As to who or what these Kymri were, there seems to be no longer any doubt among the ethnologists. They were Kelts from the northeast of Gaul: but the Teutones, were they Kelts or Germans? If Germans, how came they

in such close alliance with the Kelts? If not Germans, whence the name, which was a native name of the German race? Niebuhr (Lectures Rom. Hist., vol. ii., p. 328) says, "It is as certain that they were Germans as that the Kymri were Kelts," and he founds this opinion upon their name, and the name of their leader, Teutoboc. But the word Teuton is not necessarily of German origin; for, in the Irish, a dialect of the Celtic, *tuath* or *toth* means the north, and *an* means man, so that *tuath-an*, easily mistaken for Teuton, may have designated merely a North-man, or man from the north (Mone, *Celtische Forschungen*, p. 333). Again: the name given by Florus to the Teuton king, *Teutoboccus*, was Celtic, according to Latham (Germania, Appendix 3d). Besides, the weapon they used, called the *cateias* (Virgil, *Æneid*, vii., 741), was the Celtic spear, and the majority of the ancient writers considered them Kelts.

stories, had been expelled from the shores of the Baltic¹ by inundations of the sea, were spreading themselves, in torrents more desolating than the waves they fled, over the north and centre of Europe. Three hundred thousand warriors, bearing with them their wives, their children, and their old men, composed this fearful host. The Romans encountered them first on the northern frontiers of Istria (Noricum), where (B.C. 113) a Roman army, under Papirius Carbo, was speedily overwhelmed.² Then, after ravaging the country from the Danube to the Adriatic,³ they turned westward, and, taking with them fifty thousand Tigurines, Thugenes, and Ambrones from Switzerland,⁴ they poured upon Rhenan Gaul (B.C. 111). Such were the devastations they committed that the country people fled for shelter into the towns, where soon the overcrowded multitudes were compelled to feed on their fellows whom age or feebleness disqualified for the common defense.⁵ On the borders of the Transalpine province alone they stopped for a moment (B.C. 109), awed, perhaps, by the greatness of the power whose legions had met them along the whole line of their march from Illyria to the Rhone. They besought Consul Silanus, the colleague of Metellus, to give them lands;⁶ but the Roman governor replied by giving them battle, and was most disastrously worsted.⁷ Next they would have ravaged the entire Province, had not the native tribes assisted the Romans. Even as it was (B.C. 107), a second Roman army, in two divisions, commanded by Consul Cassius Longinus and his lieutenant, Scaurus, came to arrest their course, and only shared the fate of its predecessor.⁸ The consul was killed, the greater part of the troops slain, and the rest passed under the yoke.

Three successive defeats, in so signal a manner, of fully-

¹ Strab. (l. ii., c. 3, § 6, et l. vii., c. 2, § 1). The original locality of the Kymri, like the ethnology of the Teutones, has been a subject of much dispute. The common opinion is that they came from Jutland; but many high authorities doubt this, among the rest both Niebuhr and Latham. If they did come from Jutland, the cause assigned for their expulsion, inundations, is not so absurd as Strabo imagines. See M.

Hoff (cited by Malte Brun, *Geog.*, *Introduction*, c. 3).

² Liv., *Epit.*, lxxiii.

³ Vell. Paterc., l. ii., cc. 8-12.

⁴ Plut. (in *Vitâ Marii*).

⁵ Cæs., *Bell. Gall.*, l. vii., c. 77.

⁶ Florus, l. iii., c. 5; Liv., *Epit.*, 65, 67.

⁷ The place of this battle can not be determined.

⁸ Orosius, l. v., c. 15.

Revenge of the Tectosagians, B.C. 104-104. equipped Roman armies turned the thoughts of the barbarians to the other side of the Alps, and already they were beginning to debate in their councils the distribution of the spoils of Italy. The same causes aroused also the vigilance and energy of the Roman Senate, and two new consular armies, under Proconsul Q. Servilius Cæpio, who was the governor of the Province, and the new consul, Cn. Mallius, were immediately levied to meet the emergency. These might have been successful, but for an occurrence that repulsed and exasperated those native tribes which thus far had seen a common enemy of themselves and the Romans in the Kymro-Teutons. Governor Cæpio, in an evil moment, invading the territory of the Tectosages, plundered their city of Tolosa, one of the sacred cities of Gaul, within whose walls and lakes a superstitious piety had deposited immense treasures as offerings to the gods.¹ This desecration aroused all the ferocity of the barbaric heart. The Tectosagians, whether alone or in junction with the Kymri does not appear,² fell upon the legions of Cæpio and Mallius, and of eighty thousand soldiers and forty thousand camp-followers left but ten men to tell the tale.³ All were slain—Roman legions, Roman allies, Roman servants—down to the Roman horses and beasts of burden; the captives were hung upon the trees; the very baggage was hacked into pieces, and not a remnant of any thing Roman was suffered to affront the sun.⁴ It was then that the hordes plundered the Province at will, leaving it as stripped and bare as all the rest of Gaul which they had visited.⁵

The report of this bloody vengeance filled Italy with consternation.⁶ Ever since the defeat of Papirius Carbo Marius in Gaul, B.C. 164-102. the popular terror had been gathering before the inroads of these savage descendants of the Gauls who long ago had

¹ Aul. Gell., l. iii., c. 9. Cæpio carried off, it is said, a hundred thousand pounds' weight of gold, and ten thousand of silver (Oros., l. v., c. 15); but Justin (l. xxxii., c. 8) makes it even more. "Toulousan gold" became afterward a proverb for ill-gotten gains.

² It is not likely they were alone, but the accounts are very blind.

³ These are the numbers of Livy,

Epit., lxxvii., and Orosius (v. 16), which Niebuhr thinks exaggerated.

⁴ This battle was fought near the Rhone, on the 6th of October. Cæpio and Mallius were not on good terms with each other, and by that contributed to the defeat. See Dio. Cassius (Excerpt. ab Henrico Valesio, p. 631).

⁵ Liv., Epit., lxxvii.

⁶ Eutropius, l. ii., c. 1.

conquered on the Allia and sacked the capitol. The usual portents of calamity—the burning cressets, the shields of fire, the clashing arms—began to people again, as of old, the superstitious heavens.¹ With the Roman, however, fear was less a paralysis of action than an impulse to it; yet, who was the man for the crisis? Popular instinct at once discerned him in Caius Marius, then serving gloriously against Jugurtha in Africa; for he was himself a man of the people, who had followed the plow on the Volscian mountain side,² who had often borne the brunt of battle as a common soldier, who, without family, without patronage, without the fashionable culture or the fashionable vices of his day, while stemming the scorn and derision of the nobles, by the force of his genius as a general and a statesman, by the integrity of a character “massive and columnar in all its proportions,” and by his sturdy defense of plebeian interests against patrician insolence, had raised himself to the first dignity of the state. Cool, blunt, rigid, self-centred, yet capable of prodigious displays of energy, he had shown himself as remarkable for the art with which he fortified camps and managed campaigns as for fearless prowess on the field of battle.³ The nation, therefore, putting aside its constitutional forms, that he might be made consul a second time, immediately, and in his absence, hailed him as its probable savior.

Marius exerted all his energy in organizing a suitable army.

His preparations.

The inroads of slavery having already extinguished the yeomen of Italy, he was obliged to add to the veteran legions that remained a rabble from the stews of the cities. In a short time he had disciplined this uncombed mass into both obedience and valor. The old soldiers, who looked with contempt upon “Marius’s mules,” as they stigmatized his raw recruits, speedily discovered that they must themselves look to their laurels in a comparison. And thus sustained, he repaired to Gaul, where he made his dispositions with the calm foresight and indomitable will which in early youth had won for him the flattering prognostications of Scipio.

¹ Plutarch (in Mario).

² Juvenal, vii., vv. 245–258.

³ Nieb. (Lectures, vol. ii., p. 325).

One rejoices to see this eminent man rise superior to the stereotyped preju-

dices of history in estimating the character of Marius, but even he appears to me to exaggerate the bitterness and cruelty of the man during the exasperations of his later years.

Had the Kymri and Teutones followed up the victory won by the natives at Tolosa, they might have possessed themselves of the whole Province, and been in a position to execute their designs against Italy; but with the light and reckless disposition of nomads, they allowed themselves to be diverted into Spain, where they passed two years in fruitless contests with the Keltiberians. This was precisely such a vacation as Marius required, and he passed the interval in preparing to receive the barbarians when they might return. He awaited them at the junction of the Isère and the Rhone; but when they came they evinced no purpose of immediate attack. On the contrary, they separated from each other, in the design, apparently, of marching upon Italy from two different points, the Kymri going north along the foot of the Alps toward Noricum, and the Teutones, with the Ambrones, seeking to cross them by the southern or maritime passes. Marius, in order to intercept the latter movement, raised his camp, hastened toward the sea, and intrenched himself in a position covering the only two practicable routes into Italy. The Ambro-Teutones followed rapidly upon his heels, and as they reached him, defiling before his lines for six whole days, they mocked and jeered at his men, shouting out, "Have you any word to send your wives in Italy? We shall be with them soon." The policy of Marius, in view of their superior numbers, was to reserve his force, in order either to weary out their patience, or to provoke an attack when he might best turn it to advantage. But it was as much as he could do, amid the repeated provocations and taunts of the enemy, to restrain the indignant fury of his legions. At length, on the little river Coenus, near Aix, a preliminary skirmish between two parties, which had gone to the stream for water and to bathe, brought on a more general engagement, in which the Ambrones, the principal combatants, were driven in among their wagons, where the darkness of night alone interrupted a fearful slaughter.

A final conflict, it was now clear, could be no longer delayed. All through the subsequent night the Roman camp exhibited a busy scene of preparation, interrupted only by starts of expectation or panic. The imperturbable general himself trembled lest the battle should be renewed dur-

Defeat of the
Teutones.

ing the darkness, while the camp of the enemy resounded incessantly with hideous howlings, "more like the roar of wild beasts than the cries of men," mingled with the sobs and sighs of the women who mourned their dead. However, no assault was made that night, nor the next day, till the dawn of the second morning, when Marius, from the hillock he occupied, ordered his cavalry to charge upon the plain. The vigor and ferocity of the encounter that ensued is best told in the result. A hundred and fifty thousand barbarians lay dead on the field.¹ Their hosts were, in fact, annihilated. The remains of the killed, left to rot upon the soil, lent to it a ghastly fertility and the name of the Putrid Plains; and it is told that in long-after years the vine-dressers of the Rhone sides were accustomed still to prop their stalks with the bones.² Great indeed was the joy of Rome over such a victory. Marius was proclaimed consul for the fifth time, and every other honor would have been heaped upon him but that, confiding in his destiny and anticipating a still higher glory, he would not repair to Rome, but hastened to the northern frontier of the peninsula, where the proconsul, Catulus, was striving to keep back the Kymric branch of the barbarians.

These, having reached the Tyrolean Alps, left the Zurichers to defend the passes of the Brenner, and then descended themselves as far south as the Athesis.³ The soldiers of Catulus with astonishment and affright saw them sporting naked amid the snow-wreaths of the mountains, or sliding on their bucklers down the most precipitous descents.⁴ Their courage oozed at the prospect before them, and they retreated behind the Padus (Po), leaving the wealth and luxuries of their country an easy prey to the foe. But the new wine, the warm bread, and the melting suns were about to prove to him, in his unrestricted appetite, more formidable antagonists than the legions of Catulus, when Marius arrived to complete the pernicious work of self-indulgence and of climate. As he halted, the Kymri sent a deputation to him to ask lands both for themselves and their

¹ Plutarch says 100,000. Livy has 200,000 killed and 90,000 prisoners. Eutropius very nearly agrees with this, but Velleius Paterculus has 150,000 slain, and is probably most nearly right.

² Plutarch (in Mario). The modern village of Pourrière is supposed to have been named from the *Champs-Pourri*.

³ Now the Adige.

⁴ Florus, l. i., c. 8.

brothers, the Teutones (of whose extinction they had not yet heard).¹ Marius replied, with sardonic irony, "Oh! don't trouble yourselves about the Teutones; they have land enough, which they are likely to keep forever!" Perceiving that he dissembled some jest, the envoys of the Kymri threatened him with the consequences of a speedy arrival of the Teutones. "The Teutones," he rejoined, somewhat dramatically; "they are here already;" and he caused several of their captured chiefs to be brought forth. Nothing daunted by the discovery of a fact which was now but too apparent, the envoys retired to consult their people, who then sent a second embassy to him to ask him to appoint the place where and the time when it should be decided to whom Italy belonged. Answering that Rome did not counsel with her enemies as to the time or place in which she might choose to defend herself, he yet condescended to indicate to them the third day thereafter, and the Rhaudian Plain, near Vicellæ,² as the fitting place and season.

Marius had made, as usual with him, the most consummately skillful arrangement of his forces. The Kymri had not exhibited an equal foresight. When the day came, they advanced precipitately in masses, their front ranks tied together with chains, either to preserve a firm front in marching, or to hinder the timid from flight, while, as soon as the battle was joined, a violent wind raised such clouds of dust as to obscure the skies and conceal the combatants from each other. The battle was, nevertheless, a stubborn and bloody one, the Romans achieving the victory. The Kymri were almost exterminated. Yet, as the victors entered their camp, the women fought as furiously as the men, or put themselves and their children to death rather than fall into the hands of the enemy.³ Even the fierce dogs of the clans, guarding the remains of their masters, could only be dislodged by arms.⁴ Grateful Rome then greeted Marius with an unprecedented triumph; divine honors were decreed him; he was hailed as the third founder of the city,⁵ and elected—the first time in her annals that such

The battle of
the Rhaudian
Plains.

¹ Plutarch (in Mario).

² Plutarch, *ibid.*

³ Plutarch puts the killed at 120,000, the prisoners at 60,000. Livy says 140,000 dead, and Florus 160,000.

⁴ Florus, iii., 3. Val. Max., vi., 1.

⁵ Romulus having been the first, and that Camillus who won his laurels chiefly in contests against this same Keltic race, the second.

an event had occurred¹—to a sixth consulate. For the enemy, who, for ten years, had “hung like a tempest upon the declivities of her mountains,” was at last dispersed, and, as it was hoped, dispersed forever.

Better, perhaps, would it have been for Rome if that enemy had lingered; for no sooner was she relieved of this cause of alarm, and of the vent which external dangers afforded to the uneasy ambitions of her military chiefs, than she turned her monstrous energy upon herself. The old feuds of the patrician and the plebeian classes, leaping the walls of the Comitia and the Senate-house, flamed through Italy and convulsed the Roman world. In all the perturbations of the crisis the provinces of course participated. The cities of Narbo and Massalia siding with the aristocratic faction, while the county sided with their opponents, they were both alternately ravaged by the legions of Sertorius or of Pompey. What the military chiefs did not destroy the proprætors and the publicans ruined. Fonteio, as the governor of the Province, played over again in Gaul the infamous part which Verres enacted in Sicily;² yet, when the commotions had subsided, the poor Gauls found no eloquent voice, as the Sicilians did, to plead their wrongs before, or procure them redress from, the Roman tribunals. On the contrary, the very tongue which thundered against the Sicilian robber, had for them only accents of taunt and calumny.³

It would have been well for the native tribes if they had availed themselves of the civil wars of Rome to assert their independence and to exclude the insidious invader from their ancient soil. But again the old feuds of the clans prevented any such consummation. The Allobrogi alone, who had offended by tampering in the conspiracy of Catiline,⁴ descended from their hills to assail Massalia; but, being speedily crushed, the fate of the transalpine Province was determined. A firm and lasting foothold in Gaul was secured to Rome forever, as the *point d'appui* of future operations.

¹ Niebuhr (Rom. Hist., t. iii., p. 178) thinks Valerius Corvus may have had such an honor.

² Cicero, De Har. Resp., 20, and pro Flacco, 89.

³ Cicero pro Fonteio.

⁴ Cic. in Cat., iii., 6, and iv., 8. Florus, l. iv., c. 1.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONQUEST OF GAUL BY JULIUS CÆSAR.

THE feuds of the clans, which had prevented the expulsion of the Romans from Gaul, were the means also of securing them a firmer footing in the country. The old dispute of the Sequani (of Franche Comté) with the Æduans (of Autun) touching river-rights upon the Saône partly, but the undecided question of political supremacy chiefly, was the occasion of this result. As the Æduans, by making themselves "the friends and allies of the Roman people," had been enabled to achieve and retain some signal advantages, so the Sequani thought they might retrieve their losses by resorting in their turn to foreign assistance.

There was on the eastern frontier of Gaul a powerful confederation of Germans, who called themselves the Suevi, and who, according to Cæsar's representations, were little, if any, better than savages. Their hundred cantons sent yearly into the field a thousand warriors each, while as many more remained at home to till the fields, until another year should bring about among them an interchange of functions, and the tillers should go to war and the warriors to tillage. Subsisting chiefly on milk, corn, and flesh, and abstaining from wine, which they thought enfeebling; using no clothes but the skins of the beasts they had taken, and bathing in the coldest streams in winter, to inure their bodies to all the rigors of the weather, their unsophisticated apprehensions conceived the chief glory of states to consist in maintaining a wide circle of desolation around their frontiers.¹

¹ Cæs. (De Bell. Gall., l. iv., c. 1). No term more puzzles the ethnologist than this *Suevi*. It is usually deduced from the middle High-German *swabe*, to move unsteadily, and is supposed to indicate a people of unsteady, migratory habits. (Zeuss, *Die Deutsche*, etc., p.

56.) But Grimm, and after him Latham (*Germania*, Epilegomena, § 20), think the word of Keltic origin. The Suevans are also commonly considered the ancestors of the modern Suabians. Latham, however, argues that the Suevi of Cæsar were the *Catti*, i. e., Hesse,

These people the Sequani, joined by the Arvernians, took into their service. Crossing the Rhine, under a chief named The Germans in Gaul, B.C. 71. Ariovist, to the number of fifteen thousand, they soon increased to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand, and then, marching upon the Æduans, put their troops to flight, destroyed all their cavalry, i. e., their senators and nobles, seized their children as hostages, and compelled them to swear never to demand hostages in return, or to seek the aid of the accursed Romans. A single eminent man of the Æduans alone—Divitiac, a Druid—refused these terms of submission, and fled to Rome to supplicate the succor of the Senate.¹ Very soon the Sequani and Arvernians repented of their bargain: they had achieved a victory chiefly at their own expense; and Ariovist, charmed with the aspects of Gaul, first demanded a third of their lands as the reward of his services, and afterward another third, as an allotment to a large convoy of friends. As the allies refused to acquiesce in this, he made ready to pass them under the same yoke to which they had subjected the Æduans. But, reconciled by a common calamity, the Sequani and Æduans entered into a solemn league of resistance against thier new and upstart master. Ariovist worsted them both in a battle fought at Magetobriga,² and then lorded it over their tribes in the most despotic and cruel manner. A daring and truculent leader, active in enterprise, fertile in expedients, indomitable in will, he controlled them with such rigor that they dared not even whisper their complaints to the winds.

It was his success, it may be imagined, as much as any other cause, which encouraged a Helvetian chief, called the Orgetorigh, or the Lord of a Hundred Valleys,³ to undertake another stupendous project of conquest and dominion. He conceived the idea of making himself and his people the masters of the

i. e., Hessians. The *Harudes*, whom Cæsar mentions as following them (Bell. Gall., l. i., c. 30), were *Cheruski*, i. e., Saxons (Germania, p. 131). The Suevans, who were the ancestors of the Swabians, do not appear until after the time of Alexander Severus, and were the same as the Alemanni.

¹ Cæs., Bell. Gall., l. i., c. 81.

² Now *Mogto-de-Broie*, near the confluence of the Saône and the Ognon.

³ This, according to the French authorities, was a Keltic title, not a proper name, *Or-che-to-righ* meaning the chief of a hundred valleys.

whole of Gaul; and it must be confessed that a more audacious scheme of ambition has seldom been recorded.¹ The Helvetians occupied the glorious mountain region between the Rhine, the Rhone, Lake Lemman, and the Juran Alps, which is now called Switzerland; but the narrowness of their limits,² and a constant exposure to the inroads of the Germans, induced them to listen readily to the proposals of the Orgetorigh for a general migration. After it was determined upon, two years were consumed in preparing the enterprise, under the active management of the Lord of the Valleys. In the mean time, he plotted with a dissatisfied young chief of the Æduans, called Dumnorigh, or the Lord of the Hill (a brother of Divitiac), and another named Kastic, of the Sequani, to turn the whole affair to their own personal aggrandizement. The magistrates, hearing of his treachery, had him arrested, when, after making a vain fight against them at the head of more than ten thousand clansmen, he put himself to death. Yet they none the less persisted in carrying out the original design. Gathering all their mountain clans, they burned their towns and villages to the number of four hundred and twelve; all their rural dwellings, and all their substance also, except what might be needful for the outset of their journey; in order that, once upon the route, no one should cast a longing, lingering look behind.³ Persuading their neighbors, moreover, the Raurakians, the Tulingians, the Latobrigians, and the Boii⁴ to resort to the same desperate expedition, and to join them in the expedition, they together took their departure. Of course, the rumors of so formidable a migration, and near the very borders of the Province, could not but awaken the solicitude of Rome. Nor did it need the prayers of the Allobrogiens and other allies (who apprehended an unlimited pillage from a band of vagrants so numerous) to in-

¹ Cæs., B. G., l. i., c. 2.

² Cæs. (l. i., c. 2) says it was 240 Roman miles in length and 180 in breadth, equivalent to 217 English miles one way and 168 another; but the real length of Helvetia was only about 40 geographical miles.

³ Well may Niebuhr (Lectures, vol. iii., p. 42) pronounce this one of the

most remarkable phenomena of history.

⁴ These Boii were not the ancestors of the nations since named Bohemians, from *Boii-heim*, and Bavarians, from *Boii-aria*. They gave names merely to those countries from which they were afterward driven by Germans. Mannert (Geog., vol. ii., p. 180).

duce the Senate to take measures at once for their common protection.

Now it chanced, in the complicities of Roman politics, that the governor of the Transalpine was no less a person than CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.¹ That extraordinary man, to whom Julius Cæsar. the world has furnished, perhaps, no parallel, was then in the vigor of his powers, but only on the threshold of his deeds. His early life and the consular administration had shown the wonderful civic capacities with which he was endowed—his insight, his resource, and his decision, combined with his sleepless activity. The scandal of the day, indeed, imputed his wan, thin face and wasted figure to unnatural debaucheries,² but a more sagacious judgment to the prodigious and wearing energies of the huge brain which surmounted his too delicate organization.³ We may well believe the story which is told of him, although not authentic, that Sulla saw in him many a Marius; for the bravery with which, as a youth, he had resisted that dictator at the top of his power; the swift justice which he dealt upon the Kilikian pirates who seized him on his way to school; his daring restoration of the statues of Marius in the face of an intolerant aristocracy; his easy superiority in all the science and literature of his day, when every well-born man was a scholar, and Cicero himself but *primus inter pares*; his rapid ascent to the successive dignities of quæstor, edile, prætor, and consul, as if such places were his by native right—all this more than justified the alleged prediction of Sulla. A large, open, ambitious nature, in which audacity and prudence were strangely blended, the most comprehensive purposes were backed by an iron tenacity of will, and an exquisite refinement and grace of manners did not disguise his reckless disdain of every conservative superstition and safeguard, pointed him out as a master-spirit in those times of dissolution, bearing the republic stormily on to its end.⁴

¹ A consul, on going out of office, assumed some government; the Senate wished to put Cæsar off with an insignificant one; his partisans proposed the proconsulship of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria, to which the Senate, to get him as far away and to give him as much

work as possible, added the Transalpine Province.

² Suetonius in Cæs., c. 49.

³ Plut. in Cæs.

⁴ Tacit., Annal., l. xiii., c. 8; Cicero in Brut., c. 75; Quinct., x., 1; Vell. Paterc., l. ii., c. 48.

As yet, however, no brilliant military exploits had distinguished the career of Cæsar, such as had won for his friend and later rival, Pompey, the title of Conqueror of the East; but his enemies, in sending him to Gaul, opened for him precisely the theatre which gave him the opportunity of acquiring even greater glory. Nor can I suppose, as many historians do, that a mind like Cæsar's, so large, so original, so thoroughly informed of the nature of true greatness, and so capable of following its dictates, undertook these Gallic campaigns from motives of ambition merely, and in utter forgetfulness of higher political aims.¹ He doubtless felt, whether rightly or wrongly I need not say, that he was about to fight the battle of civilization against barbarism, and that he must fight it with all the vigor, earnestness, and skill that he could command.²

Be that as it may; as the march of the Helvetians was a dangerous movement both for the Province and its allies, his business was to arrest it; and therefore, conducting the only legion in Gaul to Geneva, he destroyed the bridge which they had built over the Rhone, and raised a wall to bar their future passage.³ Their purpose being to move westward (into the country of the Santones, near the outlet of the Garonne), it would appear that they had but two good ways of egress—one by a narrow and difficult pass, between the Jura and the Rhone, into Franche Comté; and another, far more practicable, by the fords of the Rhone

¹ Niebuhr (Lect. on Rom. Hist., vol. iii., lect. 43) calls Cæsar a "dæmoniac man, going forward with passionate rapidity," but does infinitely more justice to his character than Arnold, who seems to me to judge him on too narrow grounds.

² Schlosser (Allgemeine Geschichte, Übersicht, B. i., s. 376) draws an interesting parallel between the condition of Rome at the time of Cæsar's campaigns in Gaul and that of France at the time of Napoleon's campaigns in Italy. The consequences of those campaigns were certainly alike—a distracted province conquered by a great general, and the conquest leading the way to the overthrow of the factious administration at home, and to the subsequent acquisition of an empire by the victor.

But it was among the singular revolutions of time, that in one case France (or Gaul) was the province, Italy the nation; in the other, Italy was the province and France the nation.

³ This famous wall, 19 Roman miles long and 16 feet high, which Cæsar says he caused to be raised by the labor of a single legion and its auxiliaries within a few days, has been variously discussed by military critics. There is an able series of papers in regard to it in the *United Service Magazine* for 1850. Napoleon, in the *Précis des Guerres de Cæsar*, which I find copiously cited in Louandre's French edition of the Commentaries, says the wall and intrenchment could have been completed in from ten to fifteen days.

farther south, the one which Cæsar peremptorily forbade them and fortified. Thus compelled to take the first, they proceeded into the country of the Sequani as far as the Saône (Arar). While they were doing so the proconsul repaired to Italy and Illyria, raised five legions in addition to the one left at Geneva, returned by way of the Alps, passing all the way through an incessant hail of missiles from the native tribes, and suddenly came up with the Helvetians just as three parts of their force had crossed the river. The canton remaining behind he cut in pieces summarily, unprepared as it was and encumbered with baggage. Then, passing the stream with a celerity which astonished the Gauls, he rejected the terms of accommodation they proffered, and pushed forward after them, skirmishing the whole distance to within twenty miles of Autun (Bibracte). There he made a feint of retreating, which encouraged the enemy to turn back, so that a destructive battle was brought on. On the side of the Romans there must have been from fifty to seventy thousand fighting men, and on that of the Helvetians about the same;¹ but the Romans possessed a vast advantage in their superior discipline and arms. Yet the battle was long and doubtful, and up to the nightfall, when the Helvetians were driven in among their wagons, Cæsar confesses that no one had seen their backs.² The Romans prevailed at last, having inflicted upon the enemy, from the beginning to the end of the several encounters, a terrible loss. Of the original host of 368,000 souls, only about 130,000 remained to be counted.³ The Romans themselves were three days in burying their dead and providing for the wounded. Afterward the Helvetians who had escaped were pursued and compelled to surrender, Cæsar treating them with great wisdom as well as clemency, ordering the Allobrogi to supply them with corn, and to

¹ The *Précis des Guerres de Cæsar*, by Napoleon, says the two armies were about equal; Cæsar had six legions of 5000 men each, besides the allies and auxiliaries; and the Helvetians, who had originally 90,000 fighting men, lost a fourth of them on the Saône.

² Bell. Gall., l. i., c. 26.

³ We are not left to idle report for these figures. After the battle, a list or

census of the Helvetians was found, which shows that there were Helvetii 263,000, Tulingi 36,000, Latobrigi 14,000, Rauraki 23,000, and Boii 32,000. Of these 130,000 afterward returned to Switzerland, but it does not follow that all the rest were slain. Some of them probably escaped among the other Gauls. Bell. Gall., l. i., c. 29.

see them well settled once more in their ancient homes, as the allies of Rome and a defense against the Germans.

This overwhelming defeat of a numerous horde was regarded by the other Gauls as a victory for them as well as for Cæsar's aid asked against the Germans. the Romans, and they poured their felicitations upon Cæsar, beseeching his alliance on all sides. Among the rest, the Sequani and Æduans implored his aid against Ariovist, who had now grown so imperious that they trembled even in communicating with Cæsar. He promised his intercession; but, not caring to encounter so formidable a chief needlessly, who was, besides, a recognized "friend and ally of Rome," having been made so a year before on Cæsar's own motion, he sent a message to him inviting a conference. The Suevan replied, in his superb, yet wily and politic way, that if he had wanted any thing of Cæsar he should have gone to Cæsar, and that if Cæsar wanted any thing of him he must come to him; moreover, he added, that he scarcely deemed it safe to venture his person in that part of Gaul in which Cæsar commanded; nor could he conceive with what propriety the Romans undertook to dictate to him as to the management of his own dominions. Cæsar therefore sent a second message, ordering him distinctly to bring no more Germans over the Rhine, to restore the hostages of the Æduans, and to desist from his ravages upon the territory of Gaul, lest he should incur Rome's very serious displeasure. Ariovist rejoined—and herein had the best of the argument—that he had fairly conquered his part of Gaul, and it was his just as legitimately as the Province was Rome's; and as for Cæsar's threats, he might bring the matter to trial as soon as he pleased; but let him remember that men like his Germans, who had not slept under cover for fourteen years, were not apt to be triflers.¹

Meanwhile, a hundred additional cantons of the Suevi had arrived on the banks of the Rhine under the lead of two War with Ariovist. brothers, Nausa and Kimber, so that Cæsar conceived it high time to begin with something more effective than words. Anticipating Ariovist in taking possession of Vesontio,² a town

¹ Cæs., Bell. Gall., l. i., c. 36.

ception of a small space, flanked by a high mountain.

² The modern Besançon, on the Doubs, which surrounds it with the ex-

strongly fortified alike by nature and art, and well filled with ammunition, he ordered his men to prepare to march at once against the Germans. We may judge of the terror which those gigantic warriors inspired in the minds of the Romans from the story Cæsar himself tells—how, when he communicated his designs to the troops, the tribunes and prefects, and even the soldiers, were seized with a panic of fear. Some openly asked leave to return home; others skulked through the camps bemoaning their fate; while universally wills were made, and the very veterans, to disguise their own consternation, assured Cæsar that the army would not march, even if he should give the order.¹ It was a moment for the general to exert all the power over men of which he was capable. Summoning the centurions, therefore, he addressed them. He referred to the victories of Marius and their fathers over the Kymri and Teutones, who were the ancestors of this very enemy;² he showed how Ariovist's conquests in Gaul had been accomplished by stratagem rather than valor; he dwelt upon his own strength, and the prospect of assistance in corn and provisions to be furnished by the allies; he magnified the fortune which had always attended him personally; and he finally declared that he would give orders for decamping the very next night, to see whether honor or an ignominious cowardice reigned in the breast of his legions. If none else would follow him, he alone, with the tenth legion, which never faltered, would march to victory or death. These adroit but inflammatory words wrought a miraculous change in the ranks; the alacrity for the onset now became as eager as the former despondency had been depressing: every one protested that he no longer cherished either a doubt or a fear; and in less than seven days thereafter the whole army was advanced to within twenty-four miles of the enemy. Ariovist then sent messengers to solicit the meeting which he had lately declined, and some little time was consumed in negotiations, which amounted to nothing, however, save that in the course of them Valerius Proculus, Cæsar's friend and confidential interpreter, and M. Mettius, another envoy, were seized by Ariovist, to the utter horror of the Romans. Preparations were made on both

¹ Cæs., *Bell. Gall.*, l. i., c. 89.

sar considered the Kymri and Teutons

² Which would go to show that Cæs- to be Germans.

sides for a decisive combat. Ariovist moved warily at first, satisfying himself with cutting off the subsistence of the Romans, so that for a whole week only light skirmishes varied the incidents of each day. But Cæsar, learning from the German deserters that the reason of his unwillingness to join issue arose from the fact that the matrons of the tribes, who were sorceresses or diviners, and of sacred authority,¹ had not yet decided that the proper time for battle had come, thought it best to charge at once precipitately and in full force. The Germans, compelled to fight, drew up in wedges in the order of the different nations, Harudes, Marcomanni, Vangiones, Nemetes, etc., and made a most courageous resistance: their wives, from the tops of the wagons, cheered them to the onset; yet they were signally routed, and only a few escaped the merciless swords of the legions by swimming or fording the Rhine.² Among these was Ariovist himself, who, leaving his two wives and a daughter to perish in the flight, seized a boat on the river's bank, and went to die of despair in his native forests.³ His destruction caused a universal shout of joy in Gaul, and the success of Cæsar raised his fame at Rome to a level with that of the invincible Marius.⁴

Two victories over powerful nations, so splendidly thorough as to leave no chance for a renewal of war in the same quarters, was a grand success for one campaign; and we may imagine, when the victorious general, having wintered his army in Gaul, as became his wont, repaired to the Cisalpine,⁵ ostensibly to hold his assizes, but in reality to prosecute his political schemes at Rome, what rejoicing there was among his retainers and friends. Rumors, however, soon broke in upon their festivals and intrigues, of extensive insurrectionary movements in the north of Gaul. Cæsar had driven off the Germans, but he had left his own

¹ Compare Tacitus, *Mor. Germ.*, c. viii.; also Strab., l. vii.

² My limits do not allow me to give the details of the different engagements; nor is there much need, seeing how common a book Cæsar's own work is. The reader will find in Anthon's *Cæsar*, for instance, rude wood-cuts of the various encounters, which will furnish him a better idea of the disposition of the

forces than any description in letter-press can.

³ This battle was fought near what is now Dampierre, in Franche Comté. Plutarch puts the Germans killed at eighty thousand.

⁴ Cicero, *De Prov. Consul.*, 13, 14.

⁵ A proconsul, by the Roman law, could not leave his province during his administration.

Romans behind him; and the Gaels, irritated by their exactions and imposts, began to consider that they had simply exchanged one tyranny for another. The remoter Belgians were no less excited; some dreading lest the Roman inroads should be extended to them; others being stirred up by ambitious military chieftains; and others, again, in the mere instability and fickleness of their disposition,¹ hailing any prospect of war and revolution. At length these reports became so frequent and alarming that Cæsar returned to Gaul with two new legions, though it was yet early in the spring. He found, on inquiry among the Remi, who alone of the Belgic tribes professed an attachment to Rome, that the rumors had not exaggerated the imminence of the danger. The whole of Belgica was in arms, determined to make a joint and simultaneous movement against the quarters of the Roman troops. The supreme command was confided to Galba, the aged and prudent king of the Suessiones, who had broken away from their alliance with the Remi in order to take part with their more patriotic brothers. At a general diet of the tribes, it had been agreed that the Suessiones (from the Soissonese) should furnish fifty thousand men; the Bellovaks (from Beauvais) sixty thousand; the Nervii (from Hainault and Flanders) fifty thousand; the Atrebatas (Artois) fifteen thousand; the Ambiani (Amiens and Poitou) ten thousand; and the Morini (West Flanders), the Menapii (Brabant and Gueldres), the Caletes (Pays de Caulx), the Volcocassi (Vereine), the Veremandui (Vermandois), and the Aduatiks (Namur), each about ten thousand more; and now these three hundred thousand picked men, together with some forty thousand Eburones and other Cisrhenean Germans, were concentrating in the neighborhood of Bibrax (Bièvre, on the Aisne).² Cæsar possessed himself but little more than sixty thousand men, and did not dissemble the dangers of a general encounter; nevertheless, he prepared for it, and, advancing to the banks of the Axona (Aisne), which formed a limit to the territory of the Remi, he pitched his camp there, and fortified it in the strongest manner. At the same time he sent Divitiac, the Druid, among the Ædu-

¹ This temperament is remarked by Polybius and other ancient writers besides Cæsar. See *ante*, chap. ii.

² Not to be confounded with the town of Bibracte or Autun.

ans to excite them to an attack upon the domain of the Bellovaks during their absence, in the hope of provoking the latter back to a defense of their homes. He had scarcely done so before word came to him that the confederates were already in action against Bibrax, and that the native garrison of the town could no longer hold out. Accordingly, he sent a large body of light-armed troops, Numidian and Cretan archers, and the famous Balearic slingers,¹ to its assistance. They relieved the place, but only to divert the vast hordes toward his main army. Encamping within a few miles of him, their camp-fires showed a line eight miles broad. Cæsar was too cautious to risk a battle against such odds, and he confined his men to light skirmishes, which cut off a good many of the enemy and exhausted their patience. Suddenly, one night, he saw that nearly the entire host had disappeared. His device for an assault upon the territories of the Bellovaks by the Æduans, under Divitiac, had operated as he had hoped; for the Bellovaks, hearing that their homes were assailed, resolved to return thither to defend them at once, which movement threw the confederate camp into confusion. Each tribe flew to its own territories. Cæsar, of course, pursued as many as he could, and in their fugitive condition killed multitudes, although not without meeting many a stubborn and heroic resistance. The Suessiones, into whose districts he first passed, made a defense at Noviodunum,² their capital, but, frightened, in their simplicity, by the battering-rams and other military machines of the Romans, soon yielded. Hostages were exacted from them, consisting of the principal personages of the nation, and, among the rest, the two sons of the old king Galba.

The Bellovaks were next subdued, but, through the intervention of the Æduans in their favor, were let off on easy terms; and after them the Ambiani, too few in number, indeed, to think of making any effective re-

¹ The Balears were the islands of Majorca, Minorca, and Yvica, off the coast of Spain. The inhabitants were celebrated for their use of the sling. (Florus, l. iii., c. 8; also Diod. Sic., l. v., c. 17.)

² There were three towns of this name

in Gaul: *Noviodunum Suessiones*, now Soissons; *Noviodunum Nervium*, belonging to the Ædui, now Nevers; and *Noviodunum Biturigum*, now Neuvy or Neufry, near Nevers.—D'Anville, *Notice de la Gaule*.

sistance. But not so the Nervii, who, rallying the remains of the late confederation under a chief named Brodignatt, or the Son of Victory, resolved to maintain their ground until the last man among them should perish. The Nervii were the most ferocious of the Kymri, and many of them, in fact, proclaimed that they were Germans.¹ Allowing of no foreign intercourse, drinking no wine, and accustomed to weave the branches and brambles of their forests into impenetrable hedges, they had never yet been subdued. Cæsar came up with them on the Sabis (Sambre), where they had sprung defenses of their peculiar sort, and, it would seem, before he was aware; for, while he was yet intrenching himself, they fell upon him with the greatest impetuosity and ardor. His men had scarcely time to uncover their bucklers, put on their helmets, or even to form in regular order of battle, before the whole camp was a scene of confusion. Twice, in the bloody hand-to-hand fight which ensued, he was on the point of losing every thing; the first time, his own intrepidity, in snatching the shield of a retreating soldier, and rushing to the head of the troops to rally the centurions by name, saved him; and the second time it was the seasonable arrival of his lieutenant, Labienus, with two fresh legions. His cavalry, his slingers, his camp-retainers, were in full flight; many of his best men, standard-bearers and centurions, were slain; and the entire army was suffering severely when this succor came so opportunely to restore its courage.² As it was, the Nervii, undaunted by the change of fortune, fought on with the ferocity of tigers. If a man in the foremost rank fell, the one behind him mounted his prostrate body and resumed his battle; and when, in this way, heaps of corpses were gathered in front, the others hurled their javelins from the top of them as from a rampart. During the whole engagement the brave Gauls never flinched; they did not yield an inch of ground; they did not once break their ranks; and, in the end, they were annihilated rather than conquered. Of six hundred of their senators, or elders, who went into the fight, it is said that only three survived; and of their sixty thousand

¹ There were doubtless Germans among them, living as near as they did to the Rhine.

² Cæs., *Bell. Gall.*, l. ii., cc. 15-28.

warriors, all perished save five hundred.¹ The immortal plain on which Leonidas and his Spartans fell witnessed no nobler valor than was displayed that day by these poor and unrecorded Nervii amid the obscure depths of their forests, and in their last struggle for their homes. Cæsar himself was so impressed by the exhibition of their courage and spirit that he eagerly spared the few that were left of them, restored them to their lands, and provided generously for their future well-being.

Meanwhile Cæsar's lieutenant, Crassus, had been successful in extorting tokens of submission from all the Armor-
Other anc. sources. icans, from the banks of the Loire to those of the Seine; and, as Cæsar himself very soon afterward drove the Aduatiks, the only tribe of the insurgent Belgæ still in arms, back into their almost inaccessible hills and fastnesses, the whole of Gaul seemed to be subjugated, and was at least quiet. Rome, in her excessive joy over this apparent conquest, decreed Cæsar a thanksgiving (*supplicatio*) of fifteen days, which was an honor never before granted to the exploits of any general.²

But the submission of Gaul was only apparent; a restless and inflammatory feeling showed itself on all sides. Cæsar's third
Cæsar's third campaign. War with the Armoricans, B.C. 56. lieutenants, who were wintered in different parts, were incessantly harassed and menaced. Galba, indeed, was nearly cut off by the Alpine tribes; and Crassus, stationed in Brittany, found his foraging officers arrested, and his supplies refused. Cæsar, who was in Illyria at the time, ordered preparations to be made at once for a vigorous campaign, altering the policy which he had hitherto pursued, however, and, instead of attacking the Gauls one by one, and in succession, dividing his forces, so as to make a

¹ Cæs., *Bell. Gall.*, l. ii., cc. 19-27; Florus, l. iii., c. 10; Dio. Cass., l. xxxix., c. 8; Plut. in Cæsare. Dewez (*Hist. de la Belgique*) indicates Préle, near Châtelet, as the probable site of this sanguinary battle. I may add that this action has been severely criticised, and it seems with justice, by the military writers. Cæsar was unquestionably taken by surprise, and came near losing his force. (*Précis des Guerres de César*, p. 45; Guichard, *Mémoire Milit.*,

t. iii.; also Count Turpin de Crissé, in Anthon's note on the passage, p. 289.)

² The *supplicatio* was a great religious solemnity decreed by the Roman Senate for any unusual victory. It lasted commonly but for one day; but Pompey, at the close of the war with Mithridates, obtained a *supplicatio* which continued for ten days. In later and degenerate times, according to Dion, they were prolonged for fifty or sixty days.

simultaneous movement on all the disaffected districts. Labienus, with a strong body of cavalry, was sent to the Rhine, to hold the Germans in check; Sabinus, with three legions, was posted among the tribes of Lower Normandy; Crassus, with twelve legionary cohorts, was dispatched into Aquitain; while the young Brutus repaired to the friendly Santones and Pictones, to forward ships and sailors to the aid of Cæsar, who proposed himself to assail the amphibious Bretons.¹ This plan, boldly conceived, was executed with characteristic energy; his lieutenants, seemingly common men enough in themselves, were, like the marshals of Napoleon, inspired with extraordinary power by the genius of the master.² Like a good general, too, Cæsar had reserved to himself the most difficult branch of the common enterprise—the war against the Breton-Armoricans. This was the more arduous, because at the outset the Romans had no vessels, their galleys having to be prepared on the distant Loire, and the rowers to be brought from the Mediterranean. On the other hand, the Veneti, the principal nation of the Bretons, assisted by nearly all the ocean clans and by several from the island of Britain, the holy land of the Druids, were masters of a numerous and powerful fleet. Their ships, built with reference both to the stormy outside seas and to the shallow, sandy coasts, were managed by men even more expert upon the water than they were upon the land. At length, when the Roman flotilla was got ready by Brutus, the high winds and dangerous rocky coasts baffled the ignorance of the Roman pilots, so that it was kept back till late in the summer. Cæsar had occupied himself, in the interval, in assailing the towns of the Veneti, as well as he could, from the land side. But, built as they were, either on salt marshes, which the sea overflowed, or on narrow spits of land, quite inaccessible to an army, he found infinite difficulty in the undertaking; for, in fact, as soon as he reduced any one town, the defenders took refuge in another. His fleet, therefore, became his principal reliance, and the moment it hove in sight he ordered it to bear down upon the shores of the Veneti. They, descrying it also

¹ Cæs., *Bell. Gall.*, l. iv., c. 12.

distinguish himself after deserting that

² Sabinus, for instance, though successful under Cæsar, did not greatly

commander.

in the distance, sallied forth gayly to meet it from the mouths of the Morbihan, with no less than two hundred and twenty sail. In the first shock of the combat the Veneti had the upper hand. In vain the heavy Roman galleys drove down with their brazen beaks upon the impregnable oaken timbers of the Venetian vessels, for they were so mercilessly assailed with showers of javelins and stones from the high tower-like bows and poops of the latter that they were glad to get out of reach. The day, indeed, was nearly won by the Kymri, when Brutus bethought him of the expedient of using the long mural poles of the Romans, armed with scythes at the end, to cut away the yards and tackle of the enemy. He succeeded in his object; the vessels of the Veneti were rendered unmanageable—soon lay like logs upon the water; and thus the contest was turned into a close grapple on the decks. Cæsar and his men watched the issue with intense anxiety from the adjoining heights; the Armoricans, too—the old men, the women, and the children—watched it with still greater anxiety from the towns;¹ and the combatants on both sides fought with redoubled energy in their consciousness of being overlooked by such witnesses. Only the superior discipline of the Romans enabled them to gain the victory. The naval strength of the Venetians was demolished; the flower of their fighting men sank beneath the waves; and of those that remained, the elders or senators were put to death, and the rest sold into slavery. About the same time Sabinus subjected the Unelli (near Cherbourg), together with their allies, the Aulerks, Eburones, and Lexovi; Crassus achieved a difficult triumph over the Sotiates, Samsates, Vacates, and other tribes of Aquitain, led, as they were, by some of the old captains of Sertorius;² and only the Morini and Menappii (the people of West Flanders, Brabant, and Guelders) remained unsubdued, saved from a murderous pursuit by their thickets and fens, and the sudden setting in of the winter rains. Cæsar,

¹ Daru (*Hist. de Bretagne*, i., 88) refers, according to the local traditions, the site of Cæsar's camp, whence he observed the sea-fight, to a spot somewhere between Quiberon and Rhuys, so that the town must have been in that vicinity. But a writer (in *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires*, ii., 325) argues

that the town lay on the Gulf of Morbihan, corresponding to the modern Vannes.

² In the civil war of Sulla's time Sertorius had the command of the Marian legions in Spain, where he left some of his soldiers, who consented to assist the natives. (Bell. Gall., l. iii., c. 23.)

however, succeeded in ravaging their country, and then sent his army into winter quarters.

His vacations the proconsul commonly passed at Luca (now Lucca), a provincial watering-place on the confines of Liguria. The winter vacations at Luca. It was there he held his administrative assemblies and met his political agents from Rome. His reputation had now reached such a height, and the hopes conceived of his abilities were so great, that the little village was crowded by suppliants and partisans whenever he was present. A hundred and twenty lictors guarded his door, and of the two hundred senatorials of Rome, more than half were at times to be seen at his parties. It was in Lucca, too—probably this very year—that Pompey and Crassus met him, when it was found necessary to heal over some slight breach in the good understanding of the triumvirate, and to take measures for thwarting the aristocratic party, now beginning to make head in the city. And among the other effects of the conference were the forced assumption of the consulate by Pompey and Crassus, and the passage of the Trebonian law, which extended Caesar's government in Gaul for five years more.¹

Caesar was, in fact, the sovereign prince of the Gauls, and, in order to maintain his state, had to administer the Caesar's policy. Provinces more in reference to his own needs than in furtherance of their interests. He left no means untried, however, while crushing the spirit of rebellion by arms, for exciting among the Gauls a strong Roman or rather Cæsarean feeling. Obstinate gainsayers were treated, of course, with the most detergent severity, but toward the friendly and the wavering a studious forbearance was practiced. He encouraged the trade of their towns, assisted in the development of their resources, quartered few troops among them, and conferred such privileges as he could upon their senators or noble families. Fallen chieftains he reinstated in power; his partisans were also made to mingle adroitly in the councils of the chiefs, to turn their dissensions to advantage;² while he collected about him the Gallic youth of wealth or rank, whom, by

¹ See Liddell (History of Rome, book viii., chap. 66, Harper's edition, 1858).

² Appian, Bell. Civ., l. ii., c. 17; Plut. in Cæs.; Thierry, Hist. des Gaul., t. ii., l. vii., c. 1; Bell. Gall., l. v., c. 25.

kind treatment, and a careful indoctrination in Roman arts and manners, he made missionaries for himself among their countrymen.

Gaul appeared to lie prostrate at the feet of the conqueror, and yet the conqueror himself knew too much of the cunning and fickleness of the people to be deceived by any external appearances. He knew that some of them were even then plotting with the savage Germans along the Rhine for a general invasion of Gaul and an onslaught upon the Romans. The success of two German tribes, the Usipites and the Tencteri, consisting of about one hundred and twenty thousand fighting men—who, having been driven from their homes on the right bank of the Rhine by the Suevi, had dislodged the Menappii, a Gallic tribe, from their possessions near the left bank—fed the hopes of this sort. If these Germans, they said to each other, can so easily defeat a people whom the Romans could not vanquish, why can not they be procured to defeat the Romans? They accordingly sent secret embassies to the Germans to invite their assistance, promising them the most effective co-operation as soon as they should have begun the work. Lured by these promises, the Germans advanced into Gaul as far as the country of the Eburones and the Condureses, who were clients of the Treviri.¹ Cæsar, pretending ignorance of the secret understanding of the Gauls with the Germans, summoned an assembly of their chiefs, and, after causing them to renew their oaths of allegiance to Rome, announced his intention of making war upon Germany. He instantly repaired to the part of Gaul in which the Germans were; but, before he could come up with them, they sent ambassadors to disavow any hostile designs against the Romans which might be imputed to them, and to propose terms of alliance. Cæsar refused to enter into any arrangement until they had quitted Gaul. Unfortunately, in the midst of the negotiations, some accidental encounter between the Germans and an advanced party of the Roman cavalry—which Cæsar and the Romans regarded, or pretended to regard, as a breach of faith—precipitated a sudden action, which became, in the end, a general slaugh-

¹ Cæs., *Bell. Gall.*, l. iv., cc. 1-4.

ter of the Germans.¹ Cæsar then passed into Germany by means of the famous bridge which he constructed in ten days, to the perplexity and wonder of all future school-boys, but not, I believe, to the astonishment of the modern art of engineering. After remaining there eighteen days, "impressing the natives with a salutary awe of Rome," he returned on this side of the Rhine to prepare and execute his first expedition into Britain. In this German sally, and in his invasion of islanders who dwelt, according to the ancient geographers, on the very verge of the globe,² his objects were, in the first place, to show his allies among the Gauls that he had the power to protect them from their neighbors, and, in the second, to shut out that contagious sympathy and active aid which the Britons were in the habit of lending their brothers on the continent.³ It does not concern my purpose, however, to enter into the details of either expedition.

On his return from Britain, where he had subdued several of the native tribes, the Morini attacked his legions, but were soon dispersed, together with the Menappii, who showed signs of revolt. The army, then going into winter quarters among the Belgæ, devoted all their leisure to the preparation of peculiarly constructed vessels, with which the proconsul designed to make a more effective descent upon the British island. Earlier than usual the following spring, he quitted his own winter occupations to superintend the construction of the fleet. He found that more than six hundred vessels had been got ready by the extraordinary diligence of his soldiers, and he summoned them all to repair to the port of Itius, now either Wissant or Boulogne. A domestic war, provoked by the ambition of two chiefs of the Treviri, detained

Fifth campaign.
Second expedition
into Britain,
B.C. 54.

¹ Bell. Gall., l. iv., c. 18. Cæsar's treatment of these tribes, even as described by himself, admits of no defense. While their envoys were in the act of soliciting a truce they were cut to pieces. That stern and pedantic old senator, Cato, moved that for this act he be delivered up to those tribes. (Plut. in Cæs.) But Plutarch amazes us when he adds in the next sentence that 400,000 Germans were killed!

² Comp. Strab., l. iv., c. 5, and Plin., l. iv., c. 30.

³ It should be remembered that several of the British tribes bore the same names, and probably derived their origin from the Belgic tribes. (Bell. Gall., l. v., c. 12.) The Parisii, the Atrebatæ, the Belgæ, and the Menappii, were common to both countries, to say nothing of the Kymric branches.

him for a time, and perhaps suggested to him the plan of carrying with him into Britain the principal chiefs of Gaul as hostages, or as pledges of peace during his absence. The Dumnorigh, a proud young noble of the Æduans, regarded the proposal as an insult and a trap, and secretly fomented a revolt on the part of the other chiefs. What means they possessed for carrying it into hopeful execution does not appear, but the result of the plot was that the Dumnorigh was arrested and imprisoned, and afterward, while trying to escape, was shot dead by a Numidian archer. The event produced a vivid sensation of resentment in Gaul, though not a sufficiently dangerous one to deter Cæsar from the prosecution of his purpose. He crossed the Channel, landed in Britain, and overcame many of the tribes, without achieving by the exploit any important practical results. On his return into Gaul, a general assembly was gathered at Samarobriua (among the Ambiani), to assure himself of the continued peaceful disposition of the chiefs, and to concert measures for the disposal of his forces during the winter. As the year had been remarkable for its bad harvests, and there was a consequent deficiency of provisions, he was under the necessity of stationing his legions in small bodies, and at considerable distances from each other.¹

This dispersion did not escape the vigilance of the Belgians, who, as soon almost as the troops were snugly hived, began to rise. The Carnutes murdered the native king, Tasget, whom Cæsar had imposed upon them; an entire legion, with five cohorts under Sabinus and Cotta, together with their commanders, were massacred by the Eburones; young Cicero, a brother of Marcus Tullius, stationed among the Nervii, was besieged and driven to extremities by a large body of confederate tribes, who cut off all succors and even communication; and Labienus was encompassed by the Treviri so that he did not dare to move outside of his camp. Nothing but the prodigious activity of Cæsar, who had not yet quitted Gaul, saved his scattered forces from a total extermination. By marching his legions rapidly to the aid of Cicero, he was enabled to relieve him, and afterward he dispersed the other branches

The winter
revolt.

¹ Bell. Gall., l. v., c. 24. He says circuit of 100 miles, but the most distant were all comprehended within a tant were 180 miles apart.

of the enemy; but for the first time he passed the whole year in Gaul.

He had not misconceived the general feeling of the Gauls; all winter a mute discontent fermented in their minds; many nations, such as the Treviri and the Armoricans, who had been temporarily discouraged by the reports of his recent successes, still held themselves in readiness for a resumption of hostilities; and others, as the Suessiones, indignantly expelled the native kings which he had placed over them.¹ There was not a state or tribe, with the exception of the Æduans and the Remi, whose fidelity he did not suspect. Those among them who were too weak to carry on a war for themselves sedulously intrigued with the Germans. Even the remoter Germans, less in dread of the Roman power than their kindred near the Rhine, were importuned, and loaded with money and promises, to engage their aid. No people were more urgent or determined in their opposition than the Treviri, who, under the lead of a gallant and noble-minded chief named Indutiomar, formed themselves into a nucleus for all the fugitive, the proscribed, the discontented, and the patriotic spirits of other states. A formidable coalition, composed of the Carnutes, the Senones, the Menappii, the remnants of the Nervii, and some Germans, gathered about them; and Cæsar, perceiving the imminence of the danger, began his sixth campaign before the winter was yet ended.

But the superiority of the Romans was now so well established that his military movements were rather a series of desultory though destructive onsets against the disaffected, and of bloody vengeance upon the refractory, than a regular warfare. The Nervii, the Senones, and the Carnutes, in their weakened condition, were speedily forced to sue for peace; the Menappii, whose villages were all burned and cattle seized, for the first time solicited the pardon of the Romans; the Treviri, by a skillful stratagem of Labienus, were routed and scattered; and the Germans were visited and awed in their native forests, Cæsar having passed the Rhine a second time for that purpose. But his most signal and sanguinary revenge he wreaked upon the Eburones, whom he pursued like wild beasts through the

¹ *Bell. Gall.*, l. v., cc. 53-57.

Ardennes, and, being unable to reach them, as they scattered themselves among the thickets of wood, the wild ravines, or the bottomless morasses, he convoked all the neighboring tribes, not forgetting the Germans, to an indiscriminate massacre and rapine.¹ Some of the Germans, after having ravaged the country of the Eburones, assailed the intrenchments of the Romans, and were only repulsed by means of the most energetic exertions and great losses. Nothing was then suffered to remain, either of the buildings or the subsistence of the Eburones, so that if they escaped the sword of their hunters they might yet perish by starvation or exposure. Thus having extinguished the tribe, Cæsar repaired to Durocotorum (Rheims) to summon an assembly of the Gauls and to investigate the circumstances of the late conspiracy. Acco, the chief of the Senones, suspected or convicted of having urged it on, was executed *more majorum*, as Cæsar phrases it, but which Suetonius explains to mean that he was stripped naked and lashed to death, while his neck was screwed fast in cross-bars.² Cæsar appears, indeed, to have been thoroughly exasperated by this fitful impatience of the Gauls under the Roman oppression and licentiousness, and doubtless the troubles brewing and thickening at Rome made him the more eager to return thither. His friendly relations with Pompey, now the favorite of the aristocratic party, and swaying it almost alone in the great and corrupt city, were at an end; the violence of the factions had prevented the election of consuls; and the genius of anarchy was rapidly striding forward, with grim and terrible visage.³

Nor were the Gauls themselves inattentive to the occurrences at Rome. During the winter, while Cæsar was engaged with his agents, they were plotting a stupendous scheme of revolt—a revolt, not, as hitherto, of separate tribes, but of the entire nation. The numerous defeats which their divided efforts had sustained brought them at length to some conception of the need of concert and unity. All through the cold season they were holding private meet-

Seventh campaign. General insurrections, B.C. 52.

¹ Bell. Gall., l. vi., cc. 34–35.

² Liddell, Hist. Rome, b. viii., c. 64,

³ Bell. Gall., l. vi., c. 44; Suetonius Harper's ed., New York, 1857.
in Nerone, c. 49.

ings in the woods and other secret places, exchanging pledges of mutual fidelity, and dispatching messengers from clan to clan, to arouse the national feeling, and to prepare the way for a grand simultaneous and final blow. The intestine war already rumbling in Rome seemed to present the opportunity for a bold stroke at emancipation. Better to die in battle every man, they said, than fail to recover the ancient glory of our arms, and the freedom which our fathers left us.¹

The Carnutes, among whom the religious prejudices of Druidism had struck deepest root,² volunteered to take the lead in the new enterprise, and to give the signal for the onset. But the most efficient promoter of the movement was a young and eloquent Arvernian, called the Vercingetorigh,³ or The Great Chief of the Hundreds, whose father had been executed for aspiring to the sovereignty, and who was himself expelled from Gergovia by the conservative and Roman party for his vehement hatred of the foreign rule. Roaming the wild mountain tracts of the Cantal and Puy de Dome, he poured forth his torrents of indignant eloquence till he had aroused the native enthusiasm every where from the Loire to the Cevennes, and from the Jura to the Atlantic.⁴ His willing followers he bound to each other by the solemnest oaths never to see wife, children, or friends again until they had extirpated the accursed oppressor; and those who were unwilling or supine among his countrymen he forced into the ranks by threats and penalties. As if conscious, too, of the fitful nature of the Gallic gallantry, he dealt with the refractory by way of example—mutilating them, and sending them forth in that condition among their friends as warnings. But he joined an extraordinary diligence in mustering cavalry and gathering munitions to this unusual rigor of discipline; and when unanimously hailed by the confederates as the commander-in-chief, he proceeded at

¹ Bell. Gall., l. vii., c. 1.

² Yet it is remarkable how little the Druids appear in these wars. Did they hold themselves aloof? were they secretly favorable to the success of the Romans? or is it merely accidental that Cæsar does not notice their agency?

³ Cæsar gives this as his name, but it was more probably a title or official

designation. In the Celtic, *Ver-cenno-cedo-ri-g* means the great chief of the hundred heads; or, as it might be said, Great Captain of the Hundreds, or the Generalissimo. Comp. Amedée Thierry (Hist. des Gaul., t. ii., l. vii., c. 1).

⁴ The Belgians had been so fearfully punished as not to be inclined seemingly to join the league.

once to organize an effective plan of operations.¹ Dispatching a bold and enterprising lieutenant, Lucter, of the Cadurks, to subject the Ruteni and other tribes who had not yet joined the league, and to assail the Roman Province, he himself led a body of troops among the Bituriges, to detach them from the Æduans and Rome. Somewhat prematurely, however, the Carnutes gave the signal of revenge by falling upon the peaceful commercial settlers of Orleans (Genabum), whom they massacred in cold blood. The report of the event was transmitted by living telegraphs over the whole of central Gaul, which instantly bristled with armed men.² Cæsar heard the news in Italy, and with the celerity of lightning, though it was the depth of winter, he raised new levies, flew to Narbo, to confirm the wavering and timorous, and to garrison the Province at all points against the approach of Lucter. Then, crossing the Cevennes, six feet deep in snow, he alighted suddenly with a large force in the midst of the Arvernians. The terror spread by his apparition recalled the Vercingetorigh from the north; but while he was yet on the way Cæsar rushed to Vienne for a body of cavalry, hurried next through the country of the Æduans into that of the Lingones (Langres), where he raised two legions more, and finally and unexpectedly he concentrated his whole army in the vicinity of the Gallic chief. The astonished Vercingetorigh recoiled upon Gergovia,³ a town of the Boii; Cæsar followed him, reducing the towns of Velaunodunum (Beauns), Genabum (Orleans), and Noviodunum⁴ on the way, that he might leave no foe in his rear.

¹ Niebuhr says (Lectures, vol. iii., p. 49) that he holds this nameless man to have been "one of the greatest men of antiquity;" but I scarcely know upon what *data* he founds that opinion. The little that is told of him shows him, certainly, a man of extraordinary boldness and activity, and magnanimous withal; but he failed in this war in sagacity. Had he waited a few years longer, till Rome was actually plunged in civil war, his chances of success would have been infinitely better. And his conduct during the siege of Alesia was not marked by great wisdom. He allowed his main army to be shut up in a citadel and destroyed, when his best policy, as he saw himself, was to disperse them in guerril-

la bands. See, however (Mémoires de l'Académ. des Inscript., t. vi., pp. 636 et seq.).

² When important information was to be carried to a distance quickly among the Gauls, the dwellers in the country shouted to each other, and so passed the word from place to place. On this occasion the news flew from Orleans to Auvergne in a day.

³ Not to be confounded with the Gergovia of the Arvernians. It was perhaps the modern Moulins, in the Bourbonnais. Some MSS. read *Gortona*, and others *Gortobena*. See Dübner's note in his Cæsar.

⁴ Either Nonan-le-Fasilier or Neury-sur-Baranjon.

Such unprecedented rapidity of execution quite alarmed the Gaul, who saw at once that it was indispensable for him to change his tactics. He saw that it would be useless for him to attempt to defend towns against such machinery and skill as

The Gauls burn the Romans wielded, and, summoning a council of their towns.

all the chiefs, he persuaded them that the only alternative for them was to burn their cities and villages, in order, as it was winter, that Cæsar might find no means of sheltering or succoring his troops. In accordance with his wishes, a single day saw twenty of the villages of the Bituriges leveled to the ground:¹ a similar havoc was committed by all the clans of the league; and for a time nothing was beheld on any side but the lurid smoke of these innumerable conflagrations. Alone Avaricum (the modern Bourges) was spared, at the earnest prayer of the Bituriges, loth to consent to the sacrifice of the fairest city of all, "the bulwark and ornament of their state."² It was spared in opposition to the stern wishes of the Vercingetorigh, who soon found his policy confirmed by the rapid movement of the Romans toward its walls.³ Famished for the want of corn, wearied out by the incessant assaults of the Gauls, who followed close in their wake, the indomitable legions yet pressed the siege, and in the midst of an indescribable slaughter, to which a furious tempest lent its horrors, scaled the ramparts. Of the forty thousand inhabitants of the place, it is said that eight hundred only escaped their swords.

But the disaster confirmed the authority of the Vercingetorigh, inasmuch as it proved the sagacity of his advice. Neither did it intimidate the Gauls, who were still hurrying to his camp; volunteer re-enforcements continued to pour in from all sides, and he levied, in addition, new quotas of troops from each of the confederate states. Many of the Æduans themselves, so long the fast friends of the Romans, and in spite of the efforts of Cæsar to propitiate their fidelity, were moved by

¹ These are called *urbes*, but are not to be confounded with our modern cities, or even towns. Many of the Gallic towns were no more than intrenched fastnesses in the woods, or on the tops of hills. See the subject discussed, however, by Walckenaer (*Geogr. des*

Gaulles), and by another writer (*Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiq. de France*, t. xxi.).

² Cæs., *Bell. Gall.*, l. vii., cc. 19-31.

³ Once in the town, Cæsar would find a large store of provisions to solace his hungry legions.

the general impulse to join the cause of their country and race. Undismayed, yet not wholly undisturbed by this serious defection, the proconsul resolved to push forward toward the domains of the Arverni, in the hope of securing their stronghold of Gergovia; but, wherever he moved, the Gallic chieftain hovered on his flanks, cutting off his supplies, breaking down the bridges, and disputing the fords of the streams.

Arrived at the town—an impregnable fortress in the midst of the magnificent mountains of Arvernia—Cæsar found that for once he had involved himself in an almost inextricable difficulty.¹ Encompassed, in fact, by two armies—by the Siege of Gergovia. garrison within the town, and by the Gallic tribes without—he saw that, between the rocky fastnesses of the one and the superior numbers of the other, he was likely, without superhuman efforts, to be crushed. Any other general would have recoiled before the insurmountable obstacles of such a position. But, disposing his forces in a masterly manner to lay siege to the town and to command the approaches to it, and by incessant stratagems and manœuvres disconcerting the Gauls and inflicting serious losses upon them, Cæsar long maintained a doubtful struggle. A detachment of his troops had even penetrated within the inclosures of the enemy, when the unfavorable nature of the ground, the increasing forces, and the spirited sallies of the Gaul, obliged him to beat an ill-disguised retreat. Nor did he halt until he had entered the territories of the Ædui. He hoped that after their temporary estrangement he should find them returned to their old Roman allegiance. But his messengers arrived at Noviodunum—their second city in importance, the principal mart of commerce, a centre of intelligence, and where, moreover, he had deposited his magazines of corn, his treasure, his hostages, and the greater part of the baggage of his army—just in time to hear the last plank of the bridge leading to it fall crackling into the stream, and to see the last roof of the fair and flourishing city devoured by the flames. The Æduans were in earnest in their access of patriotism, and, having butchered the garrison left among them,

¹ Bell. Gall., l. vii., c. 89. The this movement upon Gergovia. See later Roman writers admit that either Suetonius in Cæsare, c. 25. good sense or fortune deserted Cæsar in

seized his treasures, and committed their city to the fire, they were rapidly gathering forces to assist in his annihilation.¹

Never, in the course of his Gallic experiences, had the prospects of the Roman leader been so cheerless and critical as they were now; his army was without supplies, discouraged by defeat, and worn down by exhaustive marches and labors; the streams around him, swollen by the spring freshets, seemed to forbid a passage in any direction; a long-trying and trusted ally, powerful in numbers, and more powerful still in influence, was warmly engaged in the revolt; while the exasperated tribes of the whole country, inflamed by recent successes, and led for the first time by a man of commanding talent, who was both capable of harmonizing their councils and of instructing them in the higher arts of war, thickened around his front, and flank, and rear. Nor could he know how soon other tribes from the populous and angry north, breaking down the feeble barrier opposed by his lieutenant Labienus, whom he had dispatched to arrest their passage, might arrive to swell the triumphant numbers of his foe. For a moment he hesitated whether to try to make his way into the Province, where he might recruit his forces and await the turn of events, or to remain in the strait in which he was and meet adversity face to face. But the genius and self-confidence of Cæsar rose superior to the dictates of fear, or of a policy which might have been mistaken for fear. He felt that to leave Labienus alone in the north would be equivalent to an act of treachery; nor could he consent to exhibit to the chuckling barbarians the unprecedented spectacle of a Roman army skulking away from its enemies; and therefore, watching a favorable chance, he unexpectedly turned about, forded the Loire up to the armpits of his soldiers, and, by rapid marches day and night, succeeded in reaching Labienus, who was then at Agendicum (Sens).² His lieutenant had fortunately good news for him, for he had reduced Lutetia, the capital of the Parisii (now Paris), and, by a series of splendid though hard-won victories over the neighbor-

¹ Oros., l. vi., c. 11, who says that he lost the best part of his army, which can scarcely be true. Florus (iii., 10) confirms him; but both are strangely confused as to details, confounding the siege

of Gergovia with that of Alesia, which was a later affair. Cæsar admits the loss of forty-six centurions, and his other losses must have been great.

² Bell. Gall., l. vii., c. 56.

ing tribes, prevented a junction of the more northern clans with those of the south.

Cæsar, joined by Labienus, found himself at the head of ten legions; but as these were wanting in cavalry, which he could not now expect to draw either from Italy or the Province, he had recourse to the Ubii and other German mercenaries on the right bank of the Rhine. Allured by the charms of regular pay and the hope of plunder, a considerable number of these, horsemen, together with some foot-soldiers, repaired the deficiency of his ranks. Still he was unwilling to face the clans of the Vercingetorigh, so superior in numbers and flushed by their recent victory, as well as by the ardent accession of the Ædui. He moved forward cautiously, therefore, and somewhat circuitously, through the country of the Lingones toward the confines of Sequania.¹

Meanwhile the confederates, having accepted gladly the proposed alliance of the Æduans, summoned a council at Bibracte to consider the future measures of the war. The Vercingetorigh was, for the second time, invested with the supreme command; new levies were made, and by an adroit use of the Gallic hostages rescued from the custody of Cæsar's garrison at Noviodunum, a general coalition of the clans was provoked or aroused. In an eloquent speech addressed to the cavalry, the Vercingetorigh proclaimed that the time for their final triumph was come; that the Romans were flying into the Province and out of Gaul; that this would obtain their immediate freedom, but not their future security and peace; and that Cæsar must be overwhelmed on the spot, unless they would see him thereafter returning with greater forces and rekindled hopes.² The proposal was received with enthusiastic applause, the brave warriors shouting with a unanimous voice the ancient oath that they would never see home, or wife, or children again until they had ridden twice through the enemy's camp. Thus encouraged, the Gallic leader took his measures with an instant energy, and yet with a wise foresight. Conjecturing or knowing that Cæsar would aim at reaching the Province, he

¹ His direct route, if he wished to reach the Province, was through the Ædian territory; but he would, in

taking it, have been compelled to fight his way the greater part of the distance.

² Bell. Gall., I. vii., c. 66.

sent detachments to guard every ford at which it might be supposed the Romans would attempt to cross the upper Rhone; a strong body of the Gabali and the nearest Arvernian cantons were set upon the Helvii; the Æduans and Segusians were dispatched against the Allobrogi to hold them in check, or to seduce them from the Roman alliance; and the Ruteni and Cadurks were ordered to lay waste the lands of the Folks-Arekomici. The Vercingetorigh himself, with his main body, proceeded against Cæsar, who was but ten miles off, somewhere probably on the banks of the Saône. He reckoned on surprising the enemy, whom he imagined to be in full retreat. On the contrary, he found Cæsar prepared to give him a hot reception. A combat between the cavalry of the respective armies was soon joined, and a deadly struggle followed, in which the Roman general himself ran such imminent personal risks as to have his sword wrested from him by one of the Gauls.¹ But the vehement and resistless charges of Cæsar's German horse gained the day, and the discomfited Vercingetorigh drew back into the fortified town of Alesia.

In resorting to this place, the Vercingetorigh stultified his own policy, and committed the fatal blunder of his campaign. He had always confessed that, in the conduct of a regular siege, the superior military science of the Romans gave them an unquestionable advantage. Nor does it appear that in the recent engagement he had been so much damaged as to leave him no other alternative. If the immense force under his control had been dispersed, to continue the practice of wasting the country around Cæsar, and of harassing his foragers in detail, the Romans could have accomplished nothing at best beyond a fruitless protraction of the contest. But, in cooping up his entire strength in a single fortress, he risked the fortunes of Gaul forever on the hazards of a cast. It is true that no fortress could have been selected with better chances of success than Alesia.² It was situated on the summit

¹ Some time afterward Cæsar found this sword hanging as a trophy in a temple of the Arvernians, and an officious friend wishing to tear it down, he said, with a smile, "Let it be: it is sacred." (Plut. in Cæsar, c. 26.)

² The hill where this town was built is supposed to be Mount Auxois, about three leagues from Samur. According to tradition, Alesia was founded by Heracles, which probably means that it was an original stronghold of the Phœnicians,

of a lofty hill, surrounded by other hills, and washed at the base, on two sides, by considerable streams. Every resource of art known to the clans had been employed to enlarge and strengthen the ample securities of nature; but greater resources of art were known to the Romans, beneath the fatal efficiency of which they were destined to succumb.

This siege of Alesia impresses the reader not only as the most spirited, but as the most fearfully picturesque of all the enterprises of this ten years' war. A rocky peak rising in the midst of glorious mountain ranges is defended by eighty thousand of the flower of Gallic chivalry, and besieged at the foot by ten victorious legions, the skilled and veteran forces of the first commander of his age. Far around stretch the enormous circumvallations¹ of the Romans, furnished with every means of defense and destruction which Roman ingenuity, in the exercise of centuries, had been able to invent. From time to time, the eager occupants of the hill rush down to dislodge the beleaguers, whose gigantic works are fast imprisoning them within their stony citadel, but as often they are driven back to their holds with fearful carnage. A single company of horsemen alone is able to issue forth and spread itself among the neighboring tribes, to summon every fighting man of the country to the assistance of its brave and last defenders. Yet the work of assault without, of famine within, slowly, and steadily proceeds. Already the Gauls are reduced to the extremity of debating whether they shall eat their old and disabled men, or cast them beyond the walls, as a horrible alternative of economizing supplies. The last opinion prevails, and the old men, the women, the children, the diseased, are thrust forth, in large numbers, to die. Creeping toward the Roman turrets, they beg for succor, beg for corn, beg to be carried into slavery, beg for any fate rather than to be abandoned

though one does not see what mere merchants wanted to do with such fortresses. (Diod. Sic., l. i., c. 4.) There is much dispute, however, whether the place was Mount Auxois in Burgundy, or Alaise in Franche Comté, and any one wishing to see the question ably and learnedly discussed may consult an article, ascribed to the Duke D'Aumale, in the

Revue des Deux Mondes for May, 1858. It has since been expanded and published in a volume entitled (*Alesia: Etude sur le septième Campagne de César en Gaule.* Paris, 1859).

¹ One of the walls was eleven, and the other fourteen miles in length. Bell. Gall., l. vii., cc. 69, 74.

to the miseries of starvation. But the Romans steel themselves to their appeals, as their countrymen had steeled themselves before, and they are left to perish wretchedly in the sight of either camp.¹ A shout of joy, however, reaches their dying ears, as it rings from the heights of Alesia and re-echoes among the mountains, for the besieged have caught the first glimpses of the multitudinous hosts of Gaul advancing to their rescue. Two hundred and fifty thousand warriors, led by the ablest chiefs of all the clans, pour along the plains and dash against the Roman walls. Gaul and Rome are met for their last deadly encounter. For three days and nights, with the briefest intervals of repose, the tide of battle sways from one side to the other, with alternate shouts of exultation and despair. The great commander of the Romans flies in his purple robe from line to line, exhorting his men, and proclaiming that for him and them that day every thing is to be gained or every thing lost. Patriotism, valor, despair, drive the Gauls to superhuman efforts. More than once they penetrate to the very pretorium of the Roman camp, and more than once they raise the shout of victory; but, alas! victory is not for them: a sudden movement of Cæsar's lieutenants and a tremendous charge of the German cavalry puts them to rout, and in their flight they are unsparingly cut to pieces, so that "in a little while," says Plutarch, "that immense army is vanished like a dream."²

Sorrowfully the remnant of the brave defenders of the town withdraws within its walls, and is about to appoint Surrender of the Vercingetorigh. envoys to go to Cæsar to negotiate the terms of peace. The Vercingetorigh, whose hopes are now withered, magnanimously offers to surrender himself as the ransom of his people. Cæsar, less magnanimous, demands the surrender of all. Appareling himself then in all the gay armor of his rank, and mounting his splendidly-caparisoned steed, the Gallic chieftain gallops to where Cæsar is sitting on his tribunal in the midst of his camp; he dismounts, and casts his sword and his casque at the feet of the conqueror without uttering a word.³ In that act we behold the final submission of Gaul to

¹ Bell. Gall., l. vii., c. 78. Cæsar does not say this expressly, but it is to be inferred from his language.

² Plut. in Cæs.

³ Cæsar remarks simply that he surrendered; but both Plutarch, Dion

the proud mistress of the nations. Six years later the Vercingetorigh will be drawn from the dungeons of Rome to grace the multiple triumph of the great dictator, master of Rome, and "foremost man of all the world."¹

The Gauls did not entirely yield on the fall of Alesia, but, during the remainder of the year, and for the greater part of the next year, they harassed the Romans with an intermittent and fitful warfare. Yet their strength was broken, and all their efforts were no more than the spasms and death-shivers of a great body tenacious of life, but fatally smitten. The eighth and last campaign, in which we have no longer the concise narrative of Cæsar to assist us, only the imperfect supplement of Hirtius, exhibited few great actions, and these chiefly in the way of suppressing impatient local revolts rather than large and general conflicts. The Bituriges, the Carnutes, and the Bellovaks, who rose, soon succumbed to the unceasing vigilance and energy of Cæsar; his lieutenant, Fabius, subjected the Armoricans; Labienus held the Treviri in check, and the Atrebatas surrendered to Antony. The only protracted contest was at the siege of Uxellodunum, a strongly-fortified town on a steep, craggy mountain in the country of the Cadurks (now Capdenac);² and, when it was taken, Cæsar betrayed his indignant weariness of the war by an act of detestable cruelty. He cut off the right hands of the prisoners, and, so mutilated, sent them out among their friends. It was a needless atrocity, because the entire submission of Gaul was only a question of time.³ When, however, it was finally reduced into the form of a province,⁴ his administration, which lasted another year, was liberal and kind. No confiscations or conscriptions were ordered; no military colony, even, was established; the people were left in the enjoyment of their lands and their local

Cassius, and Florus add these details. Florus puts a melo-dramatic speech into the Gaul's mouth, and Dio. says Cæsar heaped him with invectives.

¹ Dion (l. xl., 2) alleges that he was then put to death, but there is no other evidence of the fact, which, for Cæsar's sake, one is unwilling to believe.

² Or Quercy. Bell. Gall., l. viii., c. 44.

³ The story of Plutarch that Cæsar, in these campaigns, "took over eight hundred cities, routed three hundred nations, killed one million of men, and took one million of prisoners," is surely a gross exaggeration.

⁴ It was called sometimes *Gallia Comata*, or long-haired Gaul, to distinguish it from *Gallia togata*, or the old Province, where the *toga* was worn.

institutions, and only a small tribute was exacted, in the form and under the name of a military stipend.¹ Gaul, on its side, more than repaid Cæsar for his forbearance. In the fierce civil wars of Rome which followed almost immediately, his Gallic troops—the Trevirian cavalry, the Rutenian archers, and the famous legion of the Lark²—were among his most effective instruments. Like other provincials, they followed the fortunes of him who represented the rights of the common people and of the Provinces. The aristocratic old Province alone resisted his pretensions, when he was forced to reduce Massalia by siege, and establish military colonies at Nismes, Narbo, Arles, Biterra, and Frejus.³ Toward all the rest of Gaul he showed signal favor; the freedom and the privileges of Rome were scattered among the principal houses with a prodigal hand;⁴ while Julian families and Julian cities, springing up on every side, witnessed the gratitude of the Gauls, and the speed with which their fickle dispositions had changed from the intensest fear and hatred to admiration and even love.

¹ Suetonius in Cæsare.

² Cæs., Bell. Civ., l. i., cc. 18, 39, 51. The *Alaudæ*, or Lark-legion, was so called from the figure of a lark which ornamented its crest. (Suetonius in Cæs., c. 24.) Before the Gauls could

be formed into a legion, however, he must have endowed them with the right of Roman citizenship.

³ See Hist. Generale du Languedoc. Preuves.

⁴ Suet. in Cæs., cc. 76, 89.



BOOK II.

ROMAN GAUL



CHAPTER V.

THE ORGANIZATION OF GAUL BY AUGUSTUS.

"THE city is the world," sang the Latin poets; "the city is the world," the people re-echoed; for the little village of the Palatine Hill was now commensurate with the orb of mankind.¹ Seven hundred years of war and policy had built for it an unexampled dominion. Its line of frontier, beginning at the mouth of the Rhine, followed that stream to the nearest head of the Danube, ran thence along its current to the Euxine, skirted the borders of Persia to the stony desert, crossed over into Upper Egypt to the cataracts of the Nile, and then, pursuing the chains of Atlas, which separated it from the burning Libyan sands, to the sea-coasts of the Atlantic, came round again to the mouth of the Rhine.²

Gathered about that magnificent lake, the Mediterranean, which seems as if it had been specially designed by the divine Providence to accomplish the early unity and civilization of the nations, lay the thirty-eight provinces³ which formed this splendid and fineless empire.⁴ The richest and most fertile regions of the globe, comprising one hundred and twenty millions of people, possessing more than three thousand cities,⁵ speaking nearly a thousand different dialects,⁶ exhibiting every variety of social progress, from the wildest barbarism of the Keltic clans to the polished intellectuality of Greece and the effeminate luxury of the East; differing in short in race, in in-

¹ "Urbi et orbi" was a common and favorite phrase.

"In orbe Romana qui sunt," was also a usual designation of the law-books. (Dig., l. xvii., de Stat. Hom.) At a later day, Rutilius, addressing Rome, says,

"Urbe[m] fecisti qui prius orbis erat."
Itin., l., 62.

² Lipsius (De Magnitud. Romæ, l. i., c. 3. Antwerp, 1637). Comp. Gibbon (Decline and Fall, vol. i., c. 1).

³ Fifteen under the Republic, thirty

under Augustus, thirty-eight after Nero. De Champagny (Les Césars, t. ii., Append., ed. Bruxelles, 1854).

⁴ Imperium sine fine dedi. Virgil.

⁵ This estimate of the population and the cities is that of Gibbon (l. i., c. 2) for the time of Claudius.

⁶ Pliny (l. vi., c. 5) says that Roman commerce maintained one hundred and twenty interpreters for the transactions of the market-place of Dioscurias, to which three hundred nations resorted for the purposes of trade.

terests, in manners, in speech, and in religion, Rome had yet assumed the task of defending their external security, of promoting their internal cohesion, and of disciplining them into a unity of government, of laws, and of culture.

The prophecy of supreme dominion, which tradition ascribed to Romulus,¹ and had long been the common expectation and desire, not of her poets only, who ever suffuse the future with rays of glory, but of her graver statesmen, publicists, and warriors, was at length fulfilled. What Pliny² wrote, at a later day, from his snug Vesuvian villa—"Thine it is, O Italy! foster-child and parent of all lands, chosen by the providence of the immortal gods to render even heaven more glorious, to unite the dismembered empires of the earth, to polish the rude manners of its tribes, to soften their uncouth and barbarous dialects into a harmonious speech, to confer the delights of society and discourse upon mankind, and, in a word, to become the nursing-mother of all the nations of the globe"—if not always the articulate policy, was at least the instinctive hope of the whole wonderful people cradled by the seven hills.³

Nor was the genius of Rome wholly unequal to its ambitious hopes. No vital and real unity, growing out of the internal life of the nations, out of their common sympathies and aims, was then possible in the condition of humanity, but she none the less pursued the end by her matchless organizing skill. A large scheme of administration—of which the base was military force, but which combined flexibility with strength and policy with power; which, though capable of the most crushing and cruel despotism, did not forget the attractive use of the superior arts or the flatteries of graceful concessions—was devised to envelop, connect, and regulate the universal movements of society. A splendid and omnipotent imperialism at the centre, which concentrated all political

¹ Plut. (in vitâ Romul.).

² Nat. Hist., l. iii., c. 6. Comp. Cicero (De Prov. Consul.) and Virgil (*Æneid*, vi., 852).

³ On the civilizing instincts and influences of Rome, see Thierry (*Histoire de la Gaule sous l'administration Ro-*

maine, ed. Paris, 1847), the first volume of which consists of a series of learned and beautiful dissertations on the several branches of the subject. But the work leaves too much out of sight the effects of the Roman social vices.

attributes in a single agent; a magnificent net-work of roads, bringing it into easy contact with the most distant parts; a hierarchy of separate states and municipalities, each permitted its local and seemingly independent functions, yet strictly subordinated to the head, and executing its commands—describes in few words the main features of its external mechanism of control.¹

The burden of its support fell chiefly upon the provinces. Compelled to maintain twenty-five legions, nearly a half million of armed men, on the frontiers; to provide for hosts of governors, procurators, clerks, and agents of affairs; to nourish the people of Rome; to keep in repair its public edifices and factories; to support its worship, decorate its temples, enrich its ceremonies, and to furnish the frightful prodigalities of the emperors—their largesses to the armies and to the people, their spectacles and sports, and their luxurious and licentious pleasures,² they were often chafed by the grievous weight of tributes and imposts into violent reactions and revolts. Yet the skillful policy of Rome knew how to counteract even these dispersive effects, and to maintain, in spite of them, the coherence of the most distant parts. It was aware, in the outset, that its government, however trying its exactions or harsh the tyranny it exercised, was generally better and more gentle than the barbaric oligarchies or anarchies it supplanted.³ Then, again, it awakened and encouraged new activities by the physical ameliorations which it attempted—the roads, the bridges, the canals, the aqueducts, the ports, the marts, and the agricultures—and which often absorbed the spirit of discontent in the occupations and profits of enterprise.

But there were two means of civic agglutination which Rome used chiefly and with consummate ability—the establishment of colonies, and the graduated distribution of the high boon of Roman citizenship. By the one she imparted herself to the world, and by the other she drew the

¹ For an able and detailed view of the Roman political constitution, see De Champagny (*Les Césars*, t. ii., *passim*).

² Naudet (*De l'Administration de*

l'Empire Romain, t. i., c. 1, pp. 5, 6, ed. Paris, 1817).

³ Except in intelligent Greece. See Findlay (*Greece under the Romans*, c. i., sect. 6, ed. Edinburgh, 1844).

world to herself. A Roman colony was not a collection of fugitives and criminals, driven from their native home by the indignant virtue of their compatriots; or gathered perchance, by an accursed lust of gold, from the rabble of all climes; but a community legally sanctioned, religiously consecrated, and carrying with it not only the laws, the customs, and the institutions of the mother country, but her watchful care and blessing. Wherever it laid its walls the sacred pomerium was around it still; wherever it lighted its fires the genius of the mighty city sat upon the hearth-stone; her consuls reappeared in its duumvirs, her senate in its curia, and her arts and her religion in its schools, its porticoes, its theatres, and its temples. Rome was thus budded every where upon foreign stocks, and the shoot taking a vigorous hold soon expanded, even in the midst of wild and desolate wastes, into a broad green tree which sheltered and nourished the tribes.

But, while the Roman influence was radiating in this wise from its numerous municipal centres, the parent state Influence of Roman nationalisation. was attracting to herself the ambitions of the nations by the privileges and the rights with which she dazzled and often crowned their hopes. In an age when some share in her glory, her magnificence, and her power was coveted by the wild Arab of the desert, by the shaggy German in his forests, it was easy to flatter and to bind the attachments of more cultivated people by concessions which enabled them to participate in her greatness. Knowing her force and cruelty when the occasion needed them, they dreaded her animosity; and knowing her wealth, security, and splendor, they desired her friendship. "I am a Roman citizen," was a phrase which seemed to express the height of dignity, the assurance of safety, the perfection of freedom, and a title even to imperial honors; and this lofty favor of her fellowship Rome distributed, on a graduated scale,¹

¹ An individual, or the member of a *municipium*, admitted to full rights of Roman citizenship, was the equal of the citizen of Rome; enjoyed every privilege of the Roman law, public and private; might vote in the *comitia*, and was eligible to the highest political honors. But in other cases the grant of rights was not so complete; only

the *Jus Latium*, or the *Jus Latinitatis* was conceded, and the *municipium*, retaining its own laws, usages, and domestic government, found its members equal to Roman citizens only in the exemption from tribute, and certain other burdens, and, after having been magistrates at home, in eligibility to office. In other cases again the Italic right

and with the wisest precautions, to individuals and states whose amity she desired to secure, or whose services she deemed worthy of reward. Successive adoptions and the hope of further advancement created her every where powerful bodies of adherents and defenders; they drew to her inclosures much signal ability and much illustrious virtue; while, for the moral benefit of mankind, the scheme substituted for the narrow and material ties of locality and tribe the higher and more spiritual relations involved in the possession of common rights and common destinies.¹

At the same time, it is not to be forgotten that Rome diffused her shames with her glories. The profound and incurable evils of a society thoroughly permeated by slavery, and of which despotism was but the crowning and poisonous flower; whose religion consisted of a wild mass of capricious, impure, and sanguinary rites; and in which the contempt for woman had almost dissolved the family, and bred the rankest contagions in the very heart of domestic life, can not be disguised, even while we celebrate the imposing and majestic edifice of its laws, the grandeur and utility of its arts, and the lofty dignity and grace of a literature which, after the changes of eighteen centuries, yields us pleasure. It is true, doubtless, that slavery, licentiousness, and superstition were the characteristics of every ancient society; but it was in the hot-bed of Rome, where an intenser life had rapidly exhausted the native vigor of the soil, and supplied its place with a luxuriant compost, that these evils seemed to shoot up in their most monstrous forms. For it was toward Rome that all the peculiar luxuries, vices, crimes, sorceries, and superstitions of all the earth had tended:² thither the tyranny of proconsuls and publicans had for years driven

Rome diffused
her corruptions,

Because more
corrupt than
the rest of the
world.

(*Jus Italicum*) was granted, and this, while it carried with it certain guarantees of person and property and certain immunities from exaction, did not confer an equal aptitude for suffrage (*suffragium*) and for offices (*honores*). For details on this somewhat complicated subject, see Roth (*De Re Municipali Romanorum*, Stuttgart, 1801), which has been only imperfectly condensed, I

think, by Guizot (*Essais sur l'Histoire de France. Essai 1^{re}*, pp. 4-9. Ed. Paris, 1847).

¹ On this aspect of her policy, see Thierry (*Hist. de la Gaule, sous l'Administration Rom.*, t. i., p. 37).

² Roma—quo omnia pudenda conflunt celebranterque. Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 44). *Ἐκτρομή πασης δεισιδαιμονίας*. See also Sallust, *Catil.*, c. 38.

every miserable wretch of the provinces; there rich and powerful families poured the wealth of immeasurable estates among the multitude in copious streams of political and social corruption; there colossal individualities, like Sulla and Marius, Cæsar and Pompey, stirred the elements of civil strife, till the passions of men were convulsed into gigantic and awful proportions; and there, too, every impulse of human wickedness, every perversity of human intellect, every lust of power and indulgence, every cruelty, every cupidity, every low, putrid, sensual baseness, flourished with a preternatural vigor.¹ Long before her roundness and ripeness had reached the full, Rome was rotten at the core; the great Republic, invested by our school-boy fancies with somewhat of the severe and heroic dignity of a few of its eminent citizens, was externally glorious, but inwardly decayed and fetid; and the convulsive struggles of its later days were but the crisis of a terrible disease, which, smiting the vital powers, threw the whole system into the agonies of dissolution. If the Empire salved the external wounds, it could not arrest the profound internal mortification of the State. On the contrary, with that more universal circulation of Roman influences, which seems to have been its peculiar function, it carried the pent-up and vicious humors of the blood from the heart to the extremities; from the capital the corruption gradually spread to the provinces.

But, whatever the greatness or the defects of the Roman polity and moralism, into its comprehensive system of life and law Gaul was now introduced by the conquest of Cæsar; and a brief history of its reduction to the Roman forms will be, perhaps, the best comment on the nature and effectiveness of the Roman methods. The old province, as we have seen, had long since been affiliated, and its cities variously endowed with the privileges of Rome, in their several gradations. Narbo, from the first, was a Roman civitas; Tolosa, and Nemausus (Nîmes), the head of some twenty-four flourishing villages, received the Latin right; and Vienne and perhaps other cities enjoyed the Italic right.² In the tumults

¹ On this subject consult De Champagny (*Les Césars*, t. i., § 1, and t. ii., l. ii., c. 2).

² See Vaissette (*Histoire Générale du Languedoc*, t. i., c. 5, ed. Paris, 1839).

of the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey, Massalia was punished for her aristocratic leanings with the loss of her independence; and for the same cause military colonies were installed at Narbo, at Arelate (Arles), and at Biterræ (Beziers); but the right of full citizenship and an admission to the Senate was conferred upon many notables who had adopted the side of the successful general.¹ To the new province, or the long-haired Gaul (*Gallia Comata*), he was ever partial, and a gentle and beneficent policy caused his death to be generally mourned.² After that event Minutius Plancus, the governor (B.C. 48), founded a city, called *Lugdunum* (Lyons), at the confluence of the Rhone and Saône, the first Roman city in long-haired Gaul. Mark Antony then for a brief period assumed the provincial administration;³ but it was reserved for Octavius, when he had centred in himself, under the title of Augustus, all the magistracies and political functions of the effete republic, to complete its permanent organization (B.C. 46—A.C. 14).

The general plan of distributing the provinces, devised under the Empire, which gave the armed provinces, requiring a military guard, to the emperor, and the others to the senate and people,⁴ consigned Gaul to Augustus, for the double reason of its internal restlessness and its external exposures. Already the Proconsul Agrippa, while charged with its provisional management, had been compelled to suppress some violent risings in Aquitaine and among the Morini, as well as to defend it against the constant incursions of the Germans (B.C. 37).⁵ Appointed the imperial legate, or governor, he was intrusted with almost dictatorial powers, commanding the armies, making and interpreting laws, imposing taxes, and supervising the collection of them by the procurators; and yet Augustus, on his way to Spain, deemed it advisable to stop at Narbo, in order to convoke an assembly of all the states, and to consult about and arrange its affairs.⁶ He ordered the es-

¹ Cæs. (De Bell. Civ., l. ii., c. 22).

² Suet. in Cæsare, cc. 81–84.

³ Plut. (in vitâ M. Antonii). Horace (Epod. ix., v. 17).

⁴ They were called *Provinciae*, or *Proprie Cæsaris*, and *Provincia Populi Romani*. (Gaius, Institut., ii., 21;

Strab., l. xvii., p. 840; Niebuhr, Lect., vol. iii., p. 125.)

⁵ Le Père de Colonia (Hist. Littér. et Antiquités de la Ville de Lyon, t. i., c. 3).

⁶ Livy, Epit., c. xxxiv.; Dio. Cass., l. viii., ad ann. 726.

New colonies installed. tablishment of new colonies at Arausio (Orange), Carpenteracte (Carpentras), Julia Valentina (Valence), Julia Aptæ (Apt), Forum Julii (Frejus), and at other places, which he endowed with either the Roman, Latin, or Italic rights.¹ Nor did he spare any other means of conciliating the old province, which still retained a lingering remembrance of Pompey.² On the other hand, the new province, whose ancient and inveterate feuds had not been extinguished by the severe chastisements of Cæsar,³ he subjected to a stricter regimen.

New territorial divisions. As a first step in reform, he reconstructed the territorial divisions, so as to break up the old clientages and alliances, and to efface any too national sentiments their names might recall. He divided Gaul into three great provinces, in addition to the Narbonnensis, or the old province: 1st. AQUITANIA, whose northern limit was carried north to the Loire; 2d. BELGICA, between the Seine and the Rhine; and, 3d. LUGDUNENSIS, or the Lyonnese, named from the city founded by Plancus, and comprising the whole of central Gaul, between the Loire and the Seine, with the peninsula of Armorica. The old province remained as it was; but as Aquitain was made to include some fourteen nations formerly attached to central and western Gaul; as Sequania, Helvetia, and the country of the Lingons, were associated with the Belgic; and as the Lyonnese conjoined the Æduans, the Senones, the Parisii, the Armoricans, and others, before almost foreign to each other, the ancient federations were thereby separated, new centres of activity created, new political amalgamations formed, and the whole subjected to the supremacy of Lyons, the capital of new Gaul.⁴ Each province was, moreover, subdivided into civitates or states—about sixty in all—composed of a number of cities, with dependent pagi or rural cantons attached. Nor were these states made equal in their position or rank; for some, considered as *federates* or allies, preserved their institutions, were exempted from tribute, and owed the empire only military service; others were *free* or autonomous, retaining also their independence, but liable to tribute; and others again were *sub-*

¹ Pliny (l. iii., c. 4). Dom Bouquet (Inscript., 5, p. 139).

² Strab., l. iv., c. 1, § 9.

³ Orosius, l. vi., c. 12.

⁴ Thierry (Hist. des Gaulois, t. iii., p. 288).

jects, submitted directly and wholly to the authority of the imperial officers.¹ The higher grades of privilege—the Roman, Latin, and Italic rights—were not at first extended to the long-haired Gaul, but were held in reserve, as a lure to the ambition of the people, or as the reward of special services.

Even in the distribution of the names, as well as of the political powers of the states, some reference appears to have been had to the possible extinction of ancient associations. Noviodunum was called Augusta, Bibracte became Augustodunum, and Bratépansium Cæsaromagus; the Durocortorum of the Remi was allowed to remain, because it awakened none but servile reminiscences; while the old strong-hold of Gergovia, before which Cæsar had failed, was bereft of its inhabitants, and the site of it left vacant and tenantless on its solitary crags. At the same time the new city of Lyons, which recalled no patriotic traditions, was converted into the Gallic capital,² where the governors were expected to reside, where the emperors sojourned on their visits, where the moneys were struck, and whither all the great roads, with which Gaul was rapidly covered, converged, as the roads of Italy converged to Rome (B.C. 27).³

Augustus, during a second visit to Gaul, where he spent in all five years (B.C. 16–10), caused another census to be taken by Nero Drusus (who had succeeded Agrippa in the office of legate) as the basis of the taxation. History unfortunately has not preserved for us either the numbers of the people or the kinds and rates of the impost. Incidental

¹ Thierry, *Hist. des Gaulois*, t. ii., p. 383.

² Lyons, which stood on the west side of the Rhone, not so near the confluence of the Saône as now, appears to have been settled by fugitive Romans driven out of Vienne by another party. It grew with as marvelous a rapidity as some of our western cities, for in fifteen years it swelled from a simple colony into a metropolis of considerable splendor. *Père de Colonia* (*Hist. Litt. de la Ville de Lyon*, t. i., c. 3), *Dion Cassius*, l. xlvi., c. 60. *Lugdun* appears to have been a Celtic designation, and, as the *g* in that speech took the sound

of *y* and *d* was silent, we can easily see how the name became Lyon. *Martin* (*De la France*, c. v., p. 105, note 2).

³ These roads, which were begun if not constructed by Agrippa, branched out from Lyons: one toward the Rhine, another to Boulogne and the British Channel, a third across the country to the Bay of Biscay, a fourth to the Pyrenees, and a fifth over Mount Cenis of the Alps into the Cisalpine. A number of secondary or cross roads were connected with them. See *Bergier* (*Hist. des Grand-Chemins de l'Empire Romain*, t. i., l. iii., c. 29, ed. Bruxelles, 1728).

facts authorize the conjecture that the former were about ten millions;¹ while for the latter we are left to the general analogies of the Roman revenue system, which, says the historian, was "more powerful over the vanquished even than arms."² Onerous in itself, and galling in the modes of its execution, it was, however, less severe in the imperial than in the senatorial provinces. In the latter, which preserved the republican usage, the revenues were farmed out, and were both arbitrary and indeterminate; whereas, in the former, there was an evaluation of properties and fortunes, the tax-rate was uniform, and the collections were made by regular officers of the emperor.³ The taxes levied both in money and kind were direct upon estates and persons, and indirect upon trade, contracts, inheritances, etc. Every year the Governor of the Province deposited the sum of them in the public magazines or the treasury; but if the amount did not suffice the purposes of state, an increase was ordered (*indictio*), or forced purchases were made. The tax-payers were also compelled to carry their contributions to the places indicated by the governor; to nourish the army and imperial officers on their journeys; to maintain the public posts; and to present the coronary gold (*aurum coronarium*) on the advent of the emperor, on the renewal of his reign, on his gaining a signal victory, and on many other occasions.⁴ Even under the mitigated rule of the emperors these exactions were vexatious, and the abuse of them by the agents bred serious discontents. A prætor of Augustus in Gaul, Licinius,⁵ added two months to the year, in order to multiply the imposts.

It was useless for the Gauls to complain of these or any other wrongs with which they might have been afflicted; for they possessed no means of redress: in the centre and the south they had been stripped of their arms,⁶ only a small militia force of the ancient warriors being retain-

¹ Gibbon, Dec. and Fall (vol. ii., c. 17, pp. 223-25, Milman's ed. Paris, 1840).

² Tacit., Ann., l. iv., c. 64.

³ Dio. Cass., l. v., c. 24; Tacit., Ann., iv., 6.

⁴ See for details Naudet (Administration de l'Empire, t. i., c. 1, §§ 1, 2).

These coronary presents were often oppressive. On one occasion Cæsar received 20,414 pounds weight in gold. (Appian, Bell. Civ., l. ii., c. 18.)

⁵ Dio. Cass., l. iv., c. 21.

⁶ See, however, Dubos (Hist. Crit., t. i., l. i., p. 25, ed. Paris, 1742).

ed, as a police, and under the command of Roman officers.¹ On the left bank of the Rhine, from its mouth to the confines of Helvetia, eight legions were stationed, with the necessary intrenchments and fortifications, partly to repel invasions from the German side of the stream, and partly to keep the Gauls under a salutary restraint.² For the same purpose, in pursuance of a policy which had been already adopted by Agrippa, Augustus caused large bodies of Germans, Ubii, Suevi, and Sicambers to be transplanted into those parts of Gaul.³ It may here be noted, indeed, that, in process of time, the Germans gave not only a population, but a name to the entire district, for nearly sixty miles inland along the Rhine.⁴ Two additional provinces were then formed out of Belgica, named *Germania Prima* and *Secunda*,⁵ and destined to play a conspicuous part thereafter as the head-quarters of the army, whence expeditions departed in the bloody wars of Drusus, Varus, Tiberius, and *Ahenobarbus* against the Germans, where the revolts of the legions occurred, and battles which determined the fate of the empire were fought, and where the Roman *oppida* and *castra* formed the nuclei of several important cities of modern Belgium and Holland.

But, while the Romans thus secured their supremacy by the more material means of administration and of arms, Moral influences of the Romans. they did not neglect the moral influences which are often quite as effective of the same end. It was not sufficient, in their opinion, to subject the will of the provincial; they sought to captivate and control his intelligence. The arts, which they propagated as the instruments of amelioration and refinement, were also the incidental instruments of subjugation. Those arches, aqueducts, porticoes, amphitheatres, and temples, which they proceeded every where and immediately to construct, served the double purpose of ornament and utility. For, as a learned writer remarks, with as much beauty as truth, "architecture, as cultivated by the ancients, was not merely

¹ Thierry (*Hist. des Gaulois*, t. ii., l. viii., c. 2, p. 883, ed. Paris, 1858).

² Tacit., *Ann.*, l. iv., c. 5.

³ Sueton. in *Augusto*, c. 21.

⁴ Comp. Tacit., *Ann.*, l. xli., c. 27; Vell. Paterc., l. ii., cc. 72, 97, 118;

Florus, l. iv., c. 12, and *Suetonius* in *Tiberio*, cc. 18, 21.

⁵ I do not find precisely the time when these Provinces were constituted.

Dio., *Hist.*, l. lv., p. 503.

presented to the eye; it spake also to the mind. The walls, covered with the decrees of the legislature, engraved in bronze or sculptured in the marble; the triumphal arches, crowned by the statues of the princes who governed the province from the distant Quirinal; the tessellated floor, pictured with mythology of the state, whose sovereign was its pontiff—all contributed to act upon the feelings of the people, and to impress them with respect and submission. The conquered shared in the fame and were exalted by the splendor of the victors."¹

More than this: the Roman regarded the direct communication of knowledge—the art of instruction—as a function of government rather than as a branch of trade, and worthy of being liberally endowed and wisely regulated.² The professors of rhetoric and grammar, the two studies which then comprised all the mysteries of eloquence and literature,³ were a distinguished class, whose offices were honorable and whose efforts were often crowned by both wealth and fame. No Roman settlement considered itself a fit representative of its mighty mother without its schools of rhetors and grammarians, in which crowds of youth could be indoctrinated in the graces of oratory, the beauties of diction, and that world of physical and moral science which was supposed to lie concealed in the text of immortal poets. Under this inspiration a school founded at Autun by Augustus soon grew into eminence: it was copied, if not surpassed, by other schools at Vienne, Toulouse, and Arles; a taste for learning was imbibed by many opulent Gallic families; teachers of skill and distinction were hired from distant parts; and multitudes of Gallic youth, attracted from the coarse delights of the chase and of war, gave their leisure to the gentler exercises of the gymnasium.⁴ Gallic genius, in fact, from the first manifested a quick susceptibility to the peculiar culture of the Romans. Passionately addicted, as we have seen Cato already remark, to disputation and the refinements of speech, the Gauls of the old

¹ Sir F. Palgrave (*Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. i., p. 323. London, 1832).

² Code Theodos., l. xiii., tit. iii., c. 2.

³ Suetonius, *De Illustribus Gram.*, passim.

⁴ Tacit., *Ann.*, l. iii., c. 48; Martialis, l. ix., ep. 101; Strabo, l. iv., p. 181; Dio. Cass., l. xlv., c. 42. See Ampère (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, t. i., c. 6).

province were early distinguished as actors, orators, and poets; and the same regions, it may be observed, which have since given to France Massillon and Flechier, Mirabeau and the Girondists, Guizot and Thiers, contributed to Rome the first and greatest of actors, Roscius; the rhetor, Gnipho, who taught both Cæsar and Cicero; Valerius Cato, who was called the Latin syren; Varro Atacinus, whom Virgil deigned to imitate and Horace to praise; the first Latin writer of a Universal History, Trogus Pompeius; and the creator of that species of romance, not unknown to more modern times, in which the elegance and grace of the style scarcely compensates for the licentiousness of sentiment, Petronius Arbiter.¹ Nor was the example set by the elder province disavowed or disdained by the new, where the teachers and schools of Gaul rose to a rivalry with the most illustrious of Italy.

In the treatment of the religion of Gaul, Augustus was forced to pursue a more cautious and sinister course. **Religious changes.** **Druidism**, as it was incompatible, both as a positive doctrine and a hierarchy, with any foreign religion, and as it had yet taken a firm grasp of the minds of many of the common people, was assailed, but not openly: its bloodier rites only were abolished, and then it was cunningly undermined in the hearts of the ambitious and influential upper classes. Augustus decreed that no adherent of it could be received as a Roman citizen,² and the richer sort preferred the near road which led to honors to the distant and uncertain "circle of felicity." A more efficient method of extirpating it, however, was found in the practice, almost universal among the Greeks and Romans, of identifying other polytheisms with their own.³ The emperor, who was accused of granting charily the rights of citizenship to mortals, dispensed them generously to the gods of Gaul. He himself dedicated a temple to Kirk—that terrible wind of the

¹ Suet. (*De Illus. Grammat.*, c. vii.); Virgil (*Eclogue* 10); Sidonius Apoll. (*Carmen* xxiii.). Compare, also, Ampère (*loc. cit.*). At a later period the Province of Spain was more distinguished for its literature than Gaul, and could boast better names: among these were Seneca of Cordova, with his three sons; Columella, Gracilis, Pomponius

Mela; Annaeus Mela, the father of Lucan; and, a little later still, Quintilian, Martial, and Florus.

² Suetonius in Claudio, c. 25.

³ Compare Gibbon, vol. i., c. 3; Mosheim, *Ecc. Hist.*, vol. i., c. 1, § 17; Bynkershock, *De Cultu Religionis Pægrinæ apud Veteres Romanos*, Opera, t. iii., p. 237.

Narbonnese—who thence became an honored associate of Æolus and Boreas:¹ upon the altars, too, double inscriptions were placed, Latin and Keltic,² so that the humble worshiper might pay his vows indifferently to the warlike Mars or the warlike Camul, to Diana or Arduinna, to Apollo or Beles, to Mercury or Teutates. The impracticable gods, whom Rome could not assimilate, she yet suffered as *indigenous* varieties; thus Neheledda and Hesus were allowed to share their native heavens with others, while Augustus, as the supreme pontiff, condescended to set the example of participating in the blended worship. Accordingly, under his influence, the fervor of the new devotion spread rapidly, so that in a few years (B.C. 12) Augustus himself was raised into a tutelary divinity of Gaul.³ A general assembly of the states, convoked at Lugdunum by Drusus, dedicated an altar and a priesthood to the adoration of himself and of Rome; a magnificent temple was reared at the confluence of the streams to contain it; the names of the sixty principal states were engraven upon the front; sixty statues represented them around the hall; and the whole was crowned with a colossal image of the long-haired province.⁴ Other cities emulated the zeal of the capital; on all sides, in public places and in private *lararia*, the incense smoked and the blood of the victims flowed to the name of the imperial master who had suppressed their ancient liberties by his devices and debased their consciences by the seductions of a profitable piety.⁵

If Druidism was not, however, by these means wholly vanquished; if the mass of the people still clung to it, in the silence of their cabins, or amid the solitudes of the hills; if for centuries yet we shall hear its receding footsteps, as it withdraws gradually into Armorica, into Britain, into the lonely island of Mona, there to breathe its last sighs among the breaking billows of the arctic seas, it is none the less true that its vitality is sapped, and that it is destined to be more and more absorbed in the life of the new faith.

¹ Seneca, *Quæst. Nat.*, l. v., c. 17.

² Thierry, t. ii., p. 386 et seqq., ed.

³ Gruter, *Inscript.*, p. 37, No. 5, 6, 1858.

⁴ See, also, Montfaucon (*Inscript. et Monument*).

⁵ Strabo, l. iv., c. 3, § 2.

⁶ Thierry, l. c.

Gaul was no longer the chosen home of the Druids, for Gaul herself was collapsing rapidly in the powerful grasp of Rome. Her inhabitants, proud and fiery, will from time to time renew the painful struggle against the invader; by incessant revolts they will continue to protest against his domination and keep alive the tradition of their ancient freedom; but they will exist no more for us as independent races. The old battles of the clans are already fought out; the fires are dying upon the hearth-stones of the chiefs; and soon their very language, lingering with sad regrets among the echoes of the mountains or the wild murmurs of the rough Breton cliffs, will be transmuted into a strange speech.

Yet the vigorous characteristics impressed upon the race by the eternal hand of Nature will prove themselves indelible: the Italian, the Spaniard, the German, the Scandinavian may mingle his blood with that of the Gaul; eighteen centuries of vicissitude, of war, and change will pass over him; and after all we shall be able to recognize in his descendants, occupying his ancient places, the same genius which once taught eloquence to Cicero, and disputed victory with Cæsar.

Gaul fades in the light of the more gairish day of the empire; but, as her planet pales, and the rising orb seems to fill the world with its splendor, history notes that on her frontiers the Germans are blowing a clamorous salute upon their ox-horns, while afar off, in an obscure and despised province of the East, the morning stars announce the birth of a child "whose name they called JESUS."

CHAPTER VI.

GAUL UNDER THE HEATHEN ROMAN EMPERORS.

THE epoch of the Empire was the greatest epoch of time. Greatness of the epoch. Man, as an historical existence, was then passing from the circle of the Mediterranean coasts, which had hitherto confined him, upon a new and broader scene, and under new and more glorious conditions.¹ Christianity had come into the world; the ancient civilizations, having reached their zenith, were rapidly sinking down the sky; and young and vigorous races, the wild products of nature, in regions which the classic geographers did not know, were about to appear, and to mingle in that stupendous fermentation of Christian, Roman, and Barbaric elements, of which modern Europe was the slow result.

The historian of Gaul can not omit all reference to this pregnant period,² although for a long part of it his province fades into comparative obscurity. Gaul plays a part in it. If not an originator of the events of the time, it was yet an actor in them, often a sufferer by them, and always a witness of them. Gaul was, indeed, among the first, and, perhaps, the most eager of the European dependencies of Rome to appropriate its peculiar culture, which, scarcely penetrating Germany, and speedily swept away from Britain, exercised its sway over Gaul for nearly five hundred years. On the soil of Gaul a shoot of the Christian life, transplanted from intellectual Greece, and nourished by provident Rome, found early root and a vigorous growth. The ruddy and irrepressible tribes of Germany, which had never ceased to rattle their spears over its plains, first raised their independent monarchies there, and gave them a durable dominion. Gaul, therefore, more than any other part of Europe, was the theatre of those tremendous conflicts and

¹ Compare Hegel (*Philosophie der Geschichte*, b. i., s. 109, ed. Berlin, 1840).

² As Père Daniel and others have done. Even Sismondi, in his more elaborate work, allows but two brief chapters to the affairs of Gaul prior to the great invasions of A.D. 406.

combinations which filled the drama of the age. As it saw the first acts, so it saw the last. The grand polity reared by the genius of Rome found there its last supporters; the waves of barbaric invasion, after they had broken for centuries over the world, there at length settled and grew still; and there the powerful hierarchy which had come to absorb and control the Christian life first wove the discordant shreds of society into that gorgeous, subtle, and many-colored fabric which enveloped Europe for nearly a thousand years.

But, as the history of this period has been already written in a way "never to be excelled,"¹ my humbler task is simply to trace in rapid outline those more general vicissitudes of the Empire, in which it is known or may be supposed that the dependent province was involved. Of course, under such circumstances, no detailed narrative is possible, no series of connected or harmonious pictures can be painted; and it is often, indeed, only through rifts of storm-clouds in which the Empire gets more and more infolded, that we obtain even a random glimpse of our distant object.²

In a general and philosophic view, the long reach of time, extending from the age of Augustus to that of Justinian, exhibited a continuous but variously modified struggle between two great principles—the imperial centralization, which represented the political and social Unity of the Roman world, and tended to despotism; and local Independence, or, rather, Federalism, which, recognizing the social supremacy of the Empire, abhorred its political domination, resisted its aggressive encroachments, and claimed for the parts of the great whole a certain subaltern political liberty and freedom of action. It may be divided also into several well-defined and contrasted periods, that seemed to introvert the regular march of the republic toward universal unity by as regular an advance of the provinces to independence. The first of these was the reign of the Cæsars, ending with the dethronement of Nero in A. D. 70, and characterized by the violent consolidation of the ple-

¹ This is Niebuhr's remark of Gibbon (*Lect. Rom. Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 300).

² Nevertheless, Amedée Thierry has written three large and excellent vol-

umes upon it, to which I am largely indebted, and may confidently refer the reader (*Hist. de la Gaule sous l'Administration Romaine*, ed. Paris, 1847).

beian overthrow of the senatorial aristocracy; the second, the reign of the Good Emperors, as they are called, from Vespasian to Commodus (A.D. 70-180), in which an equitable and peaceful equilibrium of federalism was maintained; the third, the domination of the military usurpers, marked by almost universal revolts of the provinces and lesser localities, which were only appeased by successive grants or conquests of local rights, consummated in the conciliatory division of the Empire into four great co-ordinate empires by Diocletian (A.D. 284); the fourth, the Christian monarchy, under Constantine and his successors (A.D. 306), which, continuing the policy of Diocletian, endeavored to support the tottering Roman power by a strange union of Christian morals with the barbaric sword; and, lastly, the reigns of the phantom Emperors, from the permanent division of the East and West, under Arcadius and Honorius (A.D. 395), onward, when a succession of feeble and almost nominal rulers, set up or supported by barbaric chiefs, disguised their own impotence and the utter defeat of the Empire under a system of barbaric alliances.

These divisions I shall regard in my subsequent narrative, but not with a formal precision and consistency, which the multitude of the objects and transitions about to engage our attention, and the constant necessity of recurring to the fate of a single district, will render impracticable.

The emperors who succeeded Augustus immediately left behind them names which are the synonyms of what FIRST PRISON, A.D. 14-70. The Caesar. ever is atrocious in tyranny and hideous in vice; they are the opprobrium of history and of our race; and yet it can not be said that the evils of their lives were directly disastrous to the provinces. Outside the palace walls, where they feasted their monstrous passions, and beyond the senatorial families, which they degraded and decimated, their administrations were often salutary. Their quarrel with the nobles threw them naturally on the side of the people, whom they corrupted, but did not specially oppress.¹ As the Empire, moreover, was a reaction against the oligarchy, or, rather, the anarchy, which it replaced, it won the adhesion of the provinces, in whose be-

¹ It can not be denied that such monarchs were really popular with the rabble of Rome and in the provinces.

half the civil wars had been mainly undertaken. Under it the provincial governments were ameliorated.¹ Instead of proconsuls, who might live at will upon the wretched inhabitants, it sent forth salaried governors, held in check by a superior hand.

Dreadful abuses, no doubt, were still perpetrated by the inferior agents; and the revolt in Gaul in the early years of Tiberius, of which Julius Sacrovir, a distinguished Æduan, and Julius Florus, a no less distinguished chieftain of Trèves, were the promoters and leaders, was ascribed to their extortions. It is remarkable, however, that these leaders themselves placed their hopes of success upon "the flourishing condition" of Gaul, as compared with that of Italy;² and that the exactions of the usurers, to whom both individuals and states had to resort to meet the charges of the imposts, were as much complained of as those of the fiscal agents. The outbreak was rather a serious conspiracy than a general insurrection. Florus among the Belgians was soon hemmed up in the wood of Ardennes, where he put himself to death, a party of the Gauls themselves, under Julius Indus (these chiefs all bore Romanized names), assisting the legions of the upper and lower Rhine in driving him into the fatal snare. In the centre and west of Gaul the demonstration was more formidable. Sacrovir succeeded in winning to his cause the young Gallic nobles who were at school at Augustodunum (Autun); and he seduced a body of slave-gladiators (*crupellarii*) of one of the gymnasia to join him; after which a multitude of rustics and serfs, with pitchforks and knives as their only weapons, flocked to his camp. Some of the neighboring cities of the Sequannese also declared for him, while others hesitated; but, when it came to the brunt, this motley army readily yielded to the sturdy charges of the Roman legions.

Sacrovir and the principals among his companions, taking their refuge in a country house near Autun, set fire to it, and burned themselves to death, to escape the vengeance of the victors.

¹ Tacitus, *Annals*, l. iv., cc. 6, 81, 41; *Hist.*, l. i., cc. 7, 78, l. ix., c. 95; Dio. Cass., l. lvii., c. 23; Suetonius in Caio, c. 80—Nero, c. 57. Suetonius says there were those who long decked Nero's tomb with spring and summer flowers.

² Tacit., *Ann.*, l. iii., c. 40.

But no heavy punishments were inflicted by Tiberius, who, absorbed in his own gloomy troubles at Rome, and compelled to use his soldiers against the Germans, now more troublesome than ever, forgot or forgave the offenses of the Gauls.¹ That jealous and sombre tyrant, indeed, of whose career of subtle and malignant dissimulation Tacitus has painted one of the finest pictures of history,² was in one respect a benefactor of the provinces. He lengthened the tenure of the governorships—which under the Republic were changed annually, bringing thus every year new flocks of cormorants to be gorged—into a more permanent possession.³

Nor was his successor, Caius, nick-named Caligula—that pale and hollow-eyed incarnation of insanity endowed with absolute power—although a native of Gaul,⁴ of special importance to it, either for good or evil. He rather affected Lyons, where he performed many of those mad pranks which have made him infamous. It was there that he sold the sacred heir-looms of his ancestors, he himself acting as the auctioneer; that he staked prodigious fortunes (not his own) on the cast of the dice; and instituted those ludicrous but cruel contests of rhetoric, in which the beaten competitor was compelled to compose a eulogium of his rival in verse, or, if his performance was very bad, to efface the writing with his tongue, on pain of being cast into the Rhone.⁵ The people of Lyons paid the cost of his enormous extravagances, but his four years of tyranny had no permanent effects upon Gaul.

Claudius, a Gaul, by the accident of birth,⁶ also, whom the Romans despised as much for his uncouth speech and awkward manners as for his imbecile tyranny and base subservience to the arts of his wife Messalina, gave

¹ Tacit., Ann., l. iii., cc. 40-47.

² Tacit., Hist., passim.

³ It was the difference, says Michelet, intimated in the fable of the fox tormented by flies. "Shall I drive them away?" asked the hedgehog. "No," replied he; "let them alone; these are already glutted, and, if driven off, others will come who are famished."

⁴ Pliny apud Suet. in Calo, c. 8.

⁵ It was on one of these occasions,

when he was playing Jupiter and giving out oracles, that an honest cobbler, being asked by Caligula what he thought of him, replied that he was "a magnificent humbug!" μέγα παραλήρημα. Dio. Cass., lix., c. 26. His very audacity probably saved his head.

⁶ Suet. in Claud., c. 2. He was born at Lyons the day the great altar was consecrated to Augustus.

a more serious attention to the affairs of this province. He traveled over it, in order to learn its wants in person, and he undertook to expel from it the remains of Druidism.¹ He abolished the worship and proscribed the priests, putting many of them to death; although, sheltered by the reverence or affection of the people, the greater part must have escaped his judicial wrath. Some fled into Britain, which was an unhappy recourse both for themselves and its natives; for Claudius soon after (A.D. 43) undertook what Cæsar had begun, and Augustus dared not complete, the conquest of the island. Despite the stubborn resistance of the islanders, protracted for so many years—the bravery of Caractacus and the noble energy of Boadicea, at length the fortune of Rome prevailed, and one more province was added to the Empire (A.D. 84).

In the course of this long conflict the Druids were driven to the mountains of Wales and to the arid and rocky island of Mona, where they perished between the swords of the soldiery and the waves of the sea.²

As a compensation for his rigorous measures of religious proscription, Claudius designed to grant to the inhabitants of long-haired Gaul the high favor of admission to the Roman Senate, and of the right to bear office. With a discernment for which those who read the satires of Seneca,³ or the scandals of Suetonius, would scarcely give him credit, he saw that the exhausted strength of Rome was only to be recruited from the provinces. Opposed by the jealous aristocracy, consisting no more of the old patrician families, but of imperial freedmen, profligate traders, rich upstarts, and cringing sophists, who affected to contemplate the event as another invasion of barbarism, he pronounced a temperate and wise discourse in vindication of the harmlessness and beneficence of the Roman policy of foreign adoptions, which the grateful people of Lyons engraved on tables of brass, and the fragments of which are to this day preserved in the archives of that city.⁴ It carried the

¹ Plin., l. xxx., c. 1; Suet. in Claud., c. 25.

² Tacit. (Ann., l. vi., xii., xiv., and in *Vita Agric.*, passim).

³ See the *Apokolokyntosis, seu ludus in mortem Claudii Cæsaris*, iv., in which

Seneca bitterly ridicules him. "Like a true Gaul," he says, "Claudius has taken Rome."

⁴ Tacit., Ann., l. xi., cc. 23, 24; Suet. in Claud. Parts of these brass tablets were found in the time of Fran-

emperor's point, and the *Æduans* first, on account of the antiquity of their friendship for Rome, and then the other states, were raised to equal privileges with Italy.¹

The reign of Nero—condensing or compounding in itself all the evils of the preceding reigns—their swart malignity, their stealthy rapine, and their shoreless pollution—was the signal of great revolutions both in Gaul and the Empire. We can not discover, in the absence of data, whether his provincial administration was more burdensome and irritating than that of his forerunners. We know that when he burned Rome, he plundered the world to rebuild it;² and it would appear that the spectacle of his degenerate and humiliating vices excited a deeper feeling of aversion in the provinces than it did at Rome.

It was the Gaul *Caius Julius Vindex*, governing the *Lugduners* under the name of *Proprætor*, whose disgust at the bloody excesses of the emperor stirred up the revolt which ended in his overthrow.³ Conspiring with certain chiefs of the *Arvernians* and *Ædui*, he managed, by his eloquent declamations against the murders, the pillages, and the hideous scandals of Nero's conduct, and by his still more powerful appeals to the resentments of those classes who suffered under the outrages of the governmental agents, to raise a considerable party. He next wrote to *Galba*, who commanded the legions in Spain, and to the generals of the army along the Rhine, exhorting them to declare against Nero, who had not only, he said, "robbed the universe, thinned the Senate, killed his mother, and subverted the government of the Empire," but, as if it were the climax and supuration of these crimes, "who had appeared upon the stage, sometimes with the harp and the cothurnus, sometimes with the sock and mask."⁴ *Galba* and the generals listened to his persuasions; the people heard him still more readily; and soon a motley host, half army and half mob, to the

cis I., and are still to be seen in the Museum of Lyons. *Père de Colonia* (*Hist. Litt. de la Ville de Lyon*, c. 2).

¹ Tacit., *Ann.*, l. xi., c. 25.

² Tacit. (*Ann.*, l. xv., c. 45); on the other hand, when the city of Lyons was burned (A.D. 64), he came to its relief

with a munificent donation. See, also, the terms in which Seneca speaks of the splendor of the city, and deploras the calamity (*Epist.*, l. xiv., n. 91).

³ Dio. Cass., l. xiii., 22.

⁴ Dio. Cass., *ibid.*

number of a hundred thousand men, were ready to dethrone the tyrant, and to assert the claims of Galba to the purple.¹

Yet the whole army of the Rhine did not share the enthusiasm of Vindex; the different states of Gaul were divided as to his objects; and the consequence was that both army and country became the prey to violent agitations and anarchy. In the course of a single year, Nero, as cowardly as he was cruel, and alternately howling with rage or trembling with remorse and agony, begged death at the hands of a dependent; three emperors, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, were made and unmade in rapid succession; not only the German frontier, but all Gaul, was drenched in the blood shed in the commotion; and the devouring flame of discord spread from Gaul till it involved the Empire in conflagration. The very Capitol, with the sacred temple of Jupiter, "the pledge of Empire," which even Porsena and the ancient Gauls had spared, was leveled to the ground. When Vespasian, proclaimed and supported by the legions of Illyria, succeeded in driving the other competitors from the field, and took his seat on the throne of the Cæsars, the world was taught the fatal secret forever, that "elsewhere than at Rome emperors might be created;"² for, with the extinction of the Julian family, the sceptre departed from Italy, the dependent provinces began to furnish the supreme rulers, and the centre of political influence (if the birth-places of the emperors may be regarded as determining it) was shifted from time to time, until it had made the circuit of the globe.³

It was one of the incidents of the revolution which gained Vespasian the purple, that the remnants of the old Gallic party attempted the desperate enterprise of recovering the lost independence of their country. A fanatical Druid, named Maric, excited, doubtless, by the partial successes of Vindex, and having his imagination inflamed by the destruction of the Capitol, which was connected mystically with the destruction of the Roman power, announced himself as a divine

The first Gallic Empire, A. D. 68.

¹ "The crowing of the cock," says Suetonius, punning on the word Gallus, which means both Gaul and cock, "awakened Nero."

² Tacit., Hist., l. i., cc. 4, 5; l. iii., c. 67.

³ See note 1, p. 146.

incarnation, destined to become the liberator of Gaul. Gathering about him by his prophecies and denunciations a tumultuary mass of peasants, he was on the eve of taking arms, when he was seized by the authorities and given to the wild beast in the amphitheatre of Autun; but the beasts refusing to touch him, a fact to which his followers gave some divine or miraculous interpretation, he was killed by the soldiers. These circumstances of his death rather kindled than extinguished the of excitement. At the same time, an able Batavian chieftain bore the Roman name of Claudius Civilis, a man of penetrating, lofty intelligence, and energetic will, moved by bitter personal resentments, and partly by a general patriotism, fomented a formidable insurrection among the Gauls. They were soon joined by the Caninefats and Frisones. A Roman camp on the Batavian island was burned, the Rhine surrendered by the auxiliaries, two Roman legions defeated, and the fierce German tribes encouraged to cross the river and lay waste the Roman possessions. With the tide of victory, an appeal for co-operation was made to the clans of Gaul, already restless, and wavering in their attachments to the Empire. The suppressed yet smouldering zeal of the Druidical insurgents revived; the whole north and west, touched by the accents of the bards and priests, who emerged from their retreats, gave way to the general impulse; three ambitious chiefs, Julius Classicus, Julius Sabinus, and Julius Tutor, put themselves at the head of the movement, and a new and independent Gallic Empire was proclaimed. Every omen and element of success seemed to be combined in the revolt: the distraction of Italy, the absence or dispersion of the usual guard of the Rhine, the enthusiasm of the people, the favor of the higher classes, and the powerful aid of the Germans. But, on the convocation of a General Assembly of the Gauls, at Durocotorum (Rheims), one weakness, ever a fatal weakness of theirs, was revealed—dissension.

Before they had as yet achieved any decisive practical results, they began to debate who were to be chiefs, The attempt miscarries. in case of success, what the new form of government should be, and which the principal city. Belgica, with its strong military proclivities, desired a strong military com-

monwealth; Armorica, and the Carnutes, where Druidism still flourished, would fain have rebuilt the dilapidated altars of that faith, and already, perhaps, saw the human victims smoking in the wicker colossus; while the more polished states of the south and west, too soon bewitched and softened by Roman arts and luxuries, dreamed alone of some improved form of the Empire.¹ Consequently, Rome acquired, not an easy, but an inevitable victory. Classicus and Tutor, after a vague and inefficient resistance, were defeated, and killed themselves; Civilis maintained a longer and more sanguinary opposition, but surrendered; and Sabinus, who defiled the memory of a maternal ancestor in order to pass for the descendant of Julius Cæsar, was reserved to be executed by the triumphant Vespasian.²

Nor did Gaul renew the outbreak for more than a hundred *A long peace.* years; either her restlessness was assuaged, or she found the yoke of the Roman domination too strong even to be shaken. Indeed, it is a remarkable phenomenon in the history of our race that from the battle of Actium to the death of Commodus (B.C. 31–A.D. 192), a period of more than two centuries, these Gallic disturbances were not only the most serious, but almost the only ones that threatened the internal tranquillity of the Empire. The “immense majesty of the Roman Peace,” to use Pliny’s fine expression,³ covered the nations as with a mantle, which seemed a sacred and inviolable protection.

For the success of Vespasian formed the transition to a line of imperial rulers, who, with the single exception of Domitian,

¹ Tacit., Hist., l. iv., *passim*.

² He was supposed to have burned himself in his house, but he had taken refuge with his wife, Epinona, in a cave. Nor has history failed to record the touching devotion of this woman, who, nobly sharing his confinement for nine long years, supplied his wants, reared his children, and, finally, succeeded in getting him to Rome to solicit his pardon from Vespasian. Kneeling before the emperor, and pointing to her children, who had been born in the cave, she said, “I have nourished them that there might be more suppliants for their father at thy knees.” But neither her

words, her sorrow, her beauty, nor her heroism could move the all inflexible magistrate. Sabinus was condemned to death, and then she prayed to be allowed to be executed with him. “Grant me this last grace, O Vespasian,” she said, “for continued life under laws such as thine, would be more intolerable than the old dreary twilight of the cave.” Her wish was granted, and in death as in life their destinies were not divided. Tac., Hist., l. iv., c. 67; Dio., l. lxvi.; Plut., *Amator.*, p. 770. They do not agree as to the woman’s name.

³ Hist. Nat., l. xxvii., c. 1. “*Immensâ Romanæ pacis majestate.*”

acquired and retained for more than a hundred years the universal praises of their contemporaries. Such the glory of their administrations, in fact, that the age in which they lived pronounced itself, and has since been pronounced by the most eloquent of modern historians, with the concurrence of many voices, the happiest in the annals of mankind.¹ Nor can it be denied that the era of Trajan and the Antonines was an era of marvelous external splendors and prosperities. Fitly ushered in by the erection of a temple to Eternal Concord, it was marked throughout by the beneficent labors of wise, energetic, and amiable princes; and it terminated, at last, with a kind of elegiac tenderness, in the serene and dignified character of Marcus Aurelius.² The men of that period were such contrasts to the monsters they succeeded, and their governments such contrasts to the ferocious turbulence which followed them, that the imagination delights to dwell upon the oasis, and even to exaggerate its glory. The resolute historian himself hesitates to probe the depths of a condition which seems so fair upon its surface, hesitates to inquire whether it really advanced the good of society, or only transiently arrested its more flagrant evils; and the more so, when he knows that his next step toward the future will plunge him into the wildest vortex of violence and crime.

For the provinces it may be admitted without question that these reigns were a mild and genial season. When the chief of a despotic state is neither a robber, a butcher, nor a drunkard, the subordinate agents are likely to show some regard to decency and law. The spirit which animates the head will make itself felt in the extremities. The Good Emperors, moreover, were nearly all provincials by birth, and cherished a natural sympathy for their compatriots.³

¹ Gibbon, vol. i., c. 3. See, also, Hegewisch, translated by Solvet (*Essai sur l'Epoque la plus Heureuse pour le Genre Humain*. Paris, 1834).

² Not unmingled, however, with momentary gleams of terror, as one feels who reads his "Meditations."

³ They were mostly Spanish; and it is to be noted that from this time for-

ward, with individual exceptions, the provinces furnish the emperors: first Spain, then Africa, then Syria and the East, then Illyria, then Gaul and Britain. This line follows the shores of the Mediterranean from west to east, and then from east to west, with a quite regular progress.

They were especially friendly to the enlargement of those municipal functions which were the very breath of the local life.¹ The rekindled splendor of literature, in which Tacitus, Seneca, Pliny, Quintilian, and Martial shone conspicuous,² cast many of its silvery rays upon the remotest districts; the great roads and imposing architectural works whose remains still astonish us were universally and rapidly multiplied;³ and the Perpetual Edict of Hadrian, in giving stability to the fluctuating law of the Prætors, gave an epoch to Roman jurisprudence, while the Provincial Edict of Aurelius made it the common property of mankind.⁴ Not without reason, therefore, these men were called the Multipliers of Citizens and the Enrichers of the World.⁵ When Marcus wrote "I have conceived the idea of a government founded upon general and equal laws,"⁶ he uttered a conception which he only labored to execute with fidelity and vigor; and his Greek panegyrist, who said that "he has made the administration of the universe like that of a well-ordered house," did not, perhaps, fall into the characteristic falsehood of that class of writers.⁷ Rome was, as the poets sang, "the queen of the golden mitre, intrepid of heart, environed in majesty, dwelling upon earth like an incorruptible Olympus."⁸

Gaul was happy in the reception of the liberal favors of these princes: her highways were improved; her agriculture fostered; her towns enlarged; the precious grape-vine (partly torn up in a fit of spleen by Domitian) spread again over her hills; the manufacture of fine cloths at Arras, Langres, and Saintes was encouraged; the commerce of the Rhone, Saône,

¹ Gaius, i., 7; Digest, v., 12; Ulpian, *Frag.*, l. xxiv., c. 28; Dio., lxi., 16.

² It was what is termed the Silver Age of Literature, and among the other lights were Silius Italicus, Valerius Maximus, Velleius Paterculus, Mela, Columella, Statius, Suetonius; Caius, and Tertullian, and other Christian writers, who belong, however, to another order of things. It is curious, also, that most of these were Spaniards. See Thierry (*Hist. de la Gaule Romaine*, *Introduct.*, vol. i.).

³ Dio., l. lxi., c. 10.

⁴ Spanheim (*Orb. Roman. ex.*, ii., 8, and *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Bell. Lett.*, t. xxxix.). Thierry (*Hist. de la Gaule Romaine*, t. i., *Introduct.*, p. 176).

⁵ *Ampliator Civium* was applied to Antoninus Pius, and *Locupletator Orbis* to Hadrian. Spartian., *Adrian.*, 9.

⁶ Marc. Anton., *Tà eic tavrov*, i., 14.

⁷ Aristides, *Orat. in Rom.*, cited by Thierry, t. i., p. 180.

⁸ Poem in Stobæus, ascribed to Erinna, but which Niebuhr properly refers to the time of these emperors.

Loire, and Seine extended; and the fine cities of Trèves, Bordeaux, Nismes, and Toulouse adorned with sumptuous edifices.¹ But she was indebted to the reign of Antoninus or Marcus (not, however, through any personal merit of theirs) for a benefaction greater than any it was in the power of the Empire, with all its wealth and magnificence, to bestow—her first Christian church.

The new and divine doctrine revealed by Jesus of Nazareth A.D. 100-1, had been more easily propagated among the Jewish Christianity introduced. synagogues and Grecian schools than in the silent forests of the west of Europe. The labors and sufferings of a century had produced it an obscure establishment in Italy and Spain, and brought it, in the persons of individuals, into Britain, Gaul, and the south of Germany; yet it was nowhere significant enough to attract official attention, and much less to arouse public alarm.² Those first persecutions of it which are commonly ascribed to the fears of the emperors arose rather from an enmity which confounded it with Judaism,³ or made it a pretext for personal resentments.⁴ Neither Nero nor Domitian knew enough of Christianity to deem it a proper object of wrath. Nor until the time of Trajan (after A.D. 99), when the silent spread of it had begun to threaten the income of the heathen temples, and a popular animosity was stirred up by the priests, was it distinctly recognized as a *religio nova et illicita*.⁵ The more serious opposition even then was confined to those who derived their support from the prevalent idolatry, or who were deeply tinctured with the old Pagan literature. From them, rather than from any heartfelt attachment of their own to the ancient faith, the populace took their tone, and began to demand, in a somewhat tumultuary manner, the suppression of the Christians. A rescript of Trajan, which is the first judicial determination of the case, betrays a mingled indifference and perplexity. Pliny, the governor of Bithynia, to whom this was addressed, was so pleased with the effects

¹ See Thierry (*Hist. de la Gaule Rom.*, t. i., c. 1, p. 858), with his authorities.

² Neander (*Hist. Christ. Relig.*, Torrey's translation, vol. i., pp. 84, 85).

³ See, however, Tacit. (*Annal.*, l.

xv., c. 44), and compare Tertullian (*Apol.*, c. 21).

⁴ Suetonius in Domit., c. xv.; Dio. Cass., lxxvii., 1112; Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, l. iii., c. 18; Suet., Nero, c. xvi.

⁵ Pliny, *Epist.* x., pp. 96-98.

of it, in producing revocations of faith and sacrifices to the gods on the part of reputed Christian disciples, that he indulged the fond hope of bringing the superstition soon to an end. Gladly, too, would the just spirits of Hadrian and of the Antonines have supplanted the popular rage by the milder interventions of law.¹ Marcus Aurelius, with all his stoical repugnance to the enthusiasm of the first Christian converts, would have willingly seen the new system reconciled to the old, according to that feeble neo-Platonic syncretism which was coming into vogue. He was even then too ignorant of the real nature of the Christian scheme to perceive that it was wholly incompatible with any form of Paganism, either the most elevated or the most debased; for the difference between it and Paganism was not a difference of merely national worships. It was a profound, essential, ineradicable difference. It was the difference between the one true God and thirty thousand spurious gods; between a morality founded upon divine and spiritual love and a morality derived from intellectual deductions and prudential maxims; between a sentiment of universal humanity, which acknowledged no distinctions among men, and a sentiment almost wholly composed of intense and bitter prejudices of race, caste, and selfish personality; and between the hope of a heaven freely opened to all mankind and a heaven to which heroes, and demi-gods, and favored individuals could alone aspire. In any encounter between two such religions the battle must be internecine, and the victory accrue only at the cost of the life of the vanquished.

The spirit of the encounter was illustrated in the first experience of Christianity in Gaul. A few Asiatic teachers from the Church of Smyrna, headed by Pothinus, who had prayed with Polycarp, a beloved companion of the beloved disciple John,² and either following the routes of commerce, or, perhaps, invited by Jews who had accompanied Herod or Pilate in their exile,³ were the earthly instruments of its advent. A small circle of believers which they gathered at Lyons soon became a considerable religious community.⁴ The registers

¹ Hadrian, *Epist.*, ap. Vopisc.; *Euseb.*, *Ecc. Hist.*, i. iv., c. 9.

² *Gallia Christiana*, t. ii., p. 452.

³ Milman (*Hist. Christ.*, c. vii., p. 286).

⁴ *Acta Sanctorum*, ap. Bolland.

still preserve to us the names of fifty members, while those of others, says the pious chronicler, "are written in the pages of the Book of Life."¹ But in those days success was sorrow. The lofty tone which the new religion hastened to assume with its growth in numbers, the diffusion of an opinion that with the fall of the ancient religion of Rome the temporal dominion would also fall, together with the unusual occurrence of natural calamities, which awoke superstitious fears, and the rumors of new barbaric inroads,² conspired to arouse the heathen against it with an almost fanatical fury. Their zeal soon passed from rancorous reproaches into personal violence. The Christians were stoned in the streets; they were chased from the baths and the forum; they were shut up in their houses; they were denounced to the tribunals as incestuous and atheistical; and the slaves were suborned to proclaim their simple *agapæ* Thyestian feasts, and their fraternal assemblies CEdipodean marriages.³ Arraigned before the authorities, they were tortured by all those horrible methods which Roman barbarity well knew, in order to induce them to retract their confessions or to accuse their fellows. Some relapsed under the severity of the inflictions, but the majority of the confessors stood firm. A man of rank and wealth, Vettius Apagathus, who came forward to defend them, being himself denounced as a Christian, eagerly avowed the offense. Many perished in the noisome air of the dungeons to which they were committed; others had their limbs dislocated in the stocks; while the more detested among them were slowly burned by the application of hot irons to the sensitive parts of the body.⁴ By a peculiar refinement of cruelty the Romans contrived to inflict these punishments on the occasions of their public festivals. Crowded amphitheatres shouted when some tender and delicate woman was torn by the wild beasts, or an aged and venerable man was stretched bleeding upon the cross.

¹ Acta SS. Epipod. et Alex., c. ii.; Gregory of Tours (Hist. Ecc. Franc., l. i., c. 27).

² Tillemont (Hist. des Emp., l. ii., p. 598).

³ Euseb., Hist. Ecc., vol. i., pp. 126, 127.

⁴ Thierry (Hist. de la Gaule, t. ii., cc. 5, 6) has a detailed and interesting account of this persecution. Sismondi dismisses the whole subject with incredulity (Hist. Franc., l. i., c. 2).

Among the victims of this hellish rage was the Bishop Polthinus, then ninety years of age, whose feeble body sank beneath its pains, but whose mind gathered serenity and firmness from them. Another victim, whose appearance on the scene was more characteristic of the great social revolution Christianity was effecting, was Blandina—a woman and a slave. Through all the excruciating agonies of the torture, her mistress, who was herself a confessor, watched her in trembling anxiety lest she should be betrayed into some weak concession. But Christianity possessed a living power then which could lift even the lowly slave into a sublimity of heroism. From the cross where, like her heavenly Master, she hung, the gaze of a frantic rabble, she sang hymns to his praise;¹ when taken down from it, the beasts of the arena refused to do their office, as if their brute natures, softer than those of men, could be awed by such sweet piety; and the intervals between her punishments, twice postponed, she passed in comforting those of her companions who were reserved for a similar fate. The apostates whom weakness had allowed to retract were animated by her to a renewed strength, and they counted it their highest joy to be admitted to the prospect of sharing in her sufferings. At last, when she was dragged forth to final execution, on the recurrence of the great festival games which Caligula had instituted on the banks of the Rhone, she met her death, by the horns and feet of a furious wild animal, “like one invited to a wedding banquet.”² She was the last to die, but her name became the first in the roll of those saints whom the pious gratitude of the Gallic Church has since raised to the skies.

From Lyons the Christians fled to Vienne, to Autun, and to Chalons, whither persecution followed them; but the new faith could not be extinguished by the frowns of power. In less than twenty years the little original

¹ Euseb., vi., 1, 181.

² Euseb. (Hist. Eccles., v., 1, 133). The narrative of this first persecution rests upon a letter sent by “The servants of Jesus Christ in Lyons and Vienne to their brothers in Asia and Phrygia, who have the same faith and the same

hope.” It introduces to us a new species of literature which was the first fruits of Christianity—the *Acts of the Martyrs*—and which is happily called the Heroic Literature of the New Faith. Ampère (Hist. Litt., t. i., c. 2, p. 164).

germ had grown to a vigorous tree.¹ Nursed by the zeal and prudence of Irenæus, the successor of Pothinus, and "the great luminary of the West,"² it became a champion of orthodoxy in Europe, and sustained many a powerful contest against the Gnostic and Manichæan heresies, while it dared to check even the over-weening pretensions of Rome.³

Marcus Aurelius, "looking down from the throne of the universe, in cold and philosophic pride," despised these Instability and dangers of the Empire. humble sectaries, and suffered them to be condemned to death, while the least of them could have taught him a truth of more infinite worth, and a virtue of diviner stamp, than any to be found in the books or exhibited in the characters of his much-applauded stoics. And, blind as he was to the merits of Christianity, he was no less blind, in common with his whole generation, to the signs of political dissolution already gathering in the heart of the Empire. His long and desperate struggle against the Marcomanni and other federations of barbaric tribes, which swept the northern frontiers with a besom of destruction, had doubtless given him a dark foreboding of the external dangers of the State, but of the internal discords and fatal ruptures, which drew on apace, we do not know that he was aware. Yet in less than fifteen years after his demise his blooming and prosperous heritage was tortured by agonies more convulsive and terrible than those in which the Republic had expired.

His own son, Commodus, to whom he had blindly bequeathed the government, led the way to a line of rulers in whose presence the first Cæsars need scarcely have blushed. Military adventurers all, strangers to the language and to the races of Italy, the brief space of eighty years saw no less than forty of them ascend the throne, from which they were in turn precipitated by assassination or civil

THIRD PERIOD.
Reign of the
soldiers, A.D.
180-300.

¹ Greg. Turon (Hist., l. i., c. 29).

² Theodoret (Heret. et Fab., Præf.).

³ That is in regard to the time of celebrating the Easter festival, about which the Greek and Latin Churches were divided. Some French historians consider it important to remark that the earliest Church in France was not

an offspring of the Roman Church, and that in its very cradle it asserted a certain independence. Ampère adds that the Churches founded by Rome, such as the British and German, have been less faithful to it than those not founded by her, such as the French and Spanish (Hist. Litt., c. ii., p. 160).

war.¹ From the bloody hands of the early emperors, who represented the debased plebs of the metropolis, the indignant provinces had snatched the sceptre of dominion; the virtues and the wisdom of the provincial-born monarch had preserved for a time a tranquil equilibrium of federalism; but now the time was come when the Roman people and the provincial people alike were to be subjected to the indiscriminating tyranny of the sword.

The reckless rule of Commodus, which raised the insolence of the Prætorian Guards to such a pitch that they murdered his venerable successor, Pertinax, and sold the purple at auction to the opulent but imbecile Didius, marked the hour for the change. Decrepit as the Romans were, yet sufficiently sensitive to feel the indignity of this disgraceful proceeding, they demanded from the various legions of the frontiers a just resentment of their wrongs. Jealous of the pampered superiority of the Prætorians, if not of the wounded honor of their country, urged on, moreover, by the reactionary impulses of the provinces, the legions of Syria, Illyria, and Britain responded to the summons. But, in avenging its insults, they once more opened the sluices of civil war upon the devoted Empire. They crushed or dispersed the voracious guards, whose mercenary quarrels drenched Rome in blood and shook Italy with terror, and they filled the vacancy with their own more violent and unsparing conflicts. Three ambitious generals, Pescennius Niger, who governed Syria, and Septimius Severus, and Clodius Albinus, who commanded, the one the army of Pannonia, and the other the army of Britain, aspired to that supreme dominion to which there was no established principle of succession. Niger, an Italian by birth, and a man of elegant culture and munificent habits, won the acclamations of the people; Albinus, an African, and yet a boasted descendant of illustrious Roman families, had commended himself to the Senate; while the hard, cunning, inexorable, and energetic soldier Severus, also an African, whom the wits sometimes called "the man of his name," and sometimes "the Ro-

¹ From Commodus to Claudius Gothicus (A.D. 184-268) there were as many thousand years!
 ern France or England have had in a thousand years!
 sovereigns, real or pretended, as mod-

man Hannibal," was the master and the choice of the soldiery.¹ Managing and beguiling Albinus for a time by his complaisances, and the concession of the rank of Cæsar, Severus soon overcame the indulgent Niger, lost in the luxuries and delights of the East, and was then prepared to vanquish the remaining competitor.

The unhappy province of Gaul, in which Albinus had landed with his three legions from Britain, and whither Gaul the theatre of the contest, A.D. 193-4. Severus hurried from his victories in Asia, became the theatre and the victim of their bloody and decisive combat. On the 19th of February, of the year 193, their armies, composed of nearly three hundred thousand men, encountered near the city of Tivurtium (now Trévoux), not far from Lyons; a severe and sanguinary struggle left the victory to Severus, who, pursuing the fugitive enemy to the walls of Lyons, trampled the dead body of its leader in the dust, pillaged and sacked the city, and found himself the solitary master of the world. As the chieftains and noble families of Gaul had adopted the cause of Albinus, the stern spirit of the conqueror rained massacres and confiscations upon them with a severity which recalled the days of Sulla and of Marius.²

Severus owed his success to the army, in opposition to the Senate and people, and so he was compelled to maintain it by means of the army. Triumph of Severus. Growth of the military power. History justly regards him as the real, because the systematic, founder of that exclusive military domination which, from this time forth, became the intolerable burden of the Empire. He dismissed the Prætorian Guard with ignominy, and, with a show of justice, ordered that it should afterward be recruited from the legions of the frontiers, as an encouragement to merit and bravery; but the most equitable laws in appearance may be rendered bad in practice by circumstances; and the whole effect of the plan was to substitute for the sixteen thousand Italians, Gauls, and Spaniards, of which the Guard had been composed, and who had some affinities with Rome, about seventy

¹ Compare Dio. Cass., l. lxxiii. to lxxv.; Herodian, l. ii., cc. 42-45, and Spartian., and Capitolinus in Sever., Niger., et Albin.

² Herodian, l. iii., c. 71; Spart., Nig., c. 76; Capitol., Albin., et al.

thousand Pannonians and Illyrians, who were barbarians that filled Rome with affright.¹ Stationed on the outskirts of the capital, within sight of the imperial palace and the senate-house, and pampered by largesses, by exorbitant pay, by indulgence and luxury, they erected themselves into the permanent menace, the arbitrary masters of the State.² The strong hand of Severus, aided by his military genius, which renewed for a moment the glories of Roman arms in Parthia and Britain, enabled him to restrain partially the excesses of their license; but the nerves of discipline were irretrievably relaxed; and the legions raised to the purple or immolated whomever their avarice, their caprice, or their drunken folly might designate. As a soldiery which is violent and intractable, in respect to the civic authorities, becomes cowardly in the face of its real duties, so the demoralization of the camp led the way to the disgraceful revolts at home, and to more disgraceful defeats abroad, which the once invincible army of Rome was thereafter destined to sustain.

Bassianus, the son of Severus, nicknamed Caracalla,³ who at first contemplated the dismemberment of the Empire by dividing it with his brother Gaeta, and then raised himself to solitary command by the murder of that brother, continued, in obedience to his father's testament, "Enrich the soldiers," to foster their pretensions at the expense of those of every other order. He lavished upon them in one day treasures which had been accumulating for eighteen years; and he connived at all their enormities. It was the fatal consequence of his wickedness that the emperors who after him gave way to their demands aggravated their insolence, while those who sought to restrain them were incontinently put to death.⁴ This mutinous spirit of the prætorians spread to the legions, and from the legions to the people, who were habitually outraged and incensed by their excesses and their crimes. At the same time, the crazy conduct of Caracalla lessened the attachment of every rank and class toward the State. It has been justly

¹ Naudet (*De l'Administrat. de l'Empire*, etc., t. i., p. 157).

² Herodian (l. iv., p. 128, et al.).

³ From his fondness for a Gallic cassock, called a caracall.

⁴ Niebuhr (*Lect. on Rom. Hist.*, vol. iii., pp. 268-274).

reproached his cruel reign, that, while he inherited his father's aversion to the West, and manifested in every passionate way his devotion to the heroes, the manners, and the gods of the East, he yet distributed his malignant blows with an impartial and generous hand.¹ Visiting each province in turn, he caused each one to feel in turn the curses of his rapines and massacres.²

But blessings and curses are often mingled, and it was he, His important political concessions. not Antoninus nor Hadrian, as writers both ancient and modern have alleged,³ who completed and rounded the long series of Roman naturalizations, who consummated the social equalization of the Empire, by granting the right of citizenship to all its free inhabitants. This act, which effaced the disparities between Roman, Italian, Latin, allied, and subject states, making but one law and one right for mankind, has been imputed to his avarice; inasmuch as, certain imposts falling upon citizens alone, by increasing their number he enlarged the sources of his revenue: it may, however, be ascribed with more propriety to the labors of those illustrious and learned jurists—the last representatives of the nobler mind and aspirations of Rome—the Papinians, the Ulpians, and the Pauluses—who, in the midst of the appalling disasters of their times, endeavored to reduce the laws of the world to a basis of universal and natural equity.⁴

Whoever the authors of it, and whatever the motive, the Their effect. scheme was a just and humane one, considered from the point of view of general humanity: nevertheless, it de-Romanized Rome; which, in the effort to disseminate itself, only dispersed itself, merging more and more what was distinctive and peculiar in its existence in a common life, and dissolving more and more its organic unity into a mere conglomerate mass. For, as the great central preponderance of Italy was gradually

¹ Montesquieu (*Considérations sur la Grandeur des Romains, et de leur Décadence*, c. 16, ed. Paris, 1818) says, "Caligula, Nero, and Domitian limited their cruelties to Rome; Caracalla carried his fury over the universe."

² Spartian., *Caracall.*, 87.

³ Even Wenck, in his notes to Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, l. i., c. 6), speaks

of the authorship of the decrees as doubtful, but see Thierry (*Introduit.*, p. 190).

⁴ Comp. Scholl (*Hist. Rom. Lit.*, vol. iii., p. 285). Guizot (*Essais sur l'Hist. de France*, p. 10) thinks this concession of the right of citizenship of no practical importance, but Thierry (*Hist. de la Gaule Romaine*, t. ii., p. 40) takes a broader view of its effects.

lost, a freer scope was given to the play and to the usurpations of the provincial activities. Where all were equal, the battle was to the strongest, the bravest, or to the most cunning.

Under the Antonines, as we have seen, Spain ruled the ascendant; under Severus, Africa; and now, under Caracalla, who was both an African and Syrian in blood, the East. After him, for twenty years in continuity, the emperors were made by Africa or the East. The Moor, Macrinus, who murdered Caracalla; the Syrian priest of the Sun, Elagabalus, whose reign was one immense and fantastic oriental orgie; Alexander Severus, a nobler scion, and yet of the same stock, "tinctured by the weakness and effeminacy of the soft climate of Syria,"¹ and, in the leading-strings of his mother, devoted to a fusion of all religions² (Maximin, the gigantic savage—gigantic in stature, in appetite, and in ferocity—as the son of a Gothic father by an Alain mother, was an exception as to race, but no exception as to his destructive influence); the Gordians, elevated to the throne in Africa; and Philip, the son of an Arab brigand, conspired to infuse an oriental spirit into the administration as well as into society. As the court began to swarm with motley crowds of eunuchs, women, and parasites, so society was flooded with the nameless vices and luxuries with which the voluptuous eastern nature teems, and with the innumerable superstitions, magics, and astrologies, alternately mystic or obscene, gloomy or sanguinary, spawned with such exuberance in Asia and in Egypt.³

Nor was the Roman world wholly unprepared for the advent of the latter. The stern old family and patriotic religion of the Republic had long since perished with its patrician classes, while such remains of it as had lingered in the faith of the people had been perplexed and confounded by the multitude of strange doctrines and worships rushing in from every quarter. The enlightened classes, indeed, were scarcely restrained from proclaiming Paganism a

Preponderance of Africa and the East in the government, A.D. 217-244.

Its influence on society.

The degradation of the religious sentiments.

¹ Gibbon (Dec. and Fall, vol. i., c. 6), who, misled seemingly by the virtuous intentions of Alexander Severus, overcolors to a high degree the effects of his reign, as, indeed, his own subsequent

account of mutinies and insurrections shows.

² Lamprid. in Alex. Severo, 123.

³ Thierry (Gauls Romaine, t. i., p. 195).

lie: the deification of scandalous mortals had disgraced the estimation of the deities by revealing their origin; and the rising tides of vice naturally rendered the faint and feeble moral restraints of even a relaxed polytheism intolerable. In this general decay of belief, philosophers endeavored to supply its place and functions with the cold refinements of speculation; the great and serious schools of Grecian thought, the systems of Pyrrho and Pythagoras, of Plato and Carneades, of Zeno and Epicurus, had rapidly followed each other, and, after enjoying a temporary vogue, as rapidly supplanted each other; and in vain the better emperors had striven to raise the ancient altars, and in vain the pomp of the external worship was heightened as the internal spirit languished. The lamps of the vestals only waned dimmer, and the augurs forgot their science, and the sibylline leaves were scattered. As the unrivaled satirist wrote,

"The silent realm of disembodied ghosts,
The frogs that croak along the Stygian coast,
The thousand souls in one crazed vessel steered,
Not boys believed, save boys without a beard."

Yet the human soul demands its religion; and when the hereditary household faith has lost its authority, and the deductions of reason can not replace it either in the heart or the intelligence, the popular mind passes fitfully from the paralysis of doubt to the fevers of superstition. Conscious of a godless desolation, it recurs to the primitive instincts, which are the sources of all polytheism, and welcomes with a blind fatuity every faith which promises to appease its cravings, and every rite and magical art which may seem to propitiate the unknown powers.¹ Already, under the Cæsars, a motley throng of theurgies, mysticisms, anthropomorphisms, and occult sciences invaded and possessed the minds of even the most instructed men, which the new stoicism of the good emperors for a while stayed; but when the monarchs of Eastern origin again unlocked the gates of the flood, and its regurgitations became the more violent and overwhelming, Rome was swamped in the deluge of coarse idolatries, and dreams, and foul mystic rites.

¹ Milman (*Hist. Christ.*, p. 84, Harper's edition).

² De Champagny (*Les Cæsars*, t. ii., p. 173).

Meanwhile, at the other extremity of the Empire, invasions of another sort were going forward, which were destined not to cease till Rome should be no more. The fierce and multitudinous tribes of the German forests, that had long been dashing like a stormy sea against its barriers, were at length over the walls, and spreading in destructive torrents along the plains.¹ Stalwart and powerful men, pushed onward by irresistible influences, ravenous for plunder, despising danger, loving battle as they loved the sunshine and the breeze, they alone of all the world as yet had stopped the flight of the eagles and were now hunting them back to their native eyrie.² Their various inroads, which heretofore had been but transient and accidental brigandages, were changed into a general and systematic war. No longer marching in solitary hordes, no longer confining their attacks to predatory incursions, but gathered together into vast, compact, and impulsive confederations, during the ten years from Philip to Valerian (A. D. 244-258), (years in which the Empire saw nearly as many mutinies of the legions and as many emperors), their rapid irruptions had almost ceased to be repulsed. They had ceased to be repulsed because there were none to repulse them. When the imprudent Valerian left his fortunes and his life in the hands of the triumphant Persian (A.D. 260), drawing off the legions to those distant wars, the assault became quite universal. A flood of Goths poured into Illyria and Moesia, carrying away with them the large cities and populous villages; innumerable swarms of Alemanni winged their way across the Rætian Alps to devastate the plains of Italy, almost to the walls of Rome; while a fiery tempest of Franks, from the lower Rhine, swept from one end of Gaul to the other—into Spain even, and as far as the shores of Mauritania.

Wherever they passed they left a desert. The poor rustic people, trampled and decimated, fled in vain for safety to the fortified places, which were themselves no longer a safe retreat: in vain they called for aid upon legions

The barbaric invasions begun, A.D. 244-260.

General uproar. The thirty tyrants.

¹ Niebuhr (Lect. Rom. Hist., vol. iii., p. 275) says the Germans first broke through the Roman *limes* in the time of Alexander Severus.

² I shall enter into some details as to

the character of the Germans, and their relations to the Empire in the following book, to which the reader may be here referred.

which had been dispatched to those distant eastern wars, and in vain they besought the interposition of emperors wasted by a life-and-death struggle for their position, or sunk supinely in the "mud honey" of epicurean enjoyment. Every where the signs of a social decomposition broke forth: terror was every where, authority nowhere, and people, magistrates, and troops staggered against each other in a wild delirium of insurrection. Each governor of a province, each general of an army, proclaimed himself, or was proclaimed, an emperor. Macrian, in Asia; Valens, in Greece; Ingenuus, in Pannonia; Æmilianus, in Egypt; Celsus, in Africa; Aureolus, in Italy; others elsewhere!¹ The rapid succession of political changes, the rapacity of the successful factions, and their cruelties against the unsuccessful, the temptation offered to every ambition, the impunity secured to every crime, benumbed every feeling of virtue, shattered every principle of order, and palsied every resource of subsistence and defense. The peasants and the slaves of the country flew to arms, ungovernable mobs wasted the cities, and entire provinces abandoned themselves to brigandage and murder.²

It was in the midst, and as a part of, the dislocations of this terrible and howling time that the thought of a Gallic Empire, which had been dead for two hundred years, was once more revived. Not that the Gauls desired to return, as in the days of Marius, to the old Druidical divinities, or to the old anarchic clans, but that they were utterly wearied of their dependence upon a state which showered them with indescribable evils, against which it afforded them no protection. Under the guidance of their leader Postumus, who had ably served as a lieutenant of the emperors in Gaul,³ they instituted a government for themselves at Trèves, and they were happier in the experiment than any other insurgents. Postumus, distinguished alike for his probity and skill, exercised over them for nine years a salutary dominion. Inspiring general confi-

The second Gallic empire, A.D. 259-273.

¹ Trebellius Pollio, *Trigint. Tyrann.*, 189, makes out thirty emperors at once, from a fancied analogy to the Thirty Tyrants of Greece, but there were not more than nineteen, if we exclude women and children!

² See Gibbon (vol. i., c. 10) and the authorities he quotes for the servile wars in Sicily, the riots of Alexandria, and the revolt of the Isaurians.

³ De Brequigny (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, t. xxx.).

dence, not in Gaul only, but in Britain and Spain, which he annexed to his empire, he repulsed the Germans beyond the Rhine by his valor, and induced principles of order into the civic administration by his equity.¹ His son, Postumus II., not unworthy of being associated with him in power, was yet more distinguished for literary² than political or military ability. Indeed, the whole family exhibited remarkable talent. Their successors, the two Victorins, were the sons of Postumus's sister, Victoria, who herself acquired so complete an ascendancy over the soldiers as to deserve the name of the mother of the camp, while she displayed an equal capacity for civil rule. Not inappropriately have historians compared her to her more famous and brilliant contemporary, Zenobia.³ For, at the very time when the queen of Palmyra was meditating an Eastern Empire, Victoria had already established the Empire of the West. Refusing the title of emperor, however, with which her grateful countrymen would have decorated her, she preferred the exercise of a substantial power to the possession of a doubtful title.⁴ After the death of her sons she chose Marius, a courageous armorer, for her lieutenant, but, as he perished by the hands of an assassin in a few months, she conferred the dignity upon Tetricus, an accomplished statesman and soldier. Unfortunately, she died before her schemes were ripened. Tetricus, who transferred the government from Trèves to Bordeaux, which then became a flourishing city, labored for its failure. several years to carry out her plans, but was at length driven by military revolts and the perpetual feuds of his subjects to betray the trust he had assumed. Feigning a desire to encounter the legions of Aurelian, he led forth his troops and surrendered them into the hands of the enemy; and thus, after thirteen years of sovereignty and independence, Gaul was once more reduced to subservience to Rome.

Gaul submitted, and she was reconciled, though reluctantly, to the humiliation, because new men were already in power

¹ Thierry (*Gaul. Romain.*, t. ii., p. 375), who constructs an interesting account of the Transalpine Empire chiefly from the medals.

² He was the author of the XIX *Declamations*, commonly given out as

Quintilian's (*Biog. Univers.* in Quintilian).

³ Thierry, *ubi supra*.

⁴ Still some of the medals call her "Emperor," just as Maria Theresa was called "King" of Hungary.

at Rome, whom the contemporary sentiment hailed as the harbingers of a new era. Even the riotous legions, The restoration of order, A.D. 268-284. stunned by the magnitude of the reverses which the Empire had suffered into a temporary acquiescence and love of peace, yielded to the Senate, to which it had formerly belonged, the right of designating the supreme rulers of the State. A succession of chiefs like Claudius II., Aurelian, Tacitus, and Probus confirmed the wisdom of their deed, and flattered the world with the hope that the day of its darkness was passed. Brave and energetic men those rulers were, beyond what Rome had seen for many a year; men who chastised the domestic tyrants, and reunited the fragments of the State; who smote the advancing hordes of the barbarians with a repulsive force and a restraining terror; who assuaged the sufferings of the people by the reduction of taxes and the encouragement of labor; who fortified the Danube and the Rhine against future molestations; who infused some degree of discipline into the armies, and some measure of justice and clemency into the administration, while their private conduct exhibited, for the most part, a reticence and probity which seemed like a return to the old ideal of republican virtue.¹

In this apparent suppression of all causes of internal and external trouble, the hearts of the people broke forth into Joy of the Romans. enthusiastic expressions of joy, and their fancies, exalted by a natural reaction from the depressing influence of the past, indulged in the most florid hopes of a "millennial armistice," of a durable and universal reign of peace. "Hush, ye palpitations of Rome!" writes a brilliant modern essayist,² merely paraphrasing a letter of the superb Aurelian; "hush, fluttering heart of the eternal city! Fall back into slumber, ye wars and rumors of wars! Turn upon your couches of down, ye children of Romulus—sink back into your voluptuous repose! We, your almighty armies, have chased back into darkness those phantoms which had broken your dreams. We have chased, we have besieged, we have crucified, we have slain."

¹ Vopiscus, in Prob., cc. 11-15; Idem, in Aurel., 36, 37, 39; Aurel. Victor, Epit., Zonares, l. xii.; Vopiscus, in Tacit., c. 1; Zosimus, l. i.

² De Quincey (Historical Essays, vol. i., pp. 8-6, Boston ed., 1853).

Again: under the mild and benevolent, though brief sway of Tacitus, the Senate, in the same spirit of exaltation, exclaimed, "Abandon your indolence, O noble Romans; emerge from your soft retreats of Baiæ and Puteoli! Rome flourishes; the Republic blooms!"¹ And the noble Probus, a few years later, thus renews the dulcet strain: "O Romans, the soldier will soon be needed no more! Every thing will be ours! The Republic, the orb of the earth every where secure, will cease to fabricate its weapons! The ox will once more drag the plow, the horse be trained to peace! An end to war, an end to captures; every where repose, every where the laws of Rome, every where her judges."² But these, alas, were only the senile and infatuated rejoicings of an effete senatorial party, which saw in its own transient galvanization the rebirth of mankind. The roseate glory with which they suffused the world was but the hectic flush that presaged its dissolution. It may be compared to an American autumn, resplendent with the pomp of colors, and genial with soft and balmy airs, like a magnificent dream of summer, even while the leaves are dropping under the secret touches of the frosts, and the low wails of the desolating winter winds are heard in the woods.

Great as the services of these later sovereigns were, they had probed no evil of the Empire to its core, they had averted no external danger in perpetuity. Rome was inherently as hollow, worm-eaten, and weak as it ever had been; the armies were as insolent, for these emperors themselves were each in his turn carried off by the hand of violence or treachery; the people were still debased and mortified by slavery; and around the borders the portentous storm-cloud of barbarism gathered in ever deeper and gloomier folds.³ Scarcely, indeed, was the body of the valiant Probus, pierced with a thousand stabs, in its grave, when the morose tyranny of Carus, the dissolute extravagance of Carinus, and the incapacity of

¹ Vopiscus, in Florian, 232.

² "Nulla erunt bella; nulla captivitas; ubique pax; ubique Romanæ leges; ubique judices nostri." The language is almost lyrical.

³ See Gibbon (vol. i., c. 12) for the

details of the usurpations of Saturninus, Proculus, and Bonosus, and of the daring expedition of the Franks (Bastarnæ?) from the Bosphorus, through the Mediterranean, around the Atlantic coast to the Rhine.

Numerian promised to recall the days of Domitian and Elagabalus.¹

Diocletian, their successor, who had risen from the servile classes, and whose advent to the throne was the result of a murder, was, nevertheless, a statesman of comprehensive capacity and keen discernment; and he saw that the continued existence of the Roman State was only possible on the ground of its radical reconstruction. He saw that every vital power was prostrate; that the imperial dignity was a by-word and a shame; that the Senate was a sickening imposthume of pride and pretension; that the army was still little more than an ungovernable mob with swords in its hands; and that the people of the cities were steeped in superstitions and vices, while those of the country were crushed by debt and exactions, and irritated by the dangers of barbaric irruption into a state of chronic and feverish discontent. Seeing this all, and the sources of it all, as he thought, he resolved to transform the loose and disjointed state, which was neither republic nor empire, but "an anarchy tempered with bayonets," into a regular though despotic monarchy.²

Diocletian raised the imperial office to a majesty and distinction which it had never before possessed, shrouding his person in inaccessible mystery, and appearing only resplendent with jewels and purple. An oriental pomp glowed through all the ceremonies of the court. Knowing the temper of the times, "that he might be honored as a master, he made himself a god, and the apotheosis which had been the reward of the emperors after their death was now the fundamental condition of their

¹ These later emperors were nearly all Illyrians, and may be regarded as completing that Imperial Circuit of which I have spoken in a former note, as taking its departure from Italy by way of Spain into Africa and Syria, and thence to Illyria. Diocletian, the last of the strictly pagan emperors, the son of a slave parentage, and whose name was derived from the birth-place of his mother (Diocle in Dalmatia), can hardly be said to have had a country. It is among the strange things of destiny that a man, whose father, if not

himself, the haughty old Patricians of Rome would have chained to their door-posts, or thrown into their fish-ponds as food for eels, should be reserved to give the *coup de grâce* to all that remained of Romanism in the Roman constitution. The next emperors will be Gauls and Christians.

² In this brief review of Diocletian's reign I shall follow Naudet (*De l'Administration. Rom.*, t. ii., *passim*), but Gibbon's chapter on the subject (vol. i., c. 18) is one of the most admirable in his great work.

reigns. Every thing relating to them assumed a divine and sacred character; the fisc was the sacred treasury; the apartment of the prince the sacred chamber; and they who had saluted the emperors formerly as men, rendered them henceforth the homage of adoration."¹ From the name of the Master of the Universe, Diocletian took the lofty appellation of Jove.

But the weakness of the Empire was its greatness. No single man, though he were a god, could suffice to the control of its multiplicity of duties and dangers. However unlimited his power, he could not satisfy with promptitude its numerous wants; however supple his activity, he could not reach its evils, so remote in space, and yet so near in time. A vast, unwieldy mass, it was ever breaking into pieces; the ancient division of the East and the West could not be effaced; there were Persian wars at one extremity, German wars at the other extremity; and the ambition, the discontent, and the caprice of each separate province bred incessant many-headed commotions. Yet, unwilling to dis sever the old and glorious commonwealth, Diocletian essayed to divide its sovereign administration. Conceiving that a double Augustus, two equal yet dissimilar potentates, of which the warlike vigor of the one might be the complement of the civic capacity of the other, would multiply its hands without distracting the head, he associated with him in the exercise of the supreme rule Maximian, a hardy and active soldier. Hercules was thus conjoined with Jove; and the further to fortify and distribute this duality, as well as to cut off ambitious rivalries for the succession, to each Augustus was given a subordinate Cæsar, as his coadjutor and as his heir. Thus the Empire was divided into four departments, or a tetrarchy, of which Diocletian reserved to himself the provinces of Asia, Maximian took Italy and Africa, the Cæsar Galerius received Thrace, Illyria, and the countries on the Pontus, while Gaul fell to Constantius Chlorus, together with Spain, Mauritania, and Britain.² In like manner the provinces were organized into a multitude of subordinate

¹ Naudet (t. ii., p. 268).

Persecutorum, cc. 7, 50), Paneg. Veter.,

² Vict. Cæs., 39; Eutropius, ix.; iii., 4, 15.

Orosius, vii., 25; Lactantius (De Mort.

provinces, each with its distinct government, and yet in hierarchical dependence upon the central power.¹

The emperor was doubtless confirmed in his conviction of the necessity of this arrangement by his early experiences in the Gallic province, which, ever since the departure of Carinus for the Persian war, had been ravaged by acrimonious and bloody revolts of the peasants, under the name of Bagauda.² The condition of the rustic and serf, under the Roman socialism, was at all times one of great distress, but when to its natural evils were added those which followed in the crushing footfalls of the barbaric invaders, the calamities of the civil wars, and the extortions of officials, who were for long periods without responsibility or a master, it became intolerable. Often the poor laborers, in order to avoid starvation or death, quit their cabins and their fields to assault with scythe and axe the *villæ* of the rich proprietors, to waylay the traveler or the merchant on his route, or to devastate the harvests.³ Gathering indignation and audacity as their miseries increased, and numbers from all the homeless, houseless wretches whom oppression and war turned loose to prey upon their fellows, their rude squads grew into squadrons, and their petty revolts into formidable rebellions. Like the military insurgents, they took it upon themselves to designate emperors,⁴ to whom, after the Roman method, they gave the names of Augustus and Cæsar, and they besieged and burned cities as they had seen them besieged and burned by the Romans.⁵ Autun, after a desperate defense, which lasted for seven months, was completely sacked by them, not a temple nor edifice of any kind, scarcely a private house, being allowed to escape their fury.⁶ Other cities were the scenes of equal devastation; trade was suspended, the roads blockaded, the regular administration

¹ Gaul was divided into fourteen provinces. Tillemont (*Hist. des Emp.*, t. iv., p. 57).

² Probably from *bagad* or *bagat*, a Celtic word for a tumultuous assemblage. See Du Cange (*Glossarium*, in voce *Bagaude*). The modern French word *bagaud* is supposed to be derived from it (Michelet, *Hist. Franc.*, t. i., l. i., c. 1, note).

³ Aurel. Vict. de Cæs., 39.

⁴ Æmilianus and Amandus were the names of the two leaders whom they invested with the imperial purple, and in whose name they struck medals. They were supposed to be two persecuted and fugitive Christians.

⁵ Aurel. Victor., 39.

⁶ Eumen., *Orat. pro Scholia Rest.*, c. 3, 4.

overthrown, and the legions of the Rhine, tossed and involved by their own stormy discords, unable or unwilling to come to the relief of the magistrates. Malefactors, slaves, peasants, and persons of higher rank mingled in the general brigandage. By their aid, too, it is not unwarrantably supposed, Carausius raised the standard of revolt in Britain, and for seven years maintained a position of imperial equality and independence. And when Maximian-Hercules undertook their suppression he did not, with all his ferocious energy, succeed in exterminating them (for they appeared as late as the following century), but he simply drove them to refuge in a fortress at the confluence of the Marne and Seine,¹ whence, like Robin Hood and his men, of a later day, their robber-parties harassed all the neighboring country.² A long blockade, conducted with merciless vigor, in which famine and fatigue were even more destructive than the sword and fire, only partially terminated the unrelenting struggle.

In these onslaughts upon the Bagauds, tradition reports that Maximian was as much animated by his bitter hatred of Christianity as by his desire to avenge the violated order of the State. The new religion, which we left a century since, in the time of the good Marcus Aurelius, under the crypts of the prison-houses, or in the jaws of the lions of the amphitheatre, had made a considerable (yet by no means remarkable) progress in the Empire and in Gaul. In the Empire, indeed, it was becoming a power of society. There were Christians in the schools, the army, the senate, and even the palace; the prejudices of the heathen against their doctrines were less rancorous and inveterate; their churches, with their own bishops, laws, ceremonies, and tribunals, seemed a new republic rising in the midst of the old; and, under certain em-

¹ Afterward the Abbey of St. Maurice-Fosses.

² De Petigny (*Etudes*, t. i., p. 201) traces a curious resemblance (already suggested by Gibbon) between these *Bagauderie* and the *Jacquerie* of the 14th century. They were provoked, he says, by the same causes—foreign invasion and the oppressions of the rich; they were composed of the same classes, the

serfs and workmen; they were confined to the same objects, the pillage of the chateaux and the massacre of their occupants; and they came to the same violent end. He adds, what is still more curious, that they were restricted to nearly the same parts of Gaul—the west and centre. For details, see Thierry (*Gaule Rom.*, t. iii., c. 1, pp. 18–24).

perors (not always the best), Severus, Elagabalus, Alexander, and Philip, they were indulged with a species of condescending patronage. Yet they were still liable to flurries of persecution, and the later emperors, those especially who tried to restore the fallen grandeur of Rome, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian, and now Diocletian and Maximian, commanded, not their punishment merely, but their annihilation.¹ In obedience to this impulse, Maximian resorted to the most cruel expedients in order to purge the army of the Rhine and the public offices of Gaul of Christian converts and sympathizers.² How numerous they were we can not know; the small Church of Lyons, in the hands of Irenæus, had been a polemic rather than a propagandist Church;³ it discussed heresies and the exciting question as to the proper season of the Easter festival, although its zeal was not exclusively scholastic. Branches of it are spoken of in Valence, Besançon, Langres, Autun, and Carpentras, but they were obscure and feeble. In the reign of Decius (about A.D. 250) the Bishop of Rome, Fabian, sent seven missionary bishops into Gaul, who, dividing the country among them, gathered small knots of believers at Narbonne, Arles, Toulouse, Limoges, in Arvernia, and on the island of the Parisii (Paris).⁴ They were more active and successful than the Greeks; and in less than twenty years the new faith had been preached through all the centre, and at many places in the rude, savage regions of the north and west of Gaul.⁵

Yet the persecutions of Maximian in Gaul must have been arrested as soon as the Cæsar Constantius Chlorus received the command of that province; for he was a man of singular justice and clemency, who attached his subjects to him at once by the double merit of bravery and

Constantius
Chlorus in
Gaul, A.D.
303-304.

¹ Gieseler (Church Hist., vol. i., pp. 174-187, Harper's ed., New York, 1857).

² Thierry (*La Gaule Romaine*, t. iii., c. 1) has a long narrative of these persecutions, taken from the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, but there is no reference to them in the contemporary writers, Eusebius, Lactantius, et al. See Gieseler's note, vol. i., p. 179.

³ Caius and Hippolytus are reckoned among the disciples of Irenæus. (Thierry, t. ii., c. 6.)

⁴ It was St. Dionysius, or St. Denis, who established the congregation here, with the aid of Crispinus and Crispinianus, two brothers, shoemakers. St. Denis is reported to have had his head cut off in the time of Valerian, at the *Mons Martis*, now Montmartre.

⁵ The Acts of the Saints, which mingle many absurd legends with their few facts, are the doubtful authority in regard to these events.

benevolence. As he drove the Germans beyond the Rhine and suppressed the revolt of Carausius in Britain by the vigor of his arms, so he restored the dilapidated cities and the scattered schools of Gaul by the liveliness of his charity, while he entitled himself to a peculiar gratitude by his careful tolerance of the new religion.¹ The sharp edicts of his Eastern colleagues he either refused or neglected to enforce, and when the abdication of the *Augusti* raised him to the supreme power, he granted a complete liberty of worship to the Church.² Thus the fires of persecution smouldered in the West, while they were yet blazing with a fierce and consuming brightness in the East.

But neither the reforms introduced into the State by Diocletian, nor the severities practiced against the Christians, could arrest the rapid march of events toward the political overthrow of the ancient heathenism. By the former a robuster vigor was given to every department of administration; the license of the military was restrained, and the fragments of the Empire, breaking or floating away into isolation, were recovered and fixed. The internal distresses were also, in many respects, relieved, although in other respects they were aggravated. In securing by means of the fourfold divisions four effective defenders, the people acquired at the same time four courts, four armies, and four fiscal hierarchies. Under this quadruple burden the taxes rose to a frightful excess, so that a contemporary Christian writer³ (who is no doubt to be suspected of some exaggeration) describes the visitations of the tax-gatherers as worse than a plague of locusts. "In comparison with the payers of the taxes," he says, "the receivers of them were so numerous, and the weight of the imposts so enormous, that the laborers broke down, the fields were turned into deserts, and woods grew up where the plow had lately traveled. It would be impossible to number the officials who were rained upon every town and province. Condemnations, proscriptions, and exactions were all they knew—exactions not frequent, but perpetual, accompanied by unendurable outrages." "But the grand distress, the universal

Inadequacy
of the political
changes.

Frightful ravages of taxation.

¹ Eumeneus (Panegy. Constantii, passim). See, also, Neander (Hist. Christ., vol. i., p. 165).

² Sozomen (Ecc. Hist., l. i., cap. 6). Euseb. (Hist. Ecc., l. viii., c. 13).

³ Lactantius (De Mort. Persecut.).

mourning, was when the census came, and the takers of it, scattering themselves in every direction, produced a general panic, to be compared only to the misery of a hostile invasion or of a town abandoned to the soldiery. The fields were measured to the very clods, the trees counted, each vine-plant numbered. Cattle were registered as well as men. The crack of the lash and the cry of the afflicted rent the air. The faithful slave was tortured for evidence against his master, the wife to depose against the husband, the son against his sire. For lack of evidence the question was applied to extort one's evidence against himself, and, when nature gave way, they wrote down what had never been uttered. Neither old age nor sickness furnished grounds for exemption. Grief and consternation filled the land. Not satisfied with the returns of the first enumeration, they sent other censitors, who swelled the evaluation as a proof of service rendered. Thus the imposts went on increasing, but the cattle diminished and the people died; yet the survivors had to pay the taxes of the dead."¹

Diocletian was himself averse to the persecution of the Christians, to which atrocity he had been urged, in the last
Persecutions
of Christians.
Their effect. situation and decay of his powers, by the malignant fury of Galerius. His great mind must have felt that exhibitions of heroic virtue, called forth by unmerited suffering, when tender women and even helpless children, through the grace of God, bore the pains of fire and steel, of the rack and cross, of infuriated beasts and more beastly men, with surpassing patience and serenity, were likely to produce sympathy rather than aversion. Many weak souls, it is true, were driven by their fears of death to renounce their confessions, to deliver up the sacred writings, and to resume the worship of the abandoned gods. In some cases whole congregations might resort to dishonorable bribes to avert the wrath of the magistrates,² but by far the greater number gave an inspiring example of fortitude and constancy; and the steady fervor of faith in things unseen and eternal which the latter evinced; their meek patience under

¹ Lactantius (*De Mort. Persecut.*, vii., 23). But compare the remarks of Naudet (*L'Administration de l'Empire Romaine*, t. ii., part 2, § 11), who men-

tions many things in mitigation of the charges of Lactantius.

² Tertull., *De fuga in persec.*, c. xiii.

grievous wrongs; their courage before the frowns of tyranny and the scorns of literature; their arduous labors of love, and their munificent charity toward even their oppressors and revilers, must have appealed to whatever was noble and just in the minds of the contemporary generation.¹ Many were thus led to desert the ancient religion, with its unsatisfying nature and decrepit functions, and to embrace that more excellent faith—that more glorious hope—which enriched its possessors with nobler virtues, and enabled them to triumph over the utmost severities of torment and reproach. Despite the bloody baptism, therefore, through which it was entered, the Church grew in numbers, in activity, and in influence, and the danger to which it was exposed in the harsh trials it encountered was not that it might be smothered, but that it might be inflated into presumption. The love of truth, which is the beautiful principle of the Gospel, often, indeed, degenerated into a passion for martyrdom, and fanatical sentiments usurped the place of kindly and generous affections.

While the people were thus in many ways repulsed and alienated from the State, there was nothing in its Decline of the old religion, and of the Empire. forms or personages to propitiate their attachments. None of the old republican traditions inspired its combinations; neither of the four colleagues who controlled it, of whom all were of obscure families, and three of the peasant or servile classes, were Romans by birth. The seat of empire, no longer confined to Rome, was shared by Nicomedia, by Milan, and by Trèves, in Gaul; and even in society, in science, in literature, the old heathenism seemed to be divested of its glory. The genius of the once proud and domineering nation moaned and sighed around its deserted temples, like a wind that is dying away; for it saw in the old Diocletian himself, languishing in the midst of his splendid palace at Salona under some unknown malady of weakness, disappointed of his hopes and contemplating an abdication, the too faithful emblem of its own condition and fate.

¹ See a fine passage in Isaac Taylor (*Ancient Christianity*, vol. i., p. 37).

CHAPTER VII.

GAUL UNDER THE CHRISTIAN-ROMAN EMPERORS.

It was now three hundred years since Jesus of Nazareth had proclaimed his new religion, which he had illustrated by the most majestic and lovely character it is possible for the mind to conceive, and sealed by the most sublime and touching death which the world had ever witnessed.

That religion, described in its most essential and comprehensive features, may be said to have been the revelation of a new Fact, the exemplification of a new Life, and the annunciation of a new Society. At a time when the antique beliefs were exhausted of vital force, when the creative spirit of mankind was immersed and sunk in dead forms and pernicious moralisms, and when the whole social system was paralyzed or only convulsively alive, Christ came to declare a purer theism, to impregnate morals with a spiritual principle, and to regenerate society by means of new institutions and new humanitarian relations. His purer theism was contained in the doctrine of a transcendent assumption of humanity by the infinite Wisdom and Goodness; his new life was the substitution of a free and disinterested love of God and of man for the servile love of self and of the world; and his new society the "Kingdom of Heaven," or reign of God upon earth,¹ destined to be manifested gradually in a universal organization of brotherhood and peace.

In the establishment and first propagation of this religion he was assisted by twelve illiterate young men, chosen from the depths of Jewish society, whom he indoctrinated in his faith during his life, and then, after his death, more largely endowed by special illuminations. The place of

¹ On the meaning of the oft-repeated phrase of the Scriptures, *ἡ Βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ*, or Kingdom of Heaven, see Campbell's able dissertations prefixed to his

translations of the Gospels (Dissert. v., part i., p. 122, ed. London, 1854).

² Matthew, xi., 25. Comp. Gieseler (Church Hist., c. i., § 23, p. 65).

one of them, vacated by a singular lapse and treachery, was supplied through the choice of the others, while, subsequently, a thirteenth was added, through celestial agency, in the conversion of Saul of Tarsus (A.D. 37-40).¹ This little band of missionaries (apostles), who were so many individuals² selected and authorized to bear witness to the words and doings of Christ, and to confirm their testimony by miraculous signs, carried forward their appointed work in the midst of almost incredible labors and sufferings. They converted souls, whom they instructed in the new truths, and they formed assemblies, whose growth they watched, and whose errors they rectified; and, before the death of the last of them, their doctrine was planted in nearly every part of the civilized world. Their peculiar authority, having been derived from their historical relation to Jesus, as the eye-witnesses of his deeds, and from his direct and special commission, they could not, in the nature of the case, transfer or transmit to others,³ but imperishable monuments of it were already in existence, in the sweet biographies of the evangelists, and in the noble and comprehensive epistles of some of their own number.

The little unions gathered by the apostles strike the untechnical reader of the original records rather as spontaneous religious assemblies, brought together by common sentiments of devout gratitude and brotherly love, than as formal or organized communities. In the first of them, which was established at Jerusalem under the direct superintendence of the apostles, the members lived as the members of a family, breaking bread from house to house, and having all things common.⁴ Others were presided over by officers indifferently called elders or overseers,⁵ who took a general management of their affairs, assisted by deacons and deaconesses, who dispensed the charities. Designated, as it is supposed, by the apostles, so

The primitive churches.

¹ Acts, i., 15-26; ix., 1-22; xxii., 3-16; xxvi., 9-18.

² That they were not an incorporated college or priestly order, see M'Culough (Credibility of the Scriptures, vol. ii., pp. 154-257, ed. Baltimore, 1852).

³ Neander (Hist. Christ. Religion, vol. i., sect. 2, pp. 179-190).

⁴ Acts, ii., 44-46. But Mosheim argues that this did not amount to a community of goods (Dissertt. ad Ecc. Hist., vol. i., diss. 1).

⁵ See proofs in Gieseler (Church Hist., vol. i., p. 90), and Neander (*ibid.*, vol. i., p. 184).

long as they lived, but afterward nominated by acclamation in each circle,¹ the superiority of these officers was a superiority of piety and influence rather than of power. Whether they constituted a divinely commissioned order of priests, or whether they were priests only as all believers in Christ are members of a royal priesthood,² are questions variously answered, although it is clear that, whatever their character or function, it did not preclude any other member from instructing or edifying the brethren according to his gifts.³ As but one spirit of love and enthusiasm actuated the whole, there was little occasion for government, which was considered, in fact, a subordinate, almost needless function.⁴ Far more important to them than the most skillful administrative capacity, and far more respectable than the power of working miracles even, was that fortitude which took its life in its hands to proselytize the nations, and that ability which could speak words of encouragement in their circumstances of loneliness and despondency.⁵

Such was the earliest Christianity—such were the earliest churches; but, in the era at which we have arrived, Developments
of the new
power. at that triumphant moment when the new power was about to ascend the throne of the world in the person of Constantine, it was neither as a faith nor as an institution the same as it appears to us to have been in its primitive age. The essence, or the fundamental principles of Christianity were, as they ever will be, the same; but the human mind, in its conception of principles, is ever liable to prodigious transmutations. And Christianity was not a scheme for the miraculous conversion of men without consent of their understandings and hearts; it was not a vast and inflexible system of superstition, to be imposed by authority and propagated by terror or force, but it was pre-eminently a spiritual religion, addressed to the free affections and the independent reason of mankind, and implying in its very

¹ Milman (*Hist. Christ.*, c. iv., p. 196), whose account of the primitive church government is unusually candid.

² 1 Peter, ii., 9. Compare Neander, *loc. cit.*

³ 1 Corinth., xii., 4–10.

⁴ 1 Corinth., xii., 28.

⁵ In these views, of course, I do not wish to trespass on the sphere of the theologian, but as the character and early progress of Christianity is a part of my subject, I am bound to treat it candidly, and according to my best knowledge, as I should any other historical question.

conditions, as such, that it might be rejected, or perverted, or only half received. No proper activity of the mind was superseded by it; many new activities were awakened and stimulated; and, while it poured a flood of light upon the ancient and perplexing questions of human destiny and duty, it opened others even far more searching, mysterious, and insoluble. Consequently, it was to have been expected that, in its transition through the schools and the races, the prevalent apprehensions of it should vary, that much dross would cling to it from the soils in which it was planted, and many discolorations be infiltrated into it by the media in which it was plunged. Even its conquests were to be made somewhat at its own expense. Thus it vanquished the stern exclusiveness and ritualism of the Jews, but not without assimilating its priesthood to the priesthood it overcame. It swam the stormy seas of Grecian speculation to come out of them dripping with many a weed; and the ecstasies of the East, the ascetics of the deserts, whom it gathered into its genial arms, did not always leave their mysticism in the dreamy chambers they had quitted, nor their excessive and malignant rigors among the sands.

It would be difficult (nor is it necessary for me) to trace the *As a doctrine.* variety or the successive steps of these changes; suffice it, therefore, to note what strikes the unbiased reader of the literature of the early centuries as significant signs of a great change, if not yet of a fundamental revolution.¹ The aim of the Gospel was to regenerate the life of man on earth, to deposit in the soul the central and creative principle of love, which, working from within progressively, should enlighten the faculties, and purify and exalt every outward human relation; and the virtues most consonant to its spirit were those of cheerful gratitude toward God, and of gentleness and active beneficence toward men. A humanity of ineffable sweetness and infinite depth breathed in its every line as it had exhaled from every act of that august and lovely Being in whom the attributes of inconceivable deity were expressed in human forms, and made cognizable even to the human senses. But, in the age of which I now speak, this benignant Gospel seemed to be more and more regarded as some talismanic passport to the unimaginable blisses

¹ Gieseler (Hist. Church, vol. i., c. 4).

of a future state. Its spiritual graces and manly virtues were more and more confounded with inward ecstasies or external observances. Rigid self-denials and self-inflictions took the place of genial and innocent natural affections; and even the blessed and humanizing relations of marriage, which Christianity filled with the divinest beauty, were deemed less excellent than cold vows of fruitless chastity.¹ In obedience to this perverted impulse, men began to rush into solitary places—the unfrequented wood and desolate waste, to acquire by indolent self-contemplations and stupefying macerations the fame, but not the substance of sanctity,² while the tombs and the relics of dead men often challenged a profounder admiration than the most exalted living usefulness. There was much in the spirit and practices of the heathen world around them to mislead the judgment of the Christians; these perversions, moreover, were tendencies rather than accepted truths, and were rebuked by the more enlightened among them; yet they were tendencies indicative of a broad drift of opinion. Like poison branches ingrafted amid the healing leaves and golden fruitage of the tree of life, they were destined to swell into distorted and wormy excrescences.

As an institution no less than a faith, Christianity was not, in these times, precisely the same as it had been in its more primitive age. Those free, spontaneous assemblages, called churches, regulated seemingly by no more complicated laws than one of our modern prayer-meetings—having no places to gather in unless obscure upper chambers, or sequestered groves, or lonely cemeteries—exacting no creed save a faith in Jesus as the Messiah, and the promise of a renewed life; with no rites but a simple initiatory baptism and a love-feast, when bread was broken and wine drunk in remembrance of the Great Teacher and Sufferer; with no forms of worship beyond the simplest exhortations, singing, and prayer—these had become ambitious, complicated, and somewhat splendid organizations. In the second century already a line of distinction began to be drawn between the priesthood⁴ and the people.⁵ The former

¹ Tertullian (*De Exhort. Cast.*, cc. 9–11). His works are well abridged by Neander (*Antagonisticus*, ed. Berlin, 1849).

² Sozomen (*Hist. Ecc.*, l. i., c. 12).

³ Apostolical Constitution, v., c. 8; Cyprian. *Epist.*, 12, 13, 15, 57, etc.

⁴ Κληρος, ordo, clergy.

⁵ λαός, plebs, laity.

were represented as the official mediators between Christ and the congregation—still elective, but having alone the right to administer sacraments and to speak in the assemblies.¹ In this priesthood the bishops (*episcopi*), whether urged by the deep religious needs of the time for representation and authority, or more personal motives, I shall not say, soon assumed the highest dignity, as the successors of the apostles, as the vicars of Christ, as the organs of the Church. They claimed to be the possessors of a supreme power, from which all ordinations must proceed, and by which all ecclesiastical legislation in the provincial synods was to be conducted.² Among themselves, the bishops were for a long time equal; but the bishops of the great cities (metropolitans), on account of the apostolical origin of their sees, and their greater wealth and influence, presided in the ecclesiastical provinces, gradually asserted or were allowed the right to regulate the proceedings of synods, to confirm and ordain the provincial bishops, and to enjoy a more honorable rank and consideration. Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria were thus pre-eminently distinguished; and the friends of the first, indeed, insinuated for it an especial purity in its traditions, if not the title to an appellative authority in the determination of faith.³ A conscious unity of feeling on the part of all Christians, separated from the world as a peculiar people, and the yearnings and promises of Christ and the apostles that they should form one body, had always suggested the idea of an external unity. This, in the many and important internal dissensions of the churches, was nursed into the thought of a holy, true, and catholic church, as opposed to the church of dissentients and heretics.⁴ It was this church which contained the genuine apostolical traditions—whose faith was pure, whose fellowship life, and whose acceptance or disapproval of creeds the infallible test of orthodoxy.⁵

Under these aspects and tendencies of Christianity, the death of Constantius Chlorus occasioned his son Constantine to be

¹ Eusebius (*Hist. Ecc.*, vi., 19); *Unitate Eccles.*, c. 3; Neander (*C. H.*, *Const. Apost.*, viii., 82; Hase, *History of the Christian Church*, c. ii., § 58.

² See authorities in Hase, *ibid.*, § 59.

³ Irenæus, iii., 3, 2; Cyprian., *De*

⁴ Cyprian. (*De Unit. Ecc.*, cc. 4, 5, 21; *Epist.*, 47).

⁵ For the validity of these pretensions, see Neander (*Hist. Christian Church*, vol. i., sect. 2, division B).

proclaimed Augustus by the legions of Britain and Gaul. A young man of commanding presence and brilliant military talents, he was already doubly popular by his own merits and his hereditary glory. Yet, as Galerius, the Emperor of the East, refused him any higher title than that of Cæsar, he remained for six years the Emperor of the Gauls rather than of the Roman state. This interval he employed in fighting back the invasive Franks, in repairing the fortifications along the Rhine, in confirming, by official sanctions, the right of worship to the Christians,¹ and, doubtless, in watching the course of events in the Empire. The ingenious but brittle combinations of Diocletian were soon disrupted, and five emperors, besides Constantine, were already aspiring to solitary sway. Galerius divided the East and Illyria with Maximin-Daza and Severus, while the old Maximian, weary of his hasty abdication, and his son Maxentius, were contending for the mastery of Italy. Coming into Gaul to seek the alliance of Constantine, Maximian gave his daughter in marriage to him; but the insolent and restless passions of the old warrior involved him in a quarrel with his son-in-law, which led to his execution; by which act the field of the West was left to the rivalry of Constantine and Maxentius. It was a rivalry of policy and principle as well as of personal ambition. Constantine, more than half repelled from Paganism by the Diocletian persecutions, rendered favorable to Christianity by the example of his father, represented the new spirit of the time, as it may be called, or the Christian and barbaric element, in opposition to the effete and dying Roman element.²

He was not a Christian either in character or by confession, although a monotheist, with somewhat sensitive religious susceptibilities, who discerned the intrinsic superiority of the new faith in many respects, and could not be unaware of the rapid growth of it as a social power, but who was yet controlled in his relations to it by the dictates of worldly policy. Nevertheless, the Christians, partly in gratitude to his father, and partly from a suspicion of his na-

Constantine
Emperor of Gaul,
A.D. 306 to
A.D. 312.

Conquers the
Empire from
his competi-
tors as a
Christian
champion.

¹ Lactant., *De Morte Pers.*, xxv.

² Constantine inherited the policy of Diocletian, which was somewhat anti-

Roman, while he relied for moral support on the Christians, and for material aid on the barbarians of his armies.

tive bias, considered him, to a certain extent, their champion. His war against Maxentius was a religious war in effect, although disguised under the pretext of avenging Italy against that emperor's licentious outrages and tyrannies. Constantine engaged in it, for that reason, with much perturbation of mind, knowing that against him stood the entire past—the majestic name of Rome, his own early reminiscences, and many lingering convictions and hopes. And it is easy to imagine how, in the heat and fever of his uncertain, but perilous and solemn position, he framed that vision of the cross, with its inscription, "Conquer by this," which seemed to him, as it has to subsequent ages, a direct and miraculous encouragement issued out of heaven.¹ His success at Susa, Turin, Verona, and the Milvian Bridge confirmed the dazzling oracle of the skies, and the conquest of Italy, which rendered the sovereign of Gaul the undisputed master of the West, rendered Christianity, not the established, but the dominant religion of the state. The edicts of Milan, put forth in A.D. 313, and which proclaimed a universal tolerance, secured, if they did not complete, its indefeasible triumph. Ten years later, in the wars against Licinius (the remaining Emperor of the East), which were avowed religious wars, the priests, the diviners, the magi, the pythonesses invoking the heathen deities on one side, while the bishops invoked the god of battle on the other, the final victory of Constantine was the open ascent of Christianity to the throne of the world.

The personal religion of the emperor was even then a strange medley of the contradictory influences of his times: Impression produced by this event. his coins bore upon one side the emblems of heathen gods, and on the other the sacred monogram of Jesus Christ. In the same year he ordained the observance of Sunday, and published laws on the consultations of the haruspices; and he worshiped the sun-god, while the banner of the cross floated over his battalions.² But his cause, as it advanced, became more and more the cause of the Church; and when he attained

¹ See the incident well described in De Broglie (*L'Eglise et L'Empire*, vol. i., c. 1, p. 212 et seqq.), and the philosophy of it in Neander (*Hist. Christ.*, vol. ii., pp. 5-12).

² Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.*, t. iv., pp. 181-208.

the undisputed mastery of the empire, the new religion attained an ascendancy scarcely less universal. Never was an event hailed with more fervent gratitude or more buoyant hopes than this event was hailed by its pious contemporaries. They saw a faith which had but recently been declared incompatible with the laws become one of the fountains of the law; they saw a cause still crimson with the blood of its martyrs, lurking through catacombs, and buffeted by a thousand enemies, raised to an honorable and glorious eminence; and they could not fail to regard a change at once so signal and so momentous as a direct interposition of the Deity in behalf of his own truth and its adherents. It was, indeed, to their excited fancies, the harbinger of a millennial effulgence which was soon about to deluge the earth.¹ Posterity, it is true, looking at the event in its later, if not immediate consequences, has qualified that estimate of its importance: it has seen that an incident which gave the State to the Church, gave also the Church to the State; that an alliance which struck the eagles to the cross, also converted this emblem of a blessed redemption into the standard of an unholy and bloody strife,² and that the virtues which beamed in the aureole of the martyr were of purer ray than those which shot their doubtful lustre from the jewels of the diadem. Yet posterity, after every abatement of the earlier zeal, has been prompt to recognize in the conversion of Constantine an era of the profoundest historical significance.³

Not only in its religious aspects, but in others, his reign was the most important in the later Roman annals. For, together with a new faith, he gave to the state a new capital, destined to become a centre of dominion for a thousand years, and a new organization of every department of the government, which changed its character essentially while preparing the way for the birth of the new European monarchies. Constantine's ambitious design, in fact, contemplated a restoration of the political unity of the globe on the basis of its moral and religious unity. He removed the seat of

Constantine makes great political changes. A. D. 325-337.

¹ Eusebius (Hist. Ecc., l. v., cc. 1-3).

² Milman (Hist. Christ., vol. i., c. 8, p. 238).

³ The balance of advantage and dis-

advantage to the fortunes of pure Christianity is elaborately struck by Neander, and concisely summed up by Milman (l. c.).

government from Rome, the nursery of ancient and turbulent traditions, to Byzantium, a splendid locality on the confines of two worlds—the centre of all the provinces, washed by the waters of many seas, and looking southward to Ida and the immortal plains of Troy. There, in less than two years, he raised a magnificent city, which seemed the creation of magic rather than of mortal hands.¹ He populated it with a numerous artificial nobility, deriving their distinctions from no hereditary right, but from his own good-will—whom he heaped with dignities and functions, and decorated with a pompous blazonry of titles—and with citizens attracted thither by the prospect of a gratuitous and prodigal support from the public granaries. The Diocletian division of the empire into four præfectures he retained, and perfected by a farther division into dioceses, which were again subdivided into provinces, with a corresponding hierarchy of officers. This gave a wonderful uniformity as well as efficiency to the vast mechanism of legal and fiscal administration.² A more original conception separated the military from the civil department of the state—for the first time in ancient history—scattered and destroyed the monstrous powers which had been formerly wielded by those grand viziers, the Prætorian præfects, and confined the army, in its two branches of cavalry and infantry, to a master-general, whose authority, restricted to military affairs, and dispersed among a number of subordinate counts and dukes, was no longer likely to prove so menacing to the sovereign. The legions themselves, reduced in their separate effective, but multiplied in the gross, were distributed to the frontiers under the name of Borderers, and to the cities under the name of Palatines, in a manner which it was supposed would prevent conspiracy and combination, without diminishing their value both as an external and internal defense.³

As these reforms were to be inspired and supported by the new religion, Constantine was most sedulous in his labors and arrangements for the moral rehabili-

Also great moral changes.

¹ Some writers say, erroneously, that it was built in a few months.

² The præfectures were those of the East, Illyria, Italy, and the Gauls. The Gauls comprised the three dioceses of Spain, Gaul proper, and Britain.

³ The details are as clearly given in Gibbon, c. 17, as any where else. More recent learning, in correcting a few unimportant errors of his, has scarcely added any thing to his luminous exposition.

tation of his subjects. Whatever he could do to secure the co-operation of the Christian bishops, already the most influential class of the empire, he resolutely performed. He discouraged the ancient worship to an extent not absolutely dangerous; he exempted the clergy from the burdens of municipal duty; he allowed the Church, as an exception to other corporations, to receive property by will, which rapidly increased its wealth; and he maintained an intimate personal relationship with the leading dignitaries, while he evinced the profoundest personal interest in all the controversies of the faithful.¹ For the settlement of their theological disputes, he promoted, if he did not originate, the assembling of those general councils, composed of delegates from the churches, which were a species of representative legislature, and awakened, after a long lethargy and slumber, the powers of the human mind. Furnishing new themes for eloquence to the leaders, arousing new passions and stirring up new opinions in the multitude, the stormy debates of the synod revived the silent echoes of the pnyx and the forum, while such athletic preachers as Athanasius, Hilary, Arius, Basil, and Ambrose renewed the race of great and powerful tribunes of the people. "What great men, what eminent orators," exclaims a distinguished writer, "fill the interval from Athanasius to Augustine! What a wonderful agitation of mind in all the Roman world! What talents were unfolded in those mystic controversies! What transformations of society evoked by the religion which had passed from the catacombs to the chair of the Cæsars to wield the sword which, lately blunted on the bodies of its martyrs, was to be sharpened thereafter in the cause of its own divisions."²

But, great as Constantine was as a legislator—and he was one of three in the long and dreary line of emperors since Augustus (Hadrian and Diocletian being the others)—he was rather a revolutionist than a regenerator. He confirmed and enlarged, as we have seen, the great changes of Diocletian. The division into two empires and four provinces still remained in spite of his supremacy, which was personal and transient. Nor was it a Roman unity which he established

Inadequacy of
Constantine's
innovations.

¹ Milman (*Hist. Christ.*, b. iii., c. 4). *Chrétienne au iv^{ème} Siècle*, ed. Paris,

² Villemain (*Tableau de l'Eloquence* 1858).

at Byzantium. Rome was fallen and deserted—trade, influence, adventure, religion, and political ambition ebbing away to the new Rome. The titular nobles were vain dignitaries, while the real nobles were the bishops. The armies were mainly barbaric. The provinces were virtually emancipated and independent. The elevation of Christianity had abased Roman pride, Roman philosophy, Roman literature, Roman manners, and the ground of distinction among men, races, nations, was their adherence or their aversion to the doctrines of the Church. Schisms and factions became questions of state. A new spirit directed the administration and controlled the superficial currents of opinion. It arrested many dangerous proclivities of society; it assuaged the private sorrows of men, with the solace of its immortal hopes; it purified and raised the moral sentiment of a select body of recipients; it accosted with soothing and pacific accents the profound disgust of disheartened yet generous souls; it prohibited many detestable practices, and facilitated the emancipation of the poor, hopeless slave; and it humanized, although it did not wholly reinvigorate, the tone of a declining literature.

At the same time, we are bound to confess, that neither the administrative reforms of Constantine, nor the new moral regimen which began to avouch its ascendancy, were able to reach the deeper organic maladies of the social system. The emperor struggled at times earnestly against them, but they lay then beyond the reach of any human science. As a mere economy, the ancient order was bankrupt and exhausted; the corrosions of slavery, which, under the Republic, had eaten away the vigor of Italy, abandoning three hundred thousand acres in the heart of the most fertile region of the globe to barrenness and disease,¹ had been carried by the Empire into all the provinces. Smiting with a fatal paralysis nearly every industrial force; gluing the once free laborer to the soil under the name of *colon*, till he became as abject and wretched as the slave; dispersing the small proprietors among

¹ Michelet (*Hist. Rom.*, l. iii., c. 1) and Bancroft (*Miscellanies*, p. 280) have traced the fall of the Republic to those colossal fortunes (*latifundia* of Pliny, xviii., 7), the results of slavery, which destroyed the most useful classes, the small proprietors and free agricultural laborers. See, to the same effect, Sismondi (*Hist. de la Chute de l'Empire Rom.*, t. i., c. 1, p. 51).

the barbarians, or driving them to an enforced dependence upon patrons whose enormous estates were expanded into more monstrous proportions by these incessant gains, slavery had undermined, drained, dislocated, and demoralized the material resources and functions of society.¹ And it was this utter ruin of its material means which rendered the demands of the fisc so cruel and persecuting. The dark picture which we have seen Lactantius paint of the extortions of the treasury in the time of Diocletian might have been deepened in the time of Constantine and his successors. Nothing, indeed, in human records suggests a more painful image to the mind than those pages of the codes of Theodosius and Justinian which show us the later emperors in their vain and desperate plunges to suppress, to mollify, or to escape the evils of an utter decay of vital and productive force. Society writhes and groans visibly before us like a man in the agonies of the rack. The labors of authority turn with frantic violence upon every possible process of extorting the means of a pompous subsistence from withered husks and thrice-rinsed rags. Laws are heaped upon laws, till the blasting decrees of despotism have operated like a fatal spell. Men of all ranks and conditions are fastened to their vocations, to their miscalled privileges even, as bears to a stake, to be baited. The senatorials and clarissimi are bound to their properties, lest they should run away from the charges with which they are encumbered; the curial, who is responsible for the collection of the municipal taxes, can not abandon his office except at the risk of outlawry and ruin; the young conscript is branded, that he may be reclaimed if he deserts his post; a universal system of forced labor supplies the public transportations; trade is smothered in vast corporations, that are swathed and strangled by restraints, and the whole industrial economy inclines rapidly to an Indian fixity of caste and a Chinese stagnation of routine.

Christianity might, perhaps, have reached these radical ills of the ancient socialism, but that its social features, its profound

¹ See De Broglie (*L'Eglise et l'Empire*, t. ii., c. 2, pp. 282 et seqq.); but, for a more elaborate and detailed exposition of the effects of slavery in all its

relations, see Wallon (*Hist. de l'Esclavage dans l'Antiquité*, t. iii., cc. 2-7, ed. Paris, 1848).

humanitary principles, its immense and tender sympathies, were not regarded, or not applied with any emphasis. Other aspects of it absorbed the minds of the generation. The age was an age of stormy theological debate, not of practical uses; when the whole world was about to be tossed by great intellectual encounters as by the shock of earthquakes; when not only polytheism and theism were coming to their last wrestle, but theism itself was to be torn by fierce innate dissensions; when an adverse tenet would seem more opprobrious and awful than the most hideous crime; and when the passions of the multitude, enlisted in questions of metaphysic controversy and church discipline, would stain the streets of the great cities with blood. The more gentle and genuine spirit of the new faith might work powerfully on individuals, but it would be silently and slowly, and the effect of its beneficent influence, amid the hideous corruptions of the times, would resemble that of a feeble rill of pure water in a vast pool of filth and rottenness. Even among its more earnest disciples, moreover, Christianity had been deflected from its direct and practical ends. Its aim was supposed to be not so much the regeneration of mankind in this world as the salvation of the individual soul in the next. Many Christians were beginning already to fly away from society, in a contemptuous and ascetic disdain of the world—strangers and sojourners upon the earth; others, despairing of success in the inveterate degeneracy and impotence of a worn-out civilization, turned their hopes of the future exclusively to the Gentiles; and others, again, saw the ancient society foredoomed by the just judgments of God to utter devastation and ruin. A few ambitious or hopeful bishops deemed the splendid favors of the court the rosy dawn of a new day. A few dreamy scholars, cherishing the old illusion of Roman universality and unity, would have made the Church the heir of the Empire. But to the common Christian mind, the old Rome appeared, as it had long before appeared to the rapt vision of St. John, as "the adulterous woman, drunk with the blood of the saints, and giving the nations to drink of the wine of her fornications."¹ It was not the ancient Rome, therefore,

¹ Apocalypse, xxii., 2-6, a passage (Sanct. Hieron. Opera, t. iv., p. 498). which St. Jerome applies to Rome. See, also, the *De Civitate Dei*, *passim*,

but the new Rome; and not the new Rome of Byzantium, but a divine and eternal city, coming down from the heavens, which charmed their hopes, and inspired their labors and their prayers. Christianity founded no political society; it scarcely contemplated any, to supply the place of the mouldering empire.

How little the reorganized monarchy of Constantine could do, and how little Christianity did, toward arresting the fatal decline of the Empire, was fatally exhibited in the weak and turbulent reigns of his sons. The great emperor had scarcely closed his eyes, after distributing his dominions among his children and nephews, ere the soldiers, instigated by his second son, Constantius, massacred all the cousins who were designated to the government, together with nearly all their friends. Two children, Gallus and Julian, alone were spared. A new partition of the empire was thereupon made between the three sons; the præfecture of the Gauls being assigned to the eldest, Constantine II. (probably because he was born at Arles); Italy, Illyria, Africa, and Greece, to the youngest, Constant; while Constantius reserved to himself the vast and opulent East.¹ But this partition was not of long continuance. Constantine II., coveting Africa from Constant, was refused it, and precipitated a war upon Italy, in which he perished. The Gauls thereby fell into the power of Constant, a debauched and reckless nursling of the court of Byzantium, whose ten years of rule fluctuated between the influences of corrupt eunuchs, intriguing bishops, and ambitious barbarians whom he introduced into places of trust.² With the Germans, and particularly the Franks, who had recommenced their ravages in the north of Gaul, he rather negotiated than fought; and though he adorned himself with the insignia of triumph, and caused his rhetors to celebrate his various victories, they were only purchased successes.³ His weakness at length provoked the public hatred to a revolt, which found an instrument in one Magnentius, the commander of a division of the Jovians and Herculians, who cast off his allegiance and assumed the purple.

of St. Augustine. But compare Thierry Zosim., ii., 69; Vict., Epit., 41; Julian, Orat., i., 33-4.
(*La Gaule Romaine*, t. i., c. 7, Introduction.) for another view.

¹ Euseb., *Vita Const.*, l. iv., c. 51; ii., 18; Sozom., iii., 10.

² Aurel. Vict., Epit., 51; Socrat., Liban., Orat., iii.

He was the offshoot of a Lœtic colony of Franks,¹ which Constantine had settled in Armorica, and his movement, though seemingly a repetition of old practices, was in fact a new and notable sign of the times. His mother, a woman gifted with second sight, or, as the German superstition deemed her, a prophetess, was still probably pursuing her mysterious vocation in the German huts, while he was getting educated at the Roman schools or serving in the Roman army.² Now we find him proclaiming himself the Emperor of the West. A numerous rally of Gauls, Saxons, Spaniards, and of his own countrymen, the Franks, sustained his pretensions; Constant was driven step by step, like a wild beast, through the woods of Arvernica and the Pyrenees to the town of Helena, near the borders of Spain, where he was put to death; and Magnentius exercised for a time an undisputed sway. The soul of this revolution, however, was a Roman statesman named Marcellinus, who appears to have been actuated by the double impulse of attachment to the old pagan religion, and of hatred to the house of Constantine.³ He was not slow, under the guidance of either motive, in involving Magnentius in a war with Constantius, the Emperor of the East, who, it may be supposed, was at the same time eager to avenge the death of his brother and to preserve the integrity of the Roman dominions.

It was a war in which the consequences were alike injurious to the empire and to Gaul: to the empire, inasmuch as in the bloody battle of Mursa, on the Drave (A.D. 351), in which Magnentius was defeated, but escaped, the flower of the Roman legions perished;⁴ and to Gaul, because the absence of Magnentius had left an open course to the barbarians, who again passed the Rhine in numerous and destructive bands, and carried their ravages into many cities. But what is chiefly to be remarked of their inroads at this time is, that they came not alone seduced by the opportunities of plunder, but bearing the written invitation of the son of Constantine in their hands, and his tempting donatives of gold in their

It opens a way to the inroads of the barbarians.

¹ The nature and influence of these colonies are more fully explained in a following chapter.

² Thierry (Gauls Romaine, t. iii., c. 5, p. 255).

³ Julian, Orat., ii., p. 108; Athanasius ap. C., 6-10, et *passim*.

⁴ Zonares, xiii., 8; Julian, Orat., i., ii., pp. 67, 110, 111.

purses.¹ In his anxiety to secure the overthrow of the invading emperor, that treacherous Roman had purchased an invasion of a far more dangerous character. The fact indicates both the weakness of the empire and the abyss toward which it hurried. Again: Gaul suffered in another respect. Magnentius, in order to meet the exigencies of his position, was compelled to double and quadruple the fiscal exactions, until the whole province tottered under its burdens. At length, however, it rose against the rule of the usurper and caused him to fly to Seleucus, a town among the Cottian Alps, where, in despair, he put himself, together with all his family, to death.

Constantius was now the sole emperor of both the East and West, and revenged upon Gaul the revolt of its former leader; or, rather, under the pretense of political retributions, he vented a rancorous theological spleen. The ardent controversy between the Arians and the Catholics, which had broken out under his father, still inflamed and rent the religious world. Constantius had become, by the influence of the Eastern bishops, a rigid Arian, and for ten years had pursued with unrelenting zeal the great Bishop of Alexandria, Athanasius, as the head and front of the Catholic party.² The Church of Gaul, on the other hand, so largely proselytized from Rome, and taught by Athanasius himself, while passing some years of exile at Trèves, was warmly attached to the orthodox faith. It was on that account a predestined object of the wrath of the emperor. Convoking a council at Arles (A.D. 353), as one of the first of his civil acts in Gaul, he prescribed to the Western bishops that condemnation of Athanasius which had already obtained the sanction of the Eastern.³ Many of those who resisted this insolent dictation were sent into banishment, to wander or perish in the deserts of Phrygia. Thus a severe religious persecution was opened again in that Gaul, where it had first been closed by Constantius Chlorus, and opened by his namesake and his grandson. The routes of traffic were covered with prætorians, secretaries, and agents of police, in an eager hunt for refractory bishops and in-

Constantius the
sole emperor—
his revenges, A.
D. 353.

¹ Amm. Marcell., l. xvi., c. 12.

² Sulp. Severus, Hist. Ecc., l. ii.,

³ Socrates, Hist. Ecc., l. ii.; Sozom.,
l. ii.; Theod., *ib.*, l. ii.

cc. 52-57; Hilary in Constant., l. 8;
Athanas. in Ar. Or., i., p. 291.

submissive monks. The churches were pillaged, the altars broken down, and Arian bishops enthroned by drunken soldiers at the point of the sword.¹

Meanwhile, the emperor and his court, absorbed in the niceties of polemics or the legal and illegal prosecution of imputed heresies, left the greater part of the country exposed to the pillages of the Alamans and Franks—the same who had been invited in during the war with Magnentius, and now refused to depart—and of other depredating hordes, their neighbors.² At length (A.D. 354), a general cry of distress from Sequania and the first Germany compelled the emperor to march against his barbaric allies, and to remove them, either by persuasion or force, beyond the Rhine. The work, however, was barely accomplished before he repaired to Milan to hold another ecclesiastical council and to plunge anew in the storms of debate.³ Again, too, in the course of the year, the Germans returned. Aware of the religious dissensions of the province, encouraged secretly, doubtless, by other barbarians already in the nominal service of the empire, and not unwelcomed by certain parties of the Gallo-Romans, weary of the oppressions of the government, they found it an easy task to overrun this weak dependency. In a little while a large part of the north and east of Gaul were in their almost undisputed possession. The Alamans seized upon the countries which are now called Alsace and Lorraine; the Franks secured for themselves Batavia and Toxandria:⁴ forty-five flourishing cities, among them Cologne, Trèves, Spire, Worms, and Strasburg, were ravaged; and, in short, from the sources of the Rhine to its mouth, forty miles inland, there remained no safety for the population but in the strongly-fortified towns.⁵ Even there the resources of subsistence were cut off from the occupants, with the exception of the little that might have been sown and gathered within the walls. The master of infantry whom Constantius dispatched into Gaul to meet these enemies—Sylvanus by name, but a Frank by birth—exasperated by the low intrigues

Dreadful inroads of the Alamans and Franks.

¹ Athanas. ad Sol., *passim*.

² Zosim., l. ii., c. 46.

³ Amm. Marcell., l. xiv., xv.

⁴ Now partly Brabant.

⁵ Zosim., l. iii., c. 3; Julian, Epist., p. 227; Amm. Marcell., l. xv., cc. 6, 19. Gibbon derives his details of these inroads mainly from Julian.

of the court in his absence, himself assumed the purple, and was only prevented by a series of the basest treacheries from completely overthrowing the government.¹

Constantius, betrayed by his generals, assailed by the Germans, hated by the Catholic part of his subjects, and recalled to the east by new revolts in that quarter, by menaces of war from Persia, and by the incompetence of the Cæsar Gallus, his nephew, whom he had intrusted with power, was driven to the alternative of abandoning Gaul altogether, or of committing the government to new hands. His reluctant choice of a western lieutenant fell at length upon a mere academic youth—his remaining nephew Julian, whose parents he had murdered. But this youth, fortunately for Gaul, chanced to be a person of genius and courage, whose early sufferings had trained him to the mastery of himself, and whose studies had inspired him with an emulation of greatness.

Provided with a mere handful of men, Julian made his entrance into Vienne, where he was gratefully received by the people, and coldly by the officials. Inexperienced in the art of war, distrusted by the emperor, with the civil authority in the hands of the unfriendly præfect Florentius, and with the military charge divided between generals who were instructed to watch rather than obey him, his movements in every direction were fettered and embarrassed. In a little while, however, his energy, his courage, his capacity, and his justice and goodness enabled him to overcome and to command the difficulties of his position. During an administration of six years this latest Cæsar revived in Gaul the memory of the indefatigable exploits and the vigorous rule of the first Cæsar.² Insufficient and ill-disciplined as his forces were, and baffled and betrayed as he was by those who should have been his aids, he drove the fierce and powerful tribes of the Alamans, who were now the hydra of the western provinces, beyond the Upper Rhine; the Chamaves, another warlike tribe, he pursued into the heart of their native forests; while the still fiercer and more warlike Franks were dislodged from their habitations

¹ Amm. Marcell., xv., 5.

sim; Julian, Epist. ad S. P. Q. Athen.,

² Amm. Marcell., xvi., xvii., *passim*.

on the Meuse, to accept of conditions from his hands.¹ What chiefly embarrassed him in this war with the Alamans was a new and singular claim they set up to a proprietary right in the country they overran, for which they alleged and produced the written grants of Constantius, who had enlisted them as allies in a previous war. Compelled to regard the dispositions of his sovereign by law, he yet wisely neglected them in fact, and by three successful expeditions beyond the Rhine restored to their friends a multitude of Roman captives, recovered the broken and down-trodden limes of the empire, humiliated many of the proud chiefs of the Germans, and impressed a salutary awe and respect upon their truculent followers.² While rescuing the north and east from their various conquerors rather than invaders, and raising new ramparts against their future incursions, he spent the intervals of peace which his valor procured in recuperating the wasted energies of the inhabitants. Their dilapidated cities were repaired, the excesses of taxation retrenched, the deficient harvests compensated by large importations of corn from Britain, and the resources of suspended industry stimulated into new action. Once more, says Libanius, the Gauls ascended from the tombs to marry, to travel, to enjoy the festivals, and to celebrate the public games.³

These intervals of more genial labor Julian passed at a pleasant place on a little island of the Seine, belonging to a Gallic tribe named the Parisii, and which he distinguished as his "dear Luketia," just as more modern visitors denominate it their "dear and delightful Paris."⁴ In the days of Cæsar, when its few inhabitants valorously resisted the legions of his lieutenant Labienus,⁵ it was a small

His residence at Paris. Early history of the city.

¹ A part of these, called the Salians, and destined to figure hereafter, were allowed to settle in permanence in Toxandria, between the Meuse and the Scheld, near the modern Tongres. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xvii., cap. 18.

² Libanius, Orat. in Jul., c. 18.

³ Orat. x.

⁴ Julian, Misopog., pp. 60-62. Strabo calls this place *Lucototia*; Ptolemy, *Lucotecia*; Julian, *Luketia*; Ammianus calls it at first *Lutetia*, and afterward

Parisii, from the name of the people. It is not known when nor why the designation was changed, but it is supposed to have been changed during the reign of Julian. Three laws in the Theodosian Code, referred to Valentinian and Valens, for the year 865, bear date at *Parisii*, and since then this name has been preserved in all the histories and public records. See Du Laure (Hist. de Paris, t. i., p. 26, ed. Paris, 1855).

⁵ This was the first recorded battle

village of mud-covered huts, connected with the main land by two rude bridges of wood. A range of hills inclosed the marshes by which it was surrounded in a spacious amphitheatre, which forms the site of the splendid metropolis of France. Commanding the fruitful valleys of the Seine, the Marne, and the Oise, the earliest occupants were merchants and boatmen, who conducted the trade of the rivers, and as early as the reign of Tiberius had formed a powerful corporation.¹ During the revolts of the Bagauds in the third century, it acquired an unhappy celebrity as the strong-hold from which they harassed the peace of the surrounding region. Subsequently, when the advances of the Germans drove the government from Trèves, the emperors selected the town of the Parisii as a more secure position. They built a palace there, and an intrenched camp for the soldiers; and very soon afterward several of those aqueducts and amphitheatres which were inseparable accompaniments of Roman life. It was in that palace, which the traveler still regards with curiosity in those mouldering remains of it known as the *Palais des Thermes*, that Julian found his favorite residence—there that he conversed with his friend Sallust and his physician Oribasius of his aspirations for future eminence—there that he discussed the nature of dreams and the deep oriental mysteries—and there that he sung the praises of the sun-god, the regulator of the world, the archetype of ideas, the brilliant emanation of an eternal and absolute deity.²

If Julian could have remained in Gaul, his integrity and ardor might have largely retrieved its fortunes; but the very successes which secured him the universal gratitude of the people provoked the enmity of the court. Jealous of his renown, the feeble Constantius made a pretense of the urgency of eastern wars to reclaim the flower of his troops, which, however, more discerning than their em-

on a theatre since somewhat renowned for battles.

¹ The bas-reliefs of a votive altar were found under the choir of Notre-Dame in 1720, which contained this inscription: TIB. CAESARE. AUG. JOVI. OPTUMO. MAXIMO. I. M. NAUTAE PARISIACI PUBLICI. POSUERUNT. Among the reliefs, besides the figures of Jupi-

ter, Vulcan, Venus, and Castor and Pollux, were those of Hesus, the Druidical god, of Cernunnos, and of the triple bull, called *Tare Trigaran*, popular deities, showing how early the two polytheisms were blended. Thierry (*Gaule Rom.*, t. iii., c. 6, p. 337).

² Thierry, l. c., who cites Julian, *Orat.*, iv., p. 248.

Julian is proclaimed Emperor in Gaul, A.D. 361.

peror, refused to depart, and elevated Julian to the purple.¹ The seasonable death of Constantius alone obviated a civil war, and left the Gallic Cæsar the exclusive master of the Roman world.

His administration, in this larger sphere, did not fulfill the promise of his beautiful years in the lesser. Of his His conduct as emperor. two models of conduct, Alexander and Marcus Aurelius, he was more successful in the imitation of the first than of the second; petty personal revenges sullied the glories won by his arms;² while he allowed his vanity and pedantry as a student to betray him into a mocking, sneering, petulant persecution of Christianity, and into a vain attempt to inspirit the dead body of paganism by the breath of a stark and artificial philosophy. It was not, perhaps, surprising that Julian should hate Christianity, for it was connected in his remembrances with the assassination of his family, and with the repulsive influences of his ill-judged education. Nor was it unnatural that, in the Attic cast of a mind which had nourished itself on the dreams of Plato and the flowers of Grecian literature, he should lament the fall of the old poetic faith, and endeavor to bring it back.

At the same time, there was little in the prevailing or super-He revolts from Christianity. ficial aspects of the new religion to disarm his prejudices, or to conciliate the respect of his genius and taste. Christianity had passed through its period of infantile enthusiasm, which had been illustrated by so much sweet and heroic devotion, and was arrived at a period of metaphysical refinement and ambitious pretense. Violent polemics, who maligned and tore each other over mysteries seemingly trivial, or, if not trivial, in their very nature insoluble, were too often now to be found among its most conspicuous representatives.³ Its debates were carried on by hot and vulgar passions, and sometimes ended in sanguinary riots. Yet Julian professed to be a philosopher, as he was, from his position, a statesman, and he was bound, in both characters, to look through the crust of

¹ Amm. Marcel., l. xx., cc. 5-12.

² Milman, Hist. Christ., b. iii., cc.

³ Id., l. xxi., c. 10; Greg. Nazian. 5-6.

in Julian, l. ii., *passim*; Sozom., l. v., *passim*.

the contest into its centre, to disregard the personal weaknesses of the combatants, in order to discern the mighty truths for which they warred. No more vital, no more significant questions were ever debated than many of the questions which then rent the body of Christian believers, yet Julian failed to see either their significance or their vitality. The moral virtues of the humblest Christians he saw and commended—their tender brotherly love, their philanthropy toward strangers, their sobriety and purity of life;¹ but the impressions thus produced he allowed to be effaced by his daily witness of the arrogance and selfishness of the prelates, by his own incurable resentments, and by the exaltations of a vanity which persuaded him that he was called of the gods to be the instrument of a beneficent restoration. Julian was, in fact, what the Germans expressively term him, a romanticist (*Romantiker*),² an amiable and credulous spirit, who dreamed of the resuscitation of a lifeless past, and absurdly attempted to impose his own loving but vague conceptions of a vanished condition of things upon a generation rushing almost tumultuously toward a wholly different future. For it was not the old religion of Rome which he sought to revive in the Roman temples and rekindle on the Roman hearth-stones, but a strange neo-Platonic abortion, half Grecian and half Christian, generated in the embrace of a susceptible fancy with mystic books, and utterly unrelated to the sympathies of the old Roman heart. The random arrow, which slew him on the plains of the Tigris, saved him from the mortification and reproach of a thorough failure. His successor, Jovian, designated by his own soldiers, was a Christian who instantly overturned the elaborate but insubstantial fabric of paganism which his zeal had so fondly reared.

Julian's death was profoundly mourned in Gaul, where he had given the people so many reasons for gratitude; but his religious example found few imitators. The influential mind of the province was already under the control of the orthodox clergy, and was not easily to be disengaged

Julian's efforts had little influence in Gaul.

¹ Julian, *Epist. ad Arsac.*, 49.

² See a political pamphlet of Strauss, *Der Romantiker auf dem Throne der Cæsaren*, Mannheim, 1847, which, satir-

izing the late King of Prussia, contains an admirable delineation of Julian's character.

from its attachments. The great tribune of doctrine, Athanasius, had left the deepest traces of his eloquence and dogmatism there; and these had been deepened by two men whose words were more effective than the swords of many centurions, or even the edicts of emperors. The first was St. Hilary, the Bishop of St. Hilary. Poitiers (A.D. 350), a skillful rhetor of Gallic descent, converted to Catholicism, and distinguished as an eloquent and powerful champion of the faith in an age by no means destitute of eloquent and powerful men.¹ "The Rhone of Eloquence," as Jerome calls him, by a violent figure, he played on the smaller stage of the West the same part in the Arian controversy which the greater Athanasius played in the East. He was the stubborn defender of Christianity in its most orthodox aspects. His advent to the episcopal see concurring with the epoch of the most determined effort made by the imperial power in behalf of the Arians, he had an opportunity of manifesting his resistance and his firmness. No threats nor blandishments could silence his vehement protests against the Arian aggressions of the emperor. Banished to Phrygia (A.D. 356), he wrote with all the ardor that he had spoken, placing his opposition, with a sagacious liberality creditable to his fame, on the essential independence of the civil and the ecclesiastical powers. "The gold of the state," he said, "only burdens the sanctuary;" and again, "that God never wished a constrained service, but the free worship of the heart;" sentiments which, if they could have been remembered, would have disarmed persecution of its pretexts and terrors.²

In the wanderings of his exile, St. Hilary found a disciple St. Martin introduces Monasticism. destined to become a more influential athlete than himself even, afterward known as St. Martin of Tours. He was the son of a Pannonian soldier, who, having served in the army for ten years, abandoned the soldier's sword and buckler for the cowl and sandal of the monk. It was Julian who released him from his martial oaths, and thus furnished the cause he hated with its most efficient western missionary. St. Martin was the first man to introduce the Monasticism of the East into Gaul (A.D. 360). He founded the two celebrated

¹ Compare Villemain (*Tableau de l'Eloquence au iv^{ème} Siècle, passim*).

² St. Hil. contra Const. Imperat., l. i., c. 10.

monasteries of Ligugé, near Poitiers, and of Marmoutiers, near Tours, which became the nurseries of the new religious propagandism. At the head of his cowed militia he passed his life in demolishing the temples, the altars, the statues, and the consecrated trees of heathenism. His indefatigable earnestness no dangers could appal and no difficulties deter.¹ The popular imagination, and his own zeal, ascribed to him the power of working miracles,² although a profound piety and tender love³ aided his influence, and relieved the harsher spirit of his fanaticism. When he died (A.D. 397), so great was the respect in which he was held, so ardent the gratitude for his various services, so profound the reverence for his sanctity, that the people of Poitiers and Tours engaged in an armed contest for the possession of his body. Stolen in the nighttime by the latter, the shrine in which they entombed it became forever hallowed.⁴ The skillful warrior, the accomplished philosopher and scholar, the mighty emperor, Julian, was speedily forgotten in the Gaul that he had saved, or was remembered only by a few timorous devotees of heathenism, while he was accursed by the Church; but the glory of the rude monk grew with the ages; holy influences were supposed to exhale from his sepulchre; his name became a potent talisman, which averted the wrath of demons and conciliated the favor of angels; and, at the end of three centuries still, barbaric fury itself respected the splendid basilica which his pious successors had raised to his memory as an inviolable retreat for the fugitive and the criminal.⁵ Surely a change had passed into the spirit of man!

With the period immediately before us, embracing thirty-two years, from the death of Julian to that of Theodosius, our narrative approaches a most decisive era; when the frightful work of political dissolution assumed its final form; when the division of the empire into East and West was

THE BEGINNING
OF THE END, A.
D. 392-395.

¹ Sulp. Severus, in Vita St. Martin. He was born in A.D. 317, at Sabarca (Sarwar).

² Gregory of Tours, Mirac. St. Martin, l. iv., c. 30.

³ He opposed the Emperor Maximus in his prosecutions of the Priscillianists—the first martyrs slain in the West for heresy.

⁴ Near Tours. A village was gradually built around it, first called Martinopolis, then Chateauneuf, and is now a part of Tours.

⁵ His life was written by Sulpitius Severus in the next century, concerning whom, see Ampère (Hist. Litt., t. i., c. 8).

rendered permanent; when polytheism was officially extinguished, and the political and moral force of society passed over to the legally-established Catholic Church; and when, lo! we hear on every side already the tramp of the steeds and the rattle of the wagons which are bearing onward and downward, in irresistible might, the wild battalions of the north. But a rapid summary is all that I am allowed to give of the events of this great period.

Jovian had reigned scarcely a year when his sudden death enabled the army to raise a rude but valiant and energetic soldier, Valentinian, to the vacant throne. One of his first acts was to devolve the government of the rich præfecture of the East upon his brother Valens, while he reserved to himself the more exposed and warlike præfectures of Illyria, Italy, and Gaul. This was a division of the administration rather than of the sovereignty. Though Valens reigned at Constantinople and Valentinian at Milan, the laws were promulged and executed in the joint names of the two emperors, and the unity of the empire was still maintained, at least in theory.¹

It was not long before the repeated inroads of the Alemans compelled Valentinian to remove his government to Trèves, where he took up his permanent residence, and which became thereby the centre of the Western Empire. The main occasion of these Alemannic irruptions was that he withheld or diminished the donative which it had been customary to grant to the allied tribes of the frontier on the advent of each new emperor, and it required the laborious exertions of his legions for a whole year to expel them beyond the Rhine and fortify its passages (A.D. 365). At the same time, the desolating irruptions of the Picts and Scots into Britain, and the wide-spread spirit of discontent and revolt produced by the pitiless oppressions of the Roman commanders, demanded the most strenuous efforts of the brave general Theodosius to restore a partial tranquillity (A.D. 367-370). Nor had he laid down his arms when the tyranny and persecutions of the Count Romanus, the military ruler of Africa, provoked the double calamity of popular revolt and a Moorish invasion upon that

The sovereignty divided between Valentinian and Valens, A.D. 364-375.

Valentinian resides in Gaul.

¹ Amm. Marcell., l. xxvi., c. 5.

seething province (A.D. 366-372), which he with difficulty recovered (A.D. 373). Three years later the restorer of Britain and Africa was ignominiously beheaded, on some vague suspicion or unfounded jealousy, by the son of the emperor whose dominions he had saved.¹

The Eastern Empire, under Valens, was all the while a prey to similar disturbances. A Persian war raged in Armenia and Iberia, and the powerful league of the Ostrogoths, composed of twelve considerable nations, which its valor had subdued, and whose dominions extended from the lower Danube to the Baltic, were vehemently assailing the towns and cities of Thrace. Invited by Procopius, a relative of Julian, to assist him in asserting the claims of the house of Constantine to the purple, they lent the aid of thirty thousand tried and intrepid warriors to the cause of the pretender. A stubborn war of three years, of varying successes, ended in a transient victory for the empire. But the agitations of the war extended to other German tribes; the Alemans again took up arms; the Sarmatians desolated the Illyrian provinces, and the Quadi threatened Rætia. Valentinian could only make head against them by asking the aid of other Germans, mercenaries avid for the gold of Rome, who in their turn became new sources of trouble to the perplexed and choleric monarch. It was in negotiating with some barbaric ambassadors at Bregetio (Pressburg) that he expired suddenly in a tremendous outburst of rage (A.D. 375).

By this death Gratian, who had been associated with his father as Augustus in the ninth year of his age, and who was now but seventeen, became the Emperor of the West. He was not suffered to reign alone, however, for a Frank named Mellobod, who commanded a detachment of the army, immediately proclaimed the right of a younger and an infant son of Valentinian by another wife to the imperial dignity. The pacific temper and youthful generosity of Gratian in consenting to assign the diocese of Italy to the possession of his half-brother alone prevented a civil war between their respective parties. Both minors, and insignificant in themselves, the first year of their rule yet marked the occur-

Gratian the
Emperor of
the West,
A.D. 375-
383.

¹ These events are described by Amm. Marcel. in books xvii.-xxix.

Advance of the Huns. rence of one of the signal events of history. It was the passage of the Volga by the fierce and terrible hordes of the Ourals, the Huns, who bounded thence with savage impetuosity upon the historic scene.¹ Absorbing the kindred tribes of the Alains, dwelling between that stream and the Don, their innumerable cavalry first assaulted the Ostrogothic kingdom of Hermanrik. The aged monarch, broken by wounds and sorrows,² saw his vast empire crumble beneath their blows. Next, the Visigoths, commanded by Athanarik, and intrenched behind the Dniester, manifested a more stubborn resistance; but, weakened by religious dissensions,³ they were soon driven either to the coverts of the Carpathians, or to the protecting arms of the Empire.⁴

Valens, at the solicitations of Ulphilas, the bishop, and the The Goths admitted to the empire. ambassador of the Goths, who had won them to Christianity, and translated the Bible into their dialect,⁵ admitted two hundred thousand warriors, with their women and children, to a peaceful settlement upon the Roman territories of Moesia and Thrace.⁶ In this event the eastern empire hailed a seeming acquisition of numerous defenders, and the eastern emperor hailed a seeming acquisition of numerous coreligionists.⁷ More far-sighted observers beheld in it only the introduction of so many wolves into the sheepfold;⁸ and the sequel justified their discernment. Oppressed and cheated by the Roman officers, who superintended their passage of the Danube, they had scarcely landed upon the Roman soil before they were compelled to resume their arms and break forth in indignant and furious revolt.⁹ A thousand accumu-

¹ Amm. Marcel., xxxi., 2; and Jordanes, or rather Jordanis (De Rebus Geticis, c. 24). The latter was a Gothic bishop, who flourished about A.D. 552, and wrote a history of his nation, mainly abridged from an abler work by Cassiodorus.

² He was said to have been 110 years old.

³ The pagans adhered to Athanarik, while the Christians, under Friedegern and Alavive, proposed to solicit the aid of the Romans. Socrat., Ecc. Hist., iv., 33. Sozomen, vi., 37.

⁴ Amm. Marcel., c. xxvii.-xxx.

⁵ This translation of Ulphilas (which omitted the Books of Kings because they related the wars of the Hebrews) is still extant, and is the oldest and only monument of the tongue of the Goths. I shall, perhaps, have occasion to refer to it more fully hereafter.

⁶ Eunapius (Hist., v.) gives the number.

⁷ Amm. Marcel., xxxi., 4; Isidor. Hispal., Chron. Goth.; Sozom., iv., 20.

⁸ Synesius (De Regno, p. 25). Socrates (Ecc. Hist., l. iv., c. 34).

⁹ Amm. Marcel., xxxi., 4. Jordanis (De Reb. Get., 26).

lated outrages had been heaped upon them—rapes, pillages, and assassinations, and these they now avenged in tenfold degree upon the Romans.¹ Valens himself, hurrying from his theological reveries at Antioch to defend his suffering people, was overwhelmed, with his army, at the bloody battle of Hadriano-ple (August 9th, 378), and so became one of the first victims of his own policy.

Gratian, alarmed by the portentous rumors of the Gothic in-

 Havoc com-
 mitted by the
 Goths, A.D.
 378-379.

 surrection, was about to fly to the support of his un-
 cle, when the report of his intended departure, com-
 municated to the Alemans by one of his Alemannic
 body-guard, caused them to resume the course of their old ag-
 gressions.² His troops, under the command of the Frankish
 chiefs Nannienus and Mellobod, met and defeated the enemy at
 Colmar, but not until after it was too late to relieve the exigen-
 cies of the East. In the interim, the victorious and angry Visi-
 goths, associating with themselves the Ostrogoths, the Taifuls,
 the Huns, and the Alains, were enabled to carry a fearful dev-
 astation through all the provinces along the Danube.³ A con-
 certed and treacherous massacre by the Romans of the various
 Gothic youth who in previous years had been distributed as
 hostages throughout Asia was made the occasion and the ex-
 cuse of their sanguinary reprisals.⁴ Jerome, visiting a few years
 later the regions over which they had passed, states that in these
 desert countries nothing was left but the earth and the sky; that
 the beasts and the birds even were extirpated; and that the land
 was overgrown with inextricable brambles and forests.⁵

Gratian could not succor the East by his arms, but he did so

 Gratian raises
 Theodosius to
 the Eastern
 throne, A.D.
 379.

 by his good sense. In conferring the mantle of
 Valens upon the Spanish soldier Theodosius,⁶ he gave
 it a brave and skillful defender, who, partly by judi-
 cious management, and partly by force of arms, scattered the
 power of the Goths, and reduced them, if not to subjection, at
 least to a friendly alliance (379-382). Incapable of driving
 them beyond the limits of the empire, he prudently settled

¹ Amm. Marcel., xxxi., 7-12.

² Id., ib.

³ Hieron. Opera, t. vii., p. 250.

⁴ Amm. Marcel., xxxi., 16.

⁵ Gibbon, v. iii., c. 26, who trans-

lates the passage, and perhaps justly
 argues its exaggeration.

⁶ Son of Theodosius, whom he had
 put to death.

them upon its borders, and enlisted them in its defense.¹ Colonies of the Visigoths were established in Thrace, and of the Ostrogoths in Phrygia and Lydia, and a body of forty thousand Gothic warriors was pledged to the perpetual service of the emperor. The advocates of Theodosius defended and lauded the wisdom of these arrangements, although they were rather necessary than wise: indeed, the unwisdom of them was shown when his example was imitated by the less-experienced Gratian, who filled his palaces and armies with multitudes of barbaric allies.

The people of the West were strongly disinclined to be Revolt of Maximus in Gaul, A.D. 388. submissive to the ascendancy, in all offices of profit and trust, of their ancient and hereditary enemies. A general repugnance was manifested by the Romans and the Gallo-Romans at his partiality for the Franks; and, when this partiality was transferred to a body of Alains whom he kept in his pay, the feeling deepened into disgust.² Even his cherished Franks beheld with jealousy and aversion the growing favor of those repulsive strangers. The mutinous sentiment took air, not in Gaul first, but in Britain, where a Spaniard named Maximus, placing himself at the head of the Roman legions of that distant outpost, assumed the purple, and, accompanied by a large number of British people, landed in Gaul.³ He was every where received with acclamations by the inhabitants; the very soldiers of Gratian deserted him; and the poor youth, flying from Paris, where his standard was in vain unfurled, with only three hundred horsemen, found the gates of the cities peremptorily shut against him. He arrived at Lyons only to be put to death by a general of the usurper,⁴ and the authority of Maximus was recognized almost immediately from the Columns of Hercules to the hills of Caledonia.⁵ Theodosius and

¹ Themistius (Orat. xvi.); Claudian (Eutop.), l. ii; Jordanis, xx., xxvii.

² Zosim., l. iv., c. 85.

³ Bede, Ecc. Hist., l. iv., c. 85; Oros., l. vii., c. 34.

⁴ St. Ambrose (Enarrat in Psalm lxi., t. ii., epist. 24); Aurel. Vict., Epit. 47; Orosius, l. vii., c. 34; Socrat., l. v., c. 11.

⁵ The revolt of Maximus would be

unimportant if it were not, in all probability, connected with a large colonization of Britons in Armorica. After he had defeated Gratian, it became necessary to provide for his British auxiliaries, and he fixed them on the lands of the Empire nearest their ancient dwelling-place, i. e., at Cornu-Gallie (Cornuailles), the district of the ancient *Curiolites*, on the north coast of mod-

Valentinian II., though urged by the imperious voice of both honor and gratitude, were neither of them in a position to avenge his death, and were reluctantly compelled to acknowledge a colleague whom the army and the people approved.¹

Maximus, unsatisfied with the nature rather than the degree of his power, undertook, after five years of successful rule, to force the approval of the Roman Senate, by including the domains of Valentinian II. within his jurisdiction.

- ^{Maximus invades Italy, A.D. 388.} He invaded Italy, whence the young emperor and his mother fled, in order to demand the protection of Theodosius. That powerful monarch, prompted, it is said, more by the beauty of the sister Galla than by the merits of the brother Valentinian, undertook their cause, and, after a series of military manœuvres, expelled Maximus from the throne, with the loss of his head.² Valentinian II. was not only restored to Italy, but was endowed with the empire of the murdered Gratian. He appears to have inherited, likewise, with his position, his mistakes. Submitting himself to the tutelage of a Frank refugee named Arbogast, who had become master of the Militia, the barbaric and the pagan influence resumed the control of the court.³ Arbogast was more the emperor than he, and held him in what was termed a crowned captivity at Vienne.⁴ In vain he appealed to St. Ambrose, that powerful bishop, and to Theodosius, the Eastern emperor, for help. In vain he endeavored to extricate himself from the toils; for, when he read to the haughty prime minister a decree for his arrest and degradation, the reply was, "Thou hast not given me power, and thou canst not take it away." A few days subsequently the helpless boy was found strangled in the depths of his palace (A.D. 392).⁵

Arbogast raised Eugenius, a pagan grammarian and an ac-

ern Britanny. Thither many Gauls had been driven by the Romans, and they gladly received the new accessions. They were established under command of a chief named Conan, the source of those sovereigns of Britanny who maintained a species of independence until the province was united to France by the marriage of Anne of Britanny to Louis XII., in the 15th century. See Dom. Maurice (*Hist. de Bretagne*, l. i.); also De Petigny, t. i., p. 235.

¹ Zosim., l. iv., who, however, says that Theodosius only dissembled his purposes.

² Zosim., l. iv., c. 44.

³ See Thierry (*Hist. de la Gaule Rom.*, t. iii., c. 9) for the probable secret causes of these events.

⁴ Sulp. Alex. apud Greg. Turon. (*Ecc. Hist.*, l. i., c. 9).

⁵ Zosim., l. iv., c. 53; Socrates (*Ecc. Hist.*, l. v., c. 25).

Arbogast makes a new emperor. complice, to the imperial crown, so that the combined barbaric and pagan rule was once more triumphant in Gaul.¹ It enjoyed only a momentary triumph; for the emperor of the East, with a numerous body of Goths, Arabs, and Iberians, defeated the Gauls and Germans who maintained the cause of the usurpers, and the whole Roman world returned, during a transient interval, to a single and unitary reign (A.D. 394).² A strong head and a strong hand were again at the centre of power. Pagan Rome drooped and fainted, while the barbarians lay quiet and gorged in the lairs which the imperial benignity or imperial fear had furnished them, and Catholic Rome sprang upon its feet.

Paganism drooped and fainted because these last emperors had inflicted upon it many staggering and fatal blows. The official suppression of paganism. The strokes came gradually, but none the less surely for the end. Valentinian, of whom it is told that he scornfully refused to sacrifice under Julian, evinced, nevertheless, a just and equitable disposition toward the two worships. The properties of the temples, carried off and sold under earlier reigns, and restored by Julian, he adjudged to the private domains of the emperors; but, as a compensation, he granted to the pagan pontiffs an exemption from the curial charges, which the Christian clergy already enjoyed, and, together with it, other immunities.³ In the East, also, Valens confirmed the liberty of conscience. A zealous Arian, he incurred the reproaches of the orthodox, who called him "a satellite of impiety,"⁴ although no decisive acts of his are authentically alleged to justify the imputation.⁵ In their pursuit of the diviners, astrologers, and workers of magic, who then infested society in great multitudes, and despite the ferocious and inquisitorial cruelties which marked the process, both emperors rendered an essential service to Christianity. Those pernicious charlatans, enemies of the human reason, whose dark and forbidden practices penetrated every circle,

¹ Sozomen, l. vii., c. 22.

² Soc., l. v., c. 24; Philostorg., l. ii., c. 2; Theod., v., 24, 25; Oros., vii., 27.

³ Beugnot (Hist. de la Destruct. du Pag., t. i., l. v., c. 1).

⁴ St. Augustine, vii., 118.

⁵ The story that he caused eighty Catholic ecclesiastics to be sunk or burned in a ship, though circumstantially related by Socrates, H. E., iv., 16, and by Sozomen, H. E., iv., 24, does not seem to be probable. Milman (Hist. Christ., p. 369).

and sometimes deepened the inveterate immorality of an effete world, belonged, for the most part,¹ to the heathen classes. Their mystic rites were more or less bound up with the doctrines and ceremonies of the old religion; false divination and the ordinary auguries were easily confounded; and the blows of persecution and fury which suppressed or scattered the one palsied the other with terror. Yet the Christians were too much absorbed in their own fierce wrangles to reap all the advantage which they might else have done from these propitious incidents.

Gratian, a Christian by name and descent, had yet been educated under the half-heathen poet Ausonius, and during the first years of his reign preserved the impartial policy of his immediate predecessors. He conformed to the official usages which the pagan traditions required of him; he even deified his father, and somewhat gratefully accepted the incense which the pagan rhetors waved beneath his nostrils. He sought, at the same time, to compose the dissensions of the various Christian sects, and to promote, by his countenance and his laws, the progress of the Christian morals.

The years A.D. 381-2 witnessed a change. As yet, though the Christians had conquered tolerance and privileges, though the emperors and their supple courtiers had quitted the ancient shrines, the sacrifices still smoked on the altars, the statues stood in the senate-house and the public place, the pompous processions in the great city wound around the hill where the Capitol, with its fifty temples, symbolized the majesty of the tutelary gods, and the emperors, the keystone of the splendid arch of the constitutional hierarchy, wore the supreme pontifical robes. But Gratian was a youth, weak and irresolute, swayed alternately by the barbaric officers of his court and by the aspiring priests of the Church. One inflexible and imperious spirit alone could hold his wavering will to its mark. It was Ambrose, the Bishop of Milan. A son of the prætorian præfect of the Gauls, ravished from his civic employments by the friendly violence of the populace

Gratian at first lenient toward the pagans.

Changes his policy.

¹ Beugnot (*Hist. de la Destruct. du Paganisme*, t. i., p. 254) shows that the lower classes of the Christians were quite as superstitious, in respect to sorceries and the maleficent intervention of demons, as the Pagans.

while seeking to quell a church tumult at Milan, he was raised to the episcopal see of that important city before he was yet a declared Christian. His activity, courage, and practical talent in his new sphere soon made him the foremost man in Italy, if not of all the West.¹ Under the ascendancy of his superior and masculine mind, Gratian, when summoned from Gaul by the Senate of Rome to assume the supreme pontificate, disdainfully rejected this seeming connivance with idolatry.² His refusal smote the Roman party with painful dismay; but when he added to this unfriendly reluctance to engage in the old worship an act of positive hostility—when he caused the statue of Victory to be dragged ignominiously from its place in the senate-house, they were consternated and horror-stricken. In vain the pious Prætextatus and the eloquent Symmachus plead for the restoration of a monument hallowed by the associations of so many centuries of power and glory;³ the stern will, the subtle logic, the biting irony of Ambrose stood behind the purposes of the young emperor like an irresistible fate. Nor was this first outward aggression the last; in a little while a sweeping edict confiscated the properties and abrogated the privileges of the priesthood, and reduced them from the dignity of a public and national order to the rank of a private and undistinguished class.⁴ Even the vestal virgins, whose sacred flame had burned since the earliest ages of the Republic, were stripped of their prerogatives, and abandoned, disconsolate and dishonored, to the cruel mockeries of Christian pride.⁵

Theodosius, on his side, needed no Ambrose to spur him on ^{sacrifices for} to the work of extirpating the vestiges of official ^{hidden.} polytheism. A Spaniard, a soldier, and a Christian, cherishing few if any attachments to the ancient faith, his own convictions and impulses spontaneously seconded the designs of his colleague. A law of 381 forbade the return of Christians to idolatry, which seems still to have had its seductions; another, of 385, prohibited auguries; a third, of 391, condemned the governors of provinces who should enter the temples,

¹ Vit. St. Amb., p. 34. Amb. Epist., xxi., p. 865.

² Zosimus, iv., 36.

³ Ambros. Epist., 17, 18.

⁴ Cod. Theodos., l. xvi., t. 10, 20.

⁵ Symmachus, Epist., x., 61. Milman, Hist. Christ., b. iii., c. 8.

and interdicted all secret sacrifices; and others, again, of later date, took away the public property by which the priests were supported, and threatened immolations of every kind with the penalty of death.¹ Thus a religion which for a thousand years had been one with the state, received a decree of final divorce, and was compelled to find a solace for its public disgrace in the secret condolences and renewed devotions of its private friends.²

Nor did Theodosius restrict his exterminating zeal to the followers of the ancient doctrines. Heresy and idolatry were, in his view, kindred and equally pernicious errors; and the same unaccommodating sword smote the disciples of Julian and of Arius. For forty years the Arians had possessed the churches of Constantinople; they ministered in all the churches of the East save that of Jerusalem;³ when Theodosius, in concert with Gratian and Valentinian II., decreed their expulsion from the buildings which they had so long possessed, branded them "with the infamous name of heretics," and established "the religion taught by St. Peter to the Romans," as the only legal as well as the true Catholic faith.⁴ The religion of the whole Roman world, says Milman, was enacted by two feeble boys and a rude Spanish soldier.⁵ Theodosius, however, lived but four months after his defeat of Eugenius and Arbogast (A.D. 395), and he was the last monarch who united the East and West under a single rule. A long period of revolution, calamity, and decay began with his death, for the tottering thrones were occupied by mere puppet emperors, and behind them stalked the huge and heroic figures of the great German chiefs.

¹ Cod. Theodos., lib. xvi., tit. 10, n. 10-12. Beugnot (t. i., l. 8, c. 2) shows, however, that the most of these edicts did not take effect in the West.

² Beugnot (*ubi sup.*) has an interesting account of the deities which con-

tinued to be worshiped at Rome, and of the various extant festivals in their honor.

³ Sozomen, H. E., vii., 2.

⁴ Cod. Theodos., xvi., 1, 2.

⁵ Hist. Christ., b. iii., c. 9, p. 389.

Heresy shares
the fate of Pa-
ganism, A.D.
380.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CONDITION OF GAUL TOWARD THE CLOSE OF THE ROMAN DOMINATION.

I HAVE considered that a few words upon the state of Roman society in Gaul during the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries might be useful in showing not only the effects of four hundred years of Roman rule, but how far it had prepared the province to resist or to receive the incursions of the Teutons. I must advertise the reader, however, that the inquiry is an obscure one, which will afford many interesting, though not always certain results.

After the era of Constantine the Empire of the West was divided into two præfectures, that of Italy and that of Gaul. The latter comprised three dioceses—Gaul proper, Spain, and Britain. The diocese of Gaul was again divided into seventeen provinces, of which six were called consular and eleven præsidial.¹ Subordinate to the provinces were the *civitates* or states, one hundred and fifteen in number, consisting of one or more cities each, having rural districts attached called *pagi*, or cantons.² At the head of the præfecture of Gaul stood the Prætorian præfect, whose residence was at Trêves; at the head of the diocese a vice-præfect or vicar, who resided at Arles; and at the head of each province was a governor, named either a consular or a president;³ while each *civitas* had its senate or *curia*, a kind of local assembly to be hereafter described.⁴

I. The political divisions and administration of Gaul.

¹ The consular provinces were Lugdunensis 1st; Viennensis, Germania Superior and Inferior, and Belgica 1st and 2d; the others were Lugdunensis 2d and 3d, Lugdunensis Senonensis, Narbonensis 1st and 2d, Aquitania 1st and 2d, Alpes Maritimæ, Alpes Penninæ, Novempopulania, and Sequanensis.

² Below the *pagi*, again, were the townships or villages (*vici*).

³ Sometimes the præsidial provinces were governed by rectors (*rectores*) or judges (*judices*).

⁴ In these and other statements of this chapter my guides are the *Notitia Dignitatum Imperii Romani* in Dubos (Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Française, t. i., liv. 2); Fauriel (Hist. de la Gaule Méridionale, t. i., c. 10, ed. Paris, 1836); and Guizot (Hist. de la Civilisation, t. i., leç. 2).

These functionaries were, in their various degrees, representatives of the emperor, charged with the management of the interests of the central government, the disposal of the public domain, the collection of taxes, the regulation of the imperial posts, and the whole civil and criminal jurisdiction, except in certain minor and ecclesiastical cases. In their relations to each other they possessed no co-ordinate or independent powers; they were arranged in strict hierarchy, the lower being controlled by the higher, and the whole by the emperor, who possessed an absolute right to appoint or depose at his own will. For a subject, there was no appeal in cases of malfeasance except to the emperor, and then chiefly through the officers by whom he was personated. The scheme, in short, was an administrative despotism, in which every function gravitated toward the centre, and there was little or nothing of local limitation or life.¹

Some allusions are made in the contemporary authorities to diets or general assemblies of the provinces, to which deputies were sent by the cities, to deliberate on the common affairs; but they seem to have been occasional rather than regular, summoned either by a special edict of the emperor, or by some local or pressing emergency, which compelled or allowed the districts to act for themselves. Under the ancient system of the Gauls these diets had been a favorite and usual method of legislation, and had probably been continued under the earlier emperors, until, superseded by the more rigorous methods of despotism, they had gradually fallen into desuetude.² When Honorius endeavored to revive them, at a period of universal distress and despair (A.D. 418), the Gauls manifested no eagerness to recover an institution which had lost its vitality. And, in fact, it would be difficult to conceive, if these assem-

¹ The salaries of these functionaries were paid partly in coin and partly in kind, each governor of a province, says Guizot, receiving twenty pounds of silver and one hundred pieces of gold, six pitchers of wine, two mules, two horses, two state suits, one common suit, a cook, a muleteer, and, lastly (the detail is too characteristic to be omitted), a concubine, "*quod sine his esse*

non possent," facts which throw considerable light upon the inactive state of commercial relations, the imperfect circulating medium, as well as upon the moral sentiments of the empire and the time.

² Certainly up to the era of Titus. Abbé le Boëuf (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, t. xxxii.).

blies differed from the councils which the præfects, the vicars, and the presidents often convoked from among the more notable citizens of their circumscriptions, to consult and advise upon determinate questions of public moment, what functions they could have exercised, or to what extent their acts were invested with authority. A government arranged as the Roman government was, in which every thing hung upon the executive will, could have no need or place for subordinate deliberative bodies.¹

Municipal assemblies, nevertheless, still subsisted which had The curiæ. once formed a prime and essential element in the political constitution of Rome, and were destined, also, long to survive the decay of other elements, as well as the disturbing and destructive effects of the barbaric conquest. These were the *curiæ*, or local councils of the several cities, composed of certain citizens of each district, and serving as the intermediate organs between the imperial authorities and the great body of subjects. The ancient distinctions between the municipia, derived from their enjoyment of the Roman, the Latin, and the Italic rights, as they were named, had disappeared under the more uniform organization introduced by the emperors, and the states of Gaul were fundamentally the same in their internal structure and privileges.² All the cities and many villages (*vici*) had their *curiæ*, among which there was no gradation of rank, although in later times the more important assumed a degree of precedence as to dignity, if not authority.³

The local powers and duties of these *curiæ* are nowhere regularly defined; and, indeed, they experienced many Their powers and duties. changes in the long course of the empire; but they are known to have included, (1) the regulation of the ceremonies and festivals of religion; (2) the care and disposal of the local properties and revenues; (3) the criminal police or preservation of order; (4) and the exercise of inferior judicial functions in cases pertaining to the public health, weights and measures,

¹ See, however, Dubos (*Hist. Crit.*, t. i., l. i., c. 4), who is disposed to ascribe not only an existence, but some dignity to these provincial legislatures. De Curson, also (*Hist. des Peup. Bret.*, t. i., p. 128), to the same effect.

² Von Savigny (*Hist. of Roman Law*, vol. i., c. 2, p. 53, ed. Edinburgh, 1829).

³ Von Savigny, pp. 59-60.

markets, and voluntary transactions between citizens, in which the value involved was only of a determinate amount. But, over and above these local responsibilities, the *curiæ* were charged with the collection of the imperial taxes, for which they were made answerable whenever they failed to levy and forward the full amount to the governors of the provinces. They might be called upon also, by the military commanders, to raise recruits when the exigencies of the army required them, to furnish horses and equipages to the judges of the districts, and other civic and military officers who traveled at the expense of the state, and to execute generally the orders of the *præfects* and presidents which related to public affairs. All the inhabitants of a *civitas* who possessed twenty-five acres (*jugera*) of land were members of the *curia*, and were variously denominated *curiales*, *decuriones*, and sometimes *senatores*. The first man on the roll of the *curials* was the principal (*principalis*), who presided over the assemblies, directed the city business, and held his place for life, or at least for fifteen years, which was, for the most part, equivalent to a life-tenure.¹ Their official support and expenses were derived from the domains of the district, which were farmed out to individuals, from any money-capital they may have possessed, and from certain tolls imposed upon the entrance and consumption of commodities into the towns, similar to the *octroi* duties of modern France.

In their original constitution and form these municipal bodies Their decadence. enjoyed a considerable dignity and freedom: they had been founded in a regard for national usages, and to give scope and respectability to the local life and ambition. They were free assemblies, which chose their own officers, deliberated upon measures of public concern, and whose members were distinguished by some honorable privileges and exemptions. The despotism of the earlier *Cæsars*, so fatal to the rights of the Senate and to the liberties of the people of the city of Rome, was yet, in important respects, favorable to the progress and elevation of these local governments. When, as under the Re-

¹ Von Savigny (*ubi sup.*), who contends that there were no proper magistrates in the *curiæ*, no *duumvirs*, *quatuorvirs*, *prætors*, *ædiles*, etc., as there had been in the Italian municipia; but

Fauriel gives many reasons for questioning this assertion. See his discussion (*Hist. de la Gaul. Mérid.*, t. i., c. 10, p. 369).

public, which Guizot has clearly shown,¹ political citizenship could only be exercised in Rome, the minor towns were deprived of their principal citizens. The chief men of the municipia repaired to the centre to take part in the government of the world, either by voting in the comitia or discharging great public functions, while the localities were neglected. But after the comitia, or the assemblages for popular suffrage at Rome, had been abolished by the emperors, and there was no longer any intervention of the citizens in the central management, the persons whom Rome lost returned to the towns. The wealthy and influential classes, excluded from power, directed their attention and abilities spontaneously to local influence; and they raised it in dignity and importance. But as the municipal rights were shielded by no political guaranty—as they were liable at any time to the intervention of the emperors, and to the arbitrary exactions of the provincial governors, they began gradually to succumb to the encroachments of an overpowering centralism. The business of the curials degenerated into the most grievous of servitudes, in the discharge of which, as they became more and more the instruments and the victims of the central oppression, so they incurred more and more the aversion and hatred of their fellow-subjects.² Yet there grew out of these central oppressions certain elective officers—the *defensores civitatis*—whose duty it was to interpose between authority and the people, and who, after the middle of the fourth century (A.D. 365), when they were chosen from among the Christian bishops mainly, justified their name. Selected outside of the curia by an assemblage of citizens, decuriones and common people, the defensor was at first a simple popular attorney, but he rose by degrees into a magistrate of the curia, and he ended by becoming its chief, possessed of ample judicial powers both in civil and criminal cases.

The social divisions or classes of people in Gaul corresponded for the most part to the political arrangements.

II. The classes of civic society in Gaul.

In other words, there were imperial and local digni-

¹ *Essais*, i., pp. 9–11. He extends the flourishing time of the municipia to the era of Diocletian (A.D. 284), which gives them three centuries of effective existence.

² See post, p. 195, when I shall have occasion to speak of the social condition of the curials.

taries, who formed a kind of higher class, superimposed upon the ordinary people, and the several varieties of servile laborers. Strictly speaking, indeed, no regular aristocratic order existed—no order endowed with distinct, exclusive, and independent political powers—for the imperial despotism had leveled all distinctions incompatible with its own sovereign supremacy, although there were nobles, or, rather, notables, who assumed a position of superior rank and honor.

First among these were the senatorials, or the families whose The senatorials. members had enjoyed the consideration of a seat in the Roman Senate.¹ "The emperors, who filled up that senate just as they pleased, used to recruit it from the provinces with members of the most distinguished houses. Those who had occupied high local offices, who, for instance, had acted as provincial governors, were entitled to expect a seat in the Roman Senate: at a later period the same favor was granted to persons who had been nominated to certain honorary charges; and ultimately the possession of a mere title, that of *clarissimus*, conferred in the same way that the title of baron or count is now, was sufficient to give its holder a seat in the Senate."² Under this Roman designation, then, we meet once more the Gallic chieftains—descendants of the old heads of clans and of fathers of families—who have changed their dress, their language, their manners, and their usages, but are still the natural and hereditary leaders of the people. Their prerogatives by the Roman law were few and unimportant, such as the title itself, the right to be tried for offenses by a peculiar tribunal, exemption from municipal duties, and from the application of torture as a punishment; and, as they might at any time be deposed by the emperors, while they exercised no magisterial functions, they were an idle and ornamental rather than active class, whose influence arose from their patrimonial wealth and their connection with the ancient native chieftaincies.³

The second superior class consisted of the decuriones or curiales, of whom I have before spoken, comprising all

¹ Not to be confounded with the municipal senators, or decurions. For a dissertation on this, however, see (*Mémoires de l'Académie Celtique*, t. i., p. 322).

² Guizot (*Hist. de la Civ. en France*, t. i., leç. 2).

³ See Ducange (*Gloss. in vo. Senatores*, t. vi., p. 356).

those inhabitants of towns who, either by birth or nomination, were members of a municipal college. The duties which they performed had been in their origin of a high and desirable character; they managed and defended the interests of the cities, many of which were both populous and opulent; and they were recognized by the laws as the first order among the citizens—a kind of upper *bourgeoisie*, as the French would say. But when the progress of fiscal tyranny had almost sapped the vigor of society, the decuriones, as we have seen, being held jointly responsible for the taxation, became the veriest slaves of the empire. Responsible jointly for the taxes, they were, by the same token, responsible for their colleagues and their successors; their estates were made the securities of the imperial dues; and if any estate was abandoned by its proprietor, they were compelled to occupy it, and meet the imposts exigible from it. Yet they could not relinquish their offices; they could not leave the city except by stealth; they could not enter the army, or the priesthood, or any office which might relieve them from municipal functions. If they fled, or engaged surreptitiously in any privileged employment, they were pursued like criminals and brought back, and no friend could harbor the fugitive without exposing himself to the severest penalties. Even the children of the curial were adscribed to his functions, and could engage in no course of life inconsistent with the onerous and intolerable duty. In short, this dignity was so much abhorred, that the lowest plebeian shunned admission to it, the members of it made themselves bondmen, married slave-women, or joined the barbaric hordes in order to escape it; and malefactors, Jews, and heretics were sometimes condemned to it, as an appropriate penalty for their offenses.¹ Nothing more decisively exhibits the complete decay and overturn of internal government than the multitudinous provisions of the codes to regulate, to restrain, to relieve, to catch, to vex, and to torment this unhappy order of legislators and magistrates.² In most communities the honors of office are objects of keen desire; and what, then, must have been the condition of a society, as Sismondi pertinently asks, “in which death was denounced against who-

¹ Von Savigny (*ubi sup.*, p. 24).

² See, also, my remarks on p. 166.

ever should conceal a magistrate trying to get rid of his magistracy?"¹

The third class in the Gallic community consisted of the people, properly so called, and was divided into the mechanics or free artisans of the towns, and the small possessors of land in the country, whose property was not sufficient to qualify them for entrance into the curia.² In the larger cities the industrial population was often numerous; it was organized, in imitation of the usages of the ancient republic, into corporations of the different trades; and there were colleges of carpenters, masons, smiths, mechanicians, workers in marble, gold, and brass, of perfumers, carders, weavers, dyers, shoemakers, and of mariners and merchants. These were recognized by the law, to a certain extent, as a distinct order, having in their ordinary transactions the character of a civil person, and being arranged among themselves, on the model of the old political bodies, into centuries and decuries, with their respective magistrates and dignitaries. But, in order to mark their plebeian origin, they were subjected to the necessity of adopting patrons among the great or richer classes; their productiveness was paralyzed by the interferences of the laws, which prescribed the rates of wages and the prices of their products, and they found powerful competitors in the public factories maintained by the government, and in the cheaper labor of slaves, while the inexorable fisc, from the clutches of which they had been originally exempt, found a way to fasten its talons upon their liberties. The workman fled his trade, as the curial did his honors, seeking an asylum even in the bosom of slavery; yet the law recaptured him and bound him to it, and thus fettered the energies of free labor with heavier obligations even than fell upon servile labor.³

As to the small possessors in the country, they were few in number and wretched in condition. They had probably not been numerous under the old Gallic socialism of clans. Property, like power, was then in the hands of the principal chiefs, and the greater part of the actual cultivators of the soil were either

¹ Hist. des Franç., t. i., p. 51.

² For authorities and details, see

³ Guizot (Hist. de la Civ. en France, t. i., lec. 2).

Wallon (Hist. de l'Esclavage, t. iii., c. 6, pp. 242-265).

slaves, or bondsmen, or small holders who worked in the joint interests of themselves and the lord. They were often oppressed, as we know,¹ by the chieftains, whose turbulent wars and riotous living wasted both the wealth and the lives of their followers, and yet the aggressions of these chieftains were compensated by the fact that they were the born leaders and friends of those followers. Patriarchs of the tribe, the hereditary heads of the clans, they lived on their rude estates on terms of intimate fellowship with their dependents, boon companions in peace, and sharers of their excitements and dangers in war. When, however, the domination of Rome taught them the ideas and manners of the Roman, and they aspired to the stately dignities and luxurious indulgences of civilized patricians, they fled their simpler country homes to gather in the cities, the seats of munificence and fashion, where they lavished the products of their domains in costly ostentation. The ties between the different classes were thus broken; the chieftain became more and more an absentee and an aristocrat, whose prodigalities compelled him to multiply the burdens of his tenants, till there was scarcely a difference between them and the slaves; while the few small proprietors, whom he had left behind him, either eaten up by the exactions of the tax-gatherer, or prostrated by the competition of the large estates with their droves of servile laborers, fell into abject poverty, or a forced dependence upon the rich. The same causes essentially, therefore, which, under the Republic, as I have before remarked, had depopulated the fairest districts of Italy, and smitten so much of the land with barrenness, turning prolific farms into parks, or pasturages, or wastes, and debasing the cultivators into serfs, had operated under the Empire throughout the provinces, and were rapidly reducing them into deserts. The domains of the emperors were swollen into vast territories, in consequence of the abandonment of them by the owners, and it was in vain that they were assigned to discharged soldiers, to barbarians, to whoever would occupy and cultivate them for two years, in indefeasible title.² It would seem to have been more grievous to be the possessor

¹ See chapter ii., pp. 41-43, *ante*.

² On this whole subject, see Wallon (*Hist. de l'Esclavage*, livres 2d and 3d),

whose elaborate and exhaustive work I could wish some of my young countrymen would abridge or translate.

of property than the hired man or the serf of a wealthy and powerful proprietor.

Yet the condition of the servile classes was not in itself desirable; in the Empire generally it had been improved by the laws and by circumstances, and it had been slightly mitigated, perhaps, by the benignant influences of Christianity; but it was, nevertheless, the hard condition of a laborer in a worn-out and impoverished economy. I am doubtful, however, whether any substantial change had been effected among the rural population of Gaul in consequence of the Roman conquest.¹ The slaves were still slaves, the bondsmen were still bondsmen, while the various old territorial vassals of the clans reappear in the Roman terms *coloni*, *inquilini*, *ascriptitii*, *agricolæ*, *rustici*, etc., which describe the serfs of the soil, in their various relations.² The colons were like certain slaves fixed to the glebe; if they fled they could be seized and recovered by the master, who might chastise them for their offenses, while their children were compelled to follow their condition. But they could only be sold with the soil: they could not be expelled from their homes; and the amount of service or rent required of them could not be augmented beyond the original stipulation. They were also assimilated to freemen in that they were the tributaries of the state, might marry freely in their own rank, and could possess property which their industry had created over and above the revenues due from the lands to which they belonged. Thus, as Wallon says, they held to the condition of the slave without being of his kind, and to the condition of the freeman without enjoying all his rights.³ That they were ignorant, debased, and wretched under the Roman rule scarcely admits of doubt, although in the remoter districts of Gaul, and especially in Armorica, they long preserved the simpler manners and customs of the primitive clans.

Of the upper classes alone and their general manner of life

¹ De Curson (*Hist. des Peup. Breton.*, t. i., p. 188 *et seq.*).

² Wallon (*Hist. de l'Esclavage*, t. iii., p. 271 *et seq.*).

³ On the origin of the colonat, see Von Savigny (*Ueber die Römischen Colonat*, vi., 273, 320), who makes it

a mitigation of ancient slavery; Guizot (*Hist. de la Civ.*, t. iii., p. 309), who derives it from a more primitive and natural social organization; and Wallon (*Hist. de l'Esclavage*, t. iii., p. 381), who refers it to the effect of the Roman administration.

III. Manners and customs of the Gallo-Romans. have the documents of the fourth and fifth centuries brought us any memorials.¹ For the most part, they were enormously rich, and devoted to a sumptuous and idle indulgence. They passed their days alternately in their fine city palaces and in their country villas, constructed in the Roman fashion, amid the picturesque or grand scenes of nature. In the cities, which shone with all the pomp of monumental luxury,² they surrendered themselves to the magnificent and easy delights of the Roman civilization; in the morning, to crowds of clients, suitors, and flatterers; a little later, to the concourse and bustle of the forum; at noon, to the siesta; in the evening, to the baths, the theatres, the sports of the gladiators, and to prodigal repasts, with their innumerable courses, their perfumes and flowers, their rhetors, and music, and dancing-girls.³ The same splendid and frivolous existence

¹ These are confined principally to the writings of Sidonius Apollinaris and of Salvian, both of them belonging to the middle of the fifth century. Sidonius was born at Lyons in A.D. 480, of one of the most considerable families of the region; he married into the family of Avitus (afterward emperor), also one of the most considerable families of Auvergne. He was educated in all the arts of the Romans, lived in the grand style of a Roman patrician, sometimes at his beautiful villa of Avitacum, near the shores of Lake Aidat, in Auvergne, and sometimes at Rome, where he mingled in political affairs. During an irruption of the Goths into Avernum he was seized and exiled, and afterward spent some time at the court of the Gothic king Eurik. He wrote sounding panegyrics upon three emperors, and a multitude of verselets, in the peculiar style of the times. But his most valuable works for us were his Epistles, which furnish us many glimpses of the interior life of the nobles and the bishops. In his later years he renounced all profane occupations, and was made Bishop (A.D. 471) of Avernum, since Clermont. It is to be regretted that his sacred duties caused him to relinquish a history of the invasion of Gaul by Attila, of which he had been an eye-

witness. But, in becoming a bishop, he did not lay aside completely the habits and tastes of the rhetor and grammarian, or even of the man of wit and pleasure. His letters are full of declamatory artifices and imitations, but are not without nerve and energy. He is well characterized by Ampère (*Hist. Litt.*, t. ii., cc. 8, 9).

Salvian was probably born at Cologne about A.D. 430, and educated at Trèves; but, driven away by an irruption of the Franks, he took refuge in Marseilles, where he became a priest, and wrote a treatise on Avarice, and a remarkable work, *De Gubernatione Dei*. This was designed to "justify the ways of God to man," particularly in permitting the inroads and devastations of the northern hordes. He is compelled to regard these as a just chastisement of Roman corruption, and therefore dwells with an impetuous and stormy eloquence upon all the marks of degeneracy in Roman society.

² Of the seventeen famous cities of the world which Ausonius enumerates (*Ordo nobilium urbium*), five belonged to Gaul: they were Trèves, Arles, Toulouse, Narbonne, and Bordeaux, the latter then celebrated for its wines (*insignem bacco*).

³ See De Champagney (*Les Césars*,

was often renewed in their rustic resorts, in those superb villas erected on the borders of a placid lake or a murmuring stream, at the foot of a charming hill planted with vines and olives, or on the summit of a mountain crowned with pines and oaks. These comprised every provision for comfort and enjoyment. They had their porticoes, their retreats (*sacraria*), their dining-halls, their baths, their museums, and their libraries. One part, sequestered and cool, was adapted to a summer sojourn, and another part, warmed by artificial heat, to the rigors of a winter residence. Sometimes these rural habitations were placed on almost inaccessible heights, and fortified with walls, and towers, and ramparts, in the manner of the feudal castles of a later age. In times of insurrection or invasion they became places of refuge and security;¹ but when no war threatened, their occupants divided the day between games, the chase, readings, equitation, sleep, the bath, the theatre, and supper. The libraries were commonly well supplied with books, and there the men discussed and chatted, canvassing the merit of writers, or hearing some rhetor repeat his last comedy or trifle of verse. The interior apartments were reserved for the women, who spun, and read, and gossiped. At supper, which was the great meal, the guests improvised verses, or sung, or listened to a choir of musicians, or diverted themselves with those imitative and picturesque dances, either graceful or voluptuous, which the Romans had borrowed from the Greeks.² Abandoned to these gayeties and festivals, we discern few traces of any serious occupation, or of any deep and absorbing general interest among them, although the age was a most stirring and calamitous one, when the wild squadrons of Germany swept the plains, and the empire rocked and groaned like a vessel struck by the tempests.

Yet we should be wrong in supposing that the nobles were

t. ii., c. 3, § 2) for a full description of a Roman day, its occupations and enjoyments. Sidonius (Epist. ix., 13) paints a feast given by a citizen of Arles, who was not particularly opulent, in which he brings before us a host of vigorous slaves bending beneath the weight of silver dishes, the couches draped in richest purple, and the walls

of the saloon glowing with the most beautiful painted and embroidered tapestries of Assyria and Persia.

¹ See Sirmond's note ad Sid. Apoll., Epist. v., 14.

² Fauriel (Hist. de la Gaule Méridionale, t. i., pp. 388-390), whose authorities are the letters and verses of Sidonius.

all of this trivial and heedless character. Some, though rich and living in magnificence, were men of mind—philosophers, literati, and poets, who bestowed their time on books and their wealth on schools. Others engaged in political duties, acting as præfects, consuls, quæstors, interceding with the emperor in behalf of their countrymen against extortionate governors, resisting the tides of barbarian influx, negotiating with the barbaric chiefs to turn aside their wrath, or dispensing a generous charity to the needy and desolate.¹ “I have lately visited Vectius,” writes Sidonius, “an illustrious man, whose daily deportment I have observed, and I deem it worthy of remark. His whole house imitates the virtues of its master: the slaves are diligent, the colons submissive, his adherents devoted and satisfied. The same table suffices the patron and his clients. But to a great hospitality is joined a greater frugality. No one surpasses Vectius in his love for hound and hawk. He is exquisite in dress, exacting in cross-belts, magnificent in the caparison of his horses, but he is never a corrupter by his indulgences, never harsh in his severity, rather sombre than melancholy in his temperament. He often reads the Scriptures, especially at his repasts, partaking at once of the nutriment of the soul and of the body. He is a monk, not under the gown, but under the tunic of the warrior. A daughter, his only child, he rears, for the consolation of his widowerhood, with all the tenderness and care of a mother, and all the goodness of a father. In speaking he does not chide, nor does he accept counsel disdainfully, nor eagerly seek out faults. He governs by the authority of reason, the steward rather than the master of his house.”

The emphasis with which Sidonius presents this example, however, and the fact that “he read the Scriptures,” would seem to show that such characters were rather exceptional than common, and not often to be found outside of Christian influences.

It can not be doubted that the upper classes of Gallo-Roman society spoke and wrote almost exclusively in the Latin language, though not, perhaps, in the pure Latinity of Cicero or Horace. The invariable practice of the

Extent to which the Latin was used in Gaul.

¹ Some instances are collected by Michelet in his first illustration to book second (*Hist. de France*, t. i.).

Romans was to impress their own speech upon the inhabitants of those provinces which they conquered.¹ Their laws were issued in Latin, and the magistrates interpreted and applied them in Latin, and all official intercourse was carried on in Latin.² Every provincial, therefore, who came in permanent relations with the government, or who aspired to intercourse with the dignitaries, and the frequenters of the court, learned the language of the court, and many, as we have already seen, cultivated it and the literature in which it was embodied.³ The priests performed their worship—the professors taught their sciences in Latin. “In southern Gaul,” says Strabo, early in the first century, “a majority of the tribes make use of our speech.”⁴ An epigrammatic poet boasts, at the end of the same century, that his books were in the hands of every one at Vienne.⁵ Nor is it difficult to conceive how two hundred years of active intermixture with the provincials should have carried the language of Rome to all the cities in which the Romans ruled. The great saints of the fourth and fifth centuries, we know—Hilary, Jerome, Avitus, Sidonius—wrote Latin letters to the women of Gaul, and recommended to their familiar reading the various Latin authors.⁶ Nor was the use of it wholly confined, as some seem to suppose,⁷ to persons of the educated classes. The populations of the towns, living perpetually within ear-shot of the Romans, must have soon acquired the dialect of their superiors; and among the numerous other proofs of this, if there could be any doubt, there are two that may be deemed decisive. The sermons and homilies of the preachers of the fifth century, which it is obvious, from their tone and sentiment, were addressed to the public of all classes, were spoken in Latin; and the lesser dramatic pieces represented on the stage, the farces and buffooneries, as well as the popular songs, tinged with the colors of the common domestic and low life, were in Latin.⁸ Yet the prevalence of the Latin had not, as others have assert-

¹ St. August. (*De Civitat. Dei*, xix., 7).

² *Digest*, l. xlii., t. i.; *Valer. Max.*, l. ii., c. 2.

³ See *ante*, b. ii., c. 5.

⁴ *Geog.*, l. iii., c. 2.

⁵ *Martial*, l. vii., ep. 87.

⁶ Michelet (*Hist. de France*, t. i., l. i., c. 4); *Sid. Apoll.*, l. ii., epist. 9.

⁷ Michelet, *ibid.*

⁸ Fauriel (*Hist. de la Gaule Mérid.*, t. i., c. 10, pp. 436-438).

ed,¹ expelled the more ancient idioms. Greek was spoken by the populace of Arles in the fifth century, and probably by that of other cities which had once been subject to the influence of Massalia.² In the secluded rural districts, which the Romans did not so much frequent, the native dialects were still heard. The Basque lingered among the gorges of the Pyrenees, as the Gallic did amid the inaccessible mountain tracts of Auvergne, and the Kymric throughout Armorica. Sidonius compliments his brother-in-law, Ecdicius, for having persuaded the Arvernian nobles to the disuse of their rude provincial tongue. There was, moreover, in this respect a great difference between the south and the north of Gaul, and neither the customs, the manners, nor the speech of the Romans made rapid way or permanent impression beyond the Loire.³

The studies of the cultivated classes comprised both Greek and Latin—the Greek philosophy as it had been filtered through Roman minds, and the Roman jurisprudence, grammar, rhetoric, and poetry. Jurisprudence, for which the Roman intellect was so peculiarly apt, the Gauls had learned, and more than one professor was celebrated for his knowledge and skill. The Gallic genius, however, originally remarked for its copiousness and brilliancy (*ubertas et nitor*), betook itself rather to rhetoric and the arts of elegant composition. Ausonius distinguishes thirty grammarians in the city of Bordeaux alone;⁴ and of the twelve works in the *Panegyrici Veteres*, ten belong to Gaul.⁵ But unmistakable marks of decay and feebleness pervade all the intellectual efforts of this period. The philosophers were mere smatterers or dabblers in the remains of ancient thought, without original impulse or creative force.⁶ The grammarians also drew their nutriment from the store-houses of the past, and were mostly vain pedants, critics, annotators, and compilers of synonyms and abridgments, far more arid, and a thousand times less learned and laborious, than

¹ Stephens (*Lectures on the History of France*, p. 21, Harper's ed., 1852); also Bonamy (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, t. xxiv., pp. 582–608).

² *Acta St. Bened.*, t. i., no. 11, p. 662.

³ Compare Fauriel (l. c.) and De Curson (*Hist. des Peup. Breton*, t. i.,

Introduct., c. 4). Bouquet (*Recueil des Hist.*, t. i., pref., § 4) asserts the identity of the ancient Celtic and the modern Bas-Breton.

⁴ *Ordo Nobil. Urbium*.

⁵ Ampère (*Hist. Litt.*, t. i., p. 193).

⁶ Guizot (*Hist. de la Civ. en France*, t. i., lec. 4).

a modern German professor. The rhetors flourished, but the old Gallic exuberance had passed over into inflation and bombast, and the old Gallic elegance into a mannered and affected brilliancy full of tinsel and false refinement. The acme of their performances was the panegyric, or formal address of praise to some emperor or powerful man, in which the invention of the declaimer tortured itself to find new surprises and stratagems of speech wherewith to express the basest adulations and flatteries. Verse-makers there were then, but no poets; makers of jejune and imitative verses, dull descriptions of journeys or cities, rhymed dialogues, nuptial centos, epigrams, madrigals, and acrostics—such as in the modern vulgar phrase is denominated machine-poetry—trivial in theme, forced or curious in expression, and, though sometimes elegant, never beautiful. The epic had long since been entombed in the grave of Virgil; tragedy and comedy had sunk to the farce, the dance, and the pantomime, and no genuine living enthusiasm kindled the lyric muse.¹ Gaul, nevertheless, abounded in schools in which these arts were taught. At Trèves, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Poitiers, Narbonne, Arles, Autun, Besançon, Vienne, Marseilles, were famous establishments, some of them centuries old, to which considerable libraries and corporations of scribes or copyists were adjoined. The emperors lavished privileges and rewards upon the teachers, making them either counts, or præfects, or consuls, to stimulate their activity and zeal, and to raise them in public esteem.² But the contemporary writers deplore alike the absence of scholars and the desuetude of vigorous studies.³ The atmosphere of despotism proved a me-phitic atmosphere for genius; a decrepit and corrupt society retained no relish for what was true, or good, or large in thought; while, in the craziness of the political fortunes of the empire, hope expired, and the general mind lost the spur and the solace of noble endeavor. "We are," writes a great poet—

"We are what suns, and winds, and waters make us;
The mountains are our sponsors, and the rills
Fashion and win their nursling with their smiles.
But where the land is dim from tyranny,

¹ Comp. Faurlieu (*ubi sup.*, t. i., c. 10).

² Code Theodos., iii., 3, et xiii., 3.

³ Sid. Apoll., *passim*.

⁴ Guizot (Civ. en France, t. i., lec. 4).

There tiny pleasures occupy the place
 Of glories and of duties, as the feet
 Of fabled fairies, when the sun goes down,
 Trip o'er the grass where wrestlers strove by day.
 Then Justice, called the Eternal One above,
 Is more inconstant than the buoyant form
 That bursts into existence from the froth
 Of ever-varying Ocean: what is best
 Then becomes worst; what loveliest, most deformed.
 The heart is hardest in the softest climes,
 The passions flourish, the affections die."

The moral and social condition of Gaul, in the latter days of the Empire, confirm the words of the poet. In the shock of so many thickening calamities, the pagan mind knew no refuge from the heavy burden of its woes but in the illusions of the passions. The same vicissitudes which drove the devotee to the cloister and the desert, drove the worldling to a riotous excess. An eminent modern painter has illustrated this aspect of the decline with equal skill and sentiment.² Beneath the blue skies of Italy, and in the court of a stately temple, through whose many-columned porticoes gleam the stern and solemn forms of antique statues, a motley group of revelers is gathered to a holiday of wanton and tumultuous merriment. On the floor lie broken vases and trailing vines; their wan brows are girt with faded chaplets; their languid bodies intertwine in every posture of voluptuous indulgence; and their looks are, by turns, reckless, haggard, frantic, oblivious, as they drown the past, the present, and the future in ever-deepening draughts from cups of golden wine. Two noble figures alone, representatives of the old adorers of Jupiter, draw their mantles closely about them, and, with faces full of an inexpressible sorrow, gaze upon the orgie as if they felt that the prophecy of Romulus was fulfilled, and the last vulture had flapped his ominous wing over twelve centuries of vanished glory. "Rome laughs," wrote Salvian, during this period, "laughs and dies. While the barbarians are investing our cities, the inhabitants yield themselves to the transports

¹ Walter Savage Landor (*Hellenics*, p. 274, London, 1847).

called *La Decadence*, in the Luxembourg Gallery, Paris.

² Couture, in his fine composition,

of the spectacles. The tumult of the battle without the walls mingles with the plaudits of the amphitheatre within; the shouts of debauchery and the cries of death are confounded, and the groans of the wounded are hardly to be distinguished from the clamors of the circus."¹ "What country," again he asks, "more charming than these fertile provinces of Aquitaine and Novempopulania? All nature smiles in her abundance and beauty. Swelling vineyards, rich meadows, cultivated fields, murmuring fountains, gleaming rivers, and grateful shades, render it rather an image of paradise than an actual portion of Gaul. But how do men repay the bounties of beneficent Providence? Alas! they are the first in vice as in wealth. Nowhere is voluptuousness so unbridled, conduct so lax, life so impure. Nobles and others are all the same. The more opulent the city, the more universal the prostitution. Who regards conjugal faith? Whose servants are not the mere instruments of his debaucheries? The Goths are chaste, the Vandals honest, the Franks hospitable, but we are steeped in every vice, every selfishness, every shame."²

The disciples of the Christian school formed partially an exception. They were purer, on the whole, not only because of the superior purity of their principles, but because their lives were more active. Organized as separate communities in the midst of the general society, and boasting a loftier morality, the double duty was laid upon them of maintaining a consistent example, and of pushing forward the conquests of truth into the surrounding realms of darkness. Great themes and great objects kept their minds and hearts from stagnating. Though not in the midst of the tempestuous controversies which stirred the ocean of Eastern thought, they yet felt the heaving of the waves as they broke along the western shores. The deadly struggle with heathenism, proselytizing zeal, the conflict of heresy, the agitation of new and stupendous questions of grace, free-will, predestination, the divine attributes, and Church power and discipline, started and kept alive an incessant movement and eagerness. Thus the Christian atmosphere was purified by its own storms. The prevailing tendencies of the Christian life, moreover, were not toward the laxity

IV. The Christian society.

¹ De Gubernatione Dei, l. vi., p. 210.

² Ibid., l. vii., *passim*.

and license of the heathen world, but rather toward an extreme and over-rigid virtue. Many converts, doubtless, carried with them into the Church a strong tincture of their more ancient superstitions and practices; many, indeed, were converts only in name, seduced by selfish motives into an outward conformity with the religion of the emperors, while inwardly unchanged and corrupt; others, who had broken the bonds of habit by a convulsive effort, were always liable to relapse; but the ascetic spirit of monasticism, partly as a consequence of the general laxity, was beginning to pervade more and more the whole Christian world.

A leaven of the Gnostic and Manichæan heresies, themselves *Monasticism*. derived from earlier Indian rigors, working upon the acerbities of the Church—its aversion to simple human pleasures and the effusions of natural gayety—its mortifications of the body, and its growing depreciation of the domestic life, had gradually fermented into a dark humor for renouncing the commerce of mankind. The contemplative life came to be regarded as the only one consistent with entire purity. Splendid examples, as they were deemed, of pious hardihood—like those of the hermits Paul and Anthony—reproached the consciences and dazzled the fancies of the susceptible multitude. Emulous crowds broke in upon the scenes of their lonely and heroic triumphs. The caves and the deserts, the savage wood and the desolate mountain, swarmed with anchorets who abandoned the life of the world to enjoy in solitude and silence the higher life of the soul—a nearer vision of God. Sincere religious aspirations, or the consciousness of a guilt which could only be atoned by the severest self-punishments, were the motives of some; repugnance to the prevalent depravity, or weariness of the vicissitudes, of the persecutions, and of the agitations of a troubled existence, were the motives of others; but the many were carried away by that contagious sympathy which sometimes seizes whole generations, we know not how. Individuals of every class, rich and poor, male and female, the polished and the ignorant, fled their families, their estates, their friends, the offices, the amenities, and the amusements of social intercourse, to engage in the laborious spiritual exercises and the gloomy physical austerities of the wilderness. Their food, herbs—their

drink, water—their bed a mat of palms or the naked rock, they passed the days and the nights in alternations of angelic ecstasy or diabolic despair, struggling to extinguish the lusts of the flesh, even the desires of the mind, and to exorcise the myriads of enticing or pestering demons with which their sultry fancies peopled the desolation.¹

The fertile and imaginative East, which had long been the cradle of every contemplative extravagance, saw the first fervors of this acrid and barren devotion. But from the spawning caves of the Thebaid, the wild rocks of Nitria, and the burning Syrian sands, it soon spread to the secluded islands of the Mediterranean, to the volcanic clefts of Italy, and to the frowning forests and shadowy mountain ranges of Gaul. A jealous demur on the part of a few of the clergy, and the undisguised hostility of the Roman rabble, could not arrest an enthusiasm inflamed by the ardent plaudits of Athanasius, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, and propagated by the still more ardent zeal of St. Martin. The monastery which he founded at Ligugé² led the way to many other foundations—to that of St. Faustin at Nîmes, of St. Castor at Apt, of St. Victor at Marseilles, and of St. Honoratus at Lerins, one of the isles of Hyères, the most celebrated of the age.³ But the monasticism of the West was of a different character from that of the East.

The colder climate and colder temperament of men in the West. —an organizing and practical rather than a fervid or contemplative genius—tempered the spirit of asceticism by more active and social impulses. The cœnobitic form of monkery prevailed over the eremitic,⁴ although the deeds of Simeon Stylite did not want for an imitator even in Gaul.⁵ Communities for labor, and prayer, and study, took the place of the darksome cave and the moaning woods. A corporate zeal be-

¹ Gieseler (Church Hist., vol. i., c. 4, pp. 95-97).

² See p. 178, ante.

³ These were all established in the first part of the fifth century; those of St. Claude, in Franche Comté, of Grigney, in Vienne, and others, a little later.

⁴ Although Cassian, born A.D. 350, founder of the Abbey of St. Victor at Marseilles, and though his *Institutiones*

and *Collationes*, the first great teacher and legislator of western monachism, elevates the anchoritic over the life in common.

⁵ In the forest of Ardennes a man named Wulfilach raised a solitary pillar and stood upon it for years, like Simeon on his solitary pillar near the banks of the Euphrates (Ampère, Hist. Litt., t. i., p. 426).

gated the ambition for proselytizing, and, instead of lacerations and tears, or, rather, in spite of lacerations and tears, the monks emerged from their cells, they scoured the fields, they penetrated the cities, they dragged down the statues and temples of idolatry, they scattered the consternated worshipers of the ancient faith, and they participated in the mobs which often determined the quarrels of the prelates or the excellences of doctrine.¹

As yet, however, the predominant leaders of the Gallic Church were the bishops, not the monks. In earlier times they had been simple missionaries, Greeks or Italians, sent forth by the foreign churches to establish the faith in the desert. But after the planting of the monasteries, those centres of erudition and piety supplied both active pastors and vigorous polemics—St. Hilary, St. Eucher, St. Loup, St. Victor, and others. By the threefold claim to the respect of the people presented in their priestly, civic, and personal characters, the influence of the bishops penetrated to nearly every class, and affected nearly every interest of society. Amid the decay and lassitude of other social forces, their power rose supreme, and invited the ambition of the great civic leaders. Many of the episcopal names of the period are those of opulent and noble Gallo-Roman families.² Instructed in profane, though often ignorant of sacred literature, these brought to the Church little knowledge of doctrine, and sometimes a slender piety, but they contributed, instead, wealth, standing, leadership, knowledge of the world. They founded, endowed, and decorated churches; they distributed profuse alms; they rallied the native population, and they resisted with stubborn skill the malice of the old Roman and the rudeness of the new barbarian. They assisted their order, moreover, in its access to civil authority, to the place of *defensores* in the curia, and to the exercise of magisterial powers. How incessant their activity; in contrast with the inertia of others in the same social rank, we may learn from a single example:

"St. Hilary," says Guizot, "arose in the morning early; he

¹ Gieseler, *ubi sup.*, and Neander ² Fauriel (*Hist. de la Gaule Mériid.*,
(*Hist. Christ. Relig.*, v. ii., pp. 227- t. i., pp. 408-405).
265).

always lived in town: from the time that he arose, any one that wished to see him was received. He heard complaints, adjusted differences, performed the office of justice of the peace. He afterward repaired to the church, performed service, preached, taught, sometimes many hours consecutively. Returned home, he took his repast, and, while this lasted, he heard some pious reading, or else dictated, and the people often entered freely and listened. He also performed manual labor, sometimes spinning for the poor, sometimes cultivating the fields of his church." Or else, it may be added, he performed long journeys to attend a synod or council; corresponded with distant bishops—an Ambrose, a Jerome, or Augustine; or visited the famous monasteries and the sacred land of the East.

The intellectual movement was more active than original or vigorous. Its topics were new, and in their nature momentous, while there was every motive in the circumstances of the times to encourage the Christian writer to return to a simple and severe form of speech, in harmony with the substance of his message; but it must be confessed that, in all that concerns taste, style, and manner, the ecclesiastics did not elevate themselves above the reigning methods. The same ambitious rhetoric, the same refinements of phraseology, the same affected elegance prevail in the homilies and sermons which we have remarked in the panegyric and the oration. In this respect the Latin Christianity differed very much from the Greek.

I say Latin Christianity, because Christianity, like the legend inscribed on the cross of Christ in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, seemed to be destined to pass through a Hebrew, Greek, and Latin form of expression. Already, in the primitive age, it had conquered, and, to a certain extent, adopted the Jews. In the following age of theological subtlety and debate, it had conquered and partly adopted the Greeks; and, now that it had conquered, it was striving to adopt the Roman. It was still largely Grecian, both in spirit and form; the first churches of the West, even that of the city of Rome, had been, as Milman observes, merely Greek religious colonies; their language was Greek, their organization Greek, their writers Greek, their scriptures Greek; and many vestiges and traditions show that

Peculiarity of
Western or
Latin Christi-
anity.

their ritual was Greek.¹ In Gaul, particularly, the Christians were chiefly settled in Greek cities, which owned Marseilles for their parent, and retained the Greek language as their vernacular tongue. Irenæus wrote in Greek; the account of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne was written in Greek; and the use of the ancient Grecian Liturgy long survived in the Gallic churches.² But, as the empire weakened and waned, as the ancient paganism recoiled, as the transfer of government to Byzantium left Italy and the provinces more independent, a Latin Christianity gradually arose to assume the vacated functions of both prince and priest in the veneration and hopes of the West. It supplanted not merely the religious ceremonials and feelings of the former faith, but, true to the genius of Rome, it endeavored to supply the defects of the government by a superior polity. The Greek Christianity had been speculative and controversial, aspiring, with a fearless confidence in the refinement and strength of the Greek mind and the inexhaustible copiousness of the Greek language, to the deepest mysteries of Deity, and to the primordial and insoluble questions which lie at the fountain-head of all philosophy and all religion. As a polity, it comprised a federation of religious republics, having many centres—Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Constantinople, and a hierarchy every where of equal power and dignity. On the other hand, the West possessed no Athanasius or Arius, no Gregories, or Basils, or Chrysostoms. Its prelates and synods had only re-echoed and confirmed with a tempered zeal the hot vociferations of the East. Its greater teachers, Tertullian, Cyprian, and the later Ambrose, lawyers, politicians, and rhetors, not philosophers, were less intent upon dogma than upon discipline. It enjoyed, too, the peculiar advantage (an advantage for compactness, strength, and unity of movement) of a single capital—the paramount city of the Roman world—and an apostolic city in the estimation of the Christian world. The Latin Christianity, therefore, in its earliest aspects, presents itself to us rather as a polity than a doctrine, or as an institution, divinely

¹ Milman (*History of Latin Christianity*, vol. i., c. i., p. 27, ed. London, 1857).

² *Id.*, p. 28. As to the prevalence

of Grecian literature among the Latins, see Milman's note on page 27, and Fynes Clinton's Appendix to the *Fasti Romani*, to which he refers.

originated and authorized, in which the spirit of truth was to find perpetual incarnation. The theories which had long hovered through the Christian mind—as obscure and wavering instincts, if not as distinct thoughts—of a church which should be the inspired body of Christ, the perpetual keeper and interpreter of the sacred records, the sole depository of supernatural power, the supreme dispenser of the divine grace, whose decisions unbarred the gates of hell and opened the portals of heaven, took rapidly a visible substance and shape in the West, which for so many centuries had been accustomed to look to the Eternal City as its nursing-mother, and guide, and crowning glory.

Gaul, for the most part, accepted the doctrine and discipline of Rome. Pelagius, a monk of Brittany, raised a storm of controversy on the Augustinian theories of divine grace: Cassian and the monks of Marseilles long asserted a vigorous semipelagianism: Vigilantius, a native of Gaul, though a Spanish presbyter, protested, like an early Luther, against the worship of martyrs and relics, and the assumed merits of celibacy; St. Vincent of Lerina admitted no authority in matters of faith but the unanimous teaching of the doctors; and the impetuous St. Hilary, of Arles, bearded Pope Leo in his chair when he pretended to the spiritual domination of Gaul; but, nevertheless, the more general sentiment of Gaul was uttered in the verse of St. Prosper of Aquitaine when he said, "Rome, the see of St. Peter, made the head of the world in honor of the apostle, holds by its religion what it no longer possesses by its arms."¹

¹ *Sedes Roma Petri, quæ pastoralis honoris
Facta caput mundi, quidquid non possidet
arma*

Religione tenet. — (Cited by Ampère, *Hist.
Litt.*, t. II., p. 42.)

BOOK III.

ROMAN-GERMAN GAUL

CHAPTER IX.

THE OLD TEUTONIC WORLD, AND ITS ADVANCES UPON THE EMPIRE.

WHO were these Germans that now for so many years had harassed and threatened the empire? Were they wanderers from the East, or natives of the West? How long had their wild and shaggy multitudes roamed the deep forests of Europe? And what and where were they during the distant centuries in which Phœnicia and Carthage were unfurling the sails of their commerce upon the seas, and Greece was beautifying the earth, and Rome was building up her colossal and iron despotism?¹

These are questions, unfortunately, which history can not answer. An impervious cloud overhangs the morning of the old Teutonic world.² The polished inhabitants of the peninsulas, early made aware of its existence, felt too little interest in it to take the pains to inquire into the secrets of its dusky annals, or to describe the characteristics of

¹ Menzel (History of Germany, vol. i., c. i., ed. Bohn).

² Von Hammer (Wien Jahrbuch, b. ii., s. 319) refers the origin of the Germans to a Persian tribe mentioned by Herodotus (l. i., c. 15) under the name Γερμανίαι; but in some texts this word is Καρμανίαι, which renders it a doubtful authority. Moreover, Tacitus (Germania, c. 2) says expressly that the tribes of the north and centre of Europe had, in his time, been but recently called Germans, and is confirmed by Strabo (Geog., l. vii.), who makes the name of Roman origin. They were called *Germani*, from *germanus*, brother, because they were the brothers of the Gauls. Other derivations of the word are found in the Teutonic: *ger*, lance, and *mann*, man; or *herr*, army, and *mann*, both meaning a warrior; or, again, *ehre*, dignity, and *mann*. Some refer it even to the Kymric *ger*, near, and *maon*, people—the neighbors. But Grimm says that these tribes did not call themselves Germans, and that, so

far as they had any collective appellation, it was Teuton, from the root *teut*, or the people (Deutsche Grammatik, i., 630). The hypothesis adopted by Wirth (Die Geschichte der Deutschen, b. i., s. 210, Stuttgart, 1853) and others traces the Goths to the Getæ, who dwelt on the borders of the Black Sea, and Herodotus, Strabo, Solinus, Agathias, Procopius, and Jornandes are cited as establishing the identity. Humboldt, indeed, says that Grimm, in a work which I have not seen, clearly demonstrates the fact (Cosmos, vol. ii., p. 146, note). If the Goths were Getæ, then they were Thracians, for the *Γῆραι* of Herodotus (l. iv., c. 93) and of Strabo (l. vii., p. 204) are expressly said to have belonged to the Thracian race. In the time of Herodotus (B.C. 450) the Getai occupied both sides of the Danube, in what is now Bulgaria, Bessarabia, and Wallachia. There, certainly, the Goths first appear prominently in history.

its uncouth people. Amid the absorbing occupations of their cities, they heard of the wars and rumors of war among the wild tribes of the frontiers, as we now hear of the wars and rumors of war among the wilder tribes of Africa. Not until ^{Historic sources.} the fifty-seventh year before Christ, when the keen-eyed Cæsar cast a few intrepid and searching glances into the darkness,¹ did it seem to be unsettled, as if about to give place to the dawn; but soon the volume rolled back, and for more than a century the Teutons were folded in heavy primeval obscurity. Unknown and unrecorded, they waged their stormy battles with the wilderness and with each other. The exquisite genius of Tacitus, about the year A.D. 97, shed the first clear and steady light upon the various modes and methods of their being. His masterly treatise of the Manners of the Germans is worthy of all honor and of all confidence.² And yet, in spite of its singular combination of great comprehensiveness with great precision, its brief twenty pages of mingled geography, ethnography, theology, politics, and narrative, are scarcely more than a prelude to the themes of which it treats. Into the deeper constitution and life of the Teutonic societies it does not guide us; while the later Roman writers, benumbed by the terrors which the new and hostile attitude of the Germans inspired, or rendered lax and credulous by the growing degeneracy of the Roman mind, add little to the knowledge that he has imparted, or add it only to distort and to confuse.³

But in this deficiency of classic sources we are not abandoned wholly to ignorance or conjecture. The ^{The law-books and Norse poems.} ancient Germans have left some records of themselves in those codes of barbaric law, which, compiled at a comparatively late era,⁴ are yet embodiments of immemorial

¹ Cæs. (De Bell. Gall., i., 36 et seqq., and vi., 23 et seqq.).

² Although Tacitus is always to be read with three thoughts in the mind: first, that his knowledge of the Germans, mainly derived from Roman officials, related principally to those along the Rhine; second, that, in his aversion to the degenerate manners of the Romans, he was disposed to overcolor the simplicity and virtue of barbaric life; and, third, that he was by nature, like Sen-

eca and Rousseau, a believer in a pristine state of human innocence (Annals, iii., 25).

³ See the Augustan historians, *passim*.

⁴ The codes to which I refer are those of the Salian and Riparian Franks, of the Saxons, the Frisians, the Visigoths, and the Lombards. They were mainly compiled in the fifth and sixth centuries, and are largely ingrafted with Roman and Christian elements, but it is

usages;¹ and in those rude northern sagas, which express the deep religious feelings of the old Teutonic soul, and flash upon us from the darkness of the northern night many gleams of auroral light and splendor.²

Early ethnography assigned to the Germans that part of Central Europe which was bounded on the south by the Danube, on the west by the Rhine, on the north by the Baltic, and on the east, where they were vaguely blended with the Sarmatians, or Schlaves, by "mountains and mutual fear."³ This was a wild and savage region of woods and marshes; and the people who occupied it, in common with the bears, wolves, otters, bisons, and wild-boars, were divided into some fifty distinct and independent tribes. Their general resemblances of complexion, language, habits, and institutions, denoted that they were of common origin. On the Middle Rhine, in what are now Nassau, Westphalia, and the Rhenish Provinces, dwelt the Tencteri, the Usippii, the Sicambri, and the Bructeri. The island at the mouth of that stream inclosed

easy to distinguish these from the original and truly barbaric features (Eichhorn, *Deutsche Staats und Rechts-Geschichte*, theil. i., seite. 106 *et seqq.*). They are singularly conformed to the reports of Tacitus and of other classic writers; so much so that Montesquieu observes, "In reading the law-books I fancy that I am reading Tacitus and Cæsar, and in reading Tacitus and Cæsar I fancy that I am reading the law-books" (*Esprit des Lois*, l. xxx., c. 2, ed. Paris, 1818). My references will be chiefly to the collections of these codes published by Canciani (*Barbarorum Leges Antiquæ*, Venetis, 1781-1792), and of Lindenbrog (*Codex Legum Antiquarum*, Frankfort, 1613). But, for the Salic laws, to the fine edition of Pardessus (*Loi Salique*, etc., Paris, 1843); and, for the Saxons, to J. M. Kemble (*Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, London, 1839-1848).

¹ "Longa enim consuetudo pro lege habetur," says the prologue to the Salic law.

² On the antiquity and authenticity of the Edda, see J. P. Müller (*Sagabib-*

liothek, ed. 1817), and as to the general prevalence of the Asa-faith, or Scandinavian mythology, over the whole of Germany and the North, see Jacob Grimm (*Deutsche Mythologie*, ed. Göttingen, 1844). What has been said by Grote of the Homeric stories is true of these northern myths, that, if not in themselves credentials of history, they are admirable pictures of the state of society and of men's conceptions of life at the time they were believed to be true (*Hist. of Greece*, vol. ii., c. 20, Harper's ed., 1851).

³ Tacitus, *Germ.*, c. i. Mr. Latham, in his learned notes to the *Germania*, argues that the Elbe was the eastern boundary of the German area. Gatterer also (*Weltgeschichte*, p. 424) confines the southern boundary to the River Maine and the Bohemian mountains. On the other hand, Zeuss, Wirth, and other erudite professors, would seem to push the original limits along nearly the whole line of the Danube. Wirth (*Geschicht. des Deut.*, c. 9, Stuttgart, 1853) and Zeuss (*Die Deutschen und Die Nachbar-Stämme*, München, 1837).

the Bativi, who were, I think, a mixture of Gauls and Germans. Among the fenny districts of the sea-coast, in modern Holland and Hanover, were the Frisii and the Chauci, or Hauken. The southern part of the peninsula of Holstein, with the islets to the east of it, was occupied by the Saxones. The thick woods of the Hartz Mountains contained the Cheruski, southwest of whom, in Hesse-Darmstadt and Hesse-Cassel, dwelt the Chatti, or Hassi; and southwest of these again, in the subsequent *Decumates Agri* of the Romans, were the Suevi, or Suabs; while the northern bank of the Danube, between the Bohemian and Moravian mountains, was held by the Marcomanni, and the east side of the Elbe by the Vindili, the Lygii, the Gothones, the Semnones, and the Rugii, who were mostly, perhaps, Sarmatians.¹ Of the Scandinavian branches the ancients knew little or nothing.

Both Tacitus and Pliny² made an attempt to classify these tribes into principal stocks, but not in a way which enables us to distribute them according to distinctions which exist among the modern Germans. If we could refer the *INGÆVONES* of Tacitus, "who dwelt next to the ocean," to the Scandinavians and Frisians; his *HERMIONES*, "who are in the centre," to the North Germans; and his *ISTÆVONES*, "who occupy the remaining parts," to the South Germans, we should possess a division corresponding, in some degree, to actual differences of dialect and manners;³ but his characterizations are too vague to be made the basis of any sound historical deductions. And Pliny, in adding to the *Ingævones*, the *Hermiones*, and *Istævones* of Tacitus the two other branches of the *Vendili* and *Peucini*, manifestly confounded Teutons with *Schlaves* and *Lithuanians*.

¹ See Latham's *Germania*, *passim*; also his *Races of the Russian Empire*, London, 1854.

² *Mor. Germ.*, c. 2; *Plin.*, l. iv., c. 28.

³ Nothing is known of the origin or meaning of Tacitus's terms, *Ingævones*, *Istævones*, etc.; but it may be conjectured that *Ing*, *Ist* or *Isk*, and *Irmin* or *Herman*, were the names of heroic founders or patriarchs. There was a

dynasty of *Yng-lings* in Sweden; and an *Ing*, who was the first man among the Danes (*Beowulf*, 779-787); and *Ask* is an Adam, or primitive man, in the Eddaic mythology. *Irmin*, also, in the old Norse dialects, has the sense of something most antiquated and venerable (Latham, p. 26.) The modern German etymologies, such as *in-geuroh-ner*, dwelling in the interior, etc., are unsatisfactory.

The German was physically distinguished by his huge and robust body, his fierce blue eyes, his flaxen hair, and his rough guttural voice. The extenuate and scrofulous races of the south beheld his mass of superabundant animal life with some feeling of fear and wonder.¹ Nor were his intellectual and moral qualities less muscular than his physical. A large complex brain surmounted, a broad, strong heart animated, his lumpy, elephantine body. Like many other races in the same stage of social progress, the Germans were great fighters; they loved combat, adventures, robberies, and killings; and their usual oath was "By the deck of the ship, by the rim of the shield, by the withers of the horse, and by the point of the sword."² Sometimes entire tribes left land and home to addict themselves to perpetual roving military expeditions.³ When a warrior escaped a famous slaughter he often hung himself in shame, and was universally branded with ignominy.⁴ Such, indeed, was the exuberance of the northern valor that it occasionally boiled up into craziness (*berserkswoth*), when the subjects of it ate live coals,⁵ rushed naked into battle, or slew, indiscriminately, both friend and foe.⁶ Their favorite god was Thor, or Donar, who crushed thunder out of the skies with his fiery axe, and the future heaven they conceived of chiefly as a place where the valiant engaged in eternal alternations of fierce combats and drinking-bouts.⁷

But there were better and more distinctive qualities in the Germans than this warlike and truculent rage. Tacitus says that "they had a sense they called honor, which led them to sacrifice their lives rather than their words;"⁸ they disdained stratagems and disguises; were neither stealthy nor subtle, and they met their enemies, not with the secret knife, but hand to hand in the duel, or, if they met them when the latter were inferior in force, they waited till the chances might be equal. "We may

¹ Tacit., Germ., cc. 1-4; Seneca, De Ira, i., 11.

² See the Heimskringla, translated by Laing, ed. London, 1844.

³ Tacit., Germ., c. 31.

⁴ Tacit., Germ., c. 6.

⁵ The prototypes unquestionably of our American "fire-eaters."

⁶ Depping (Hist. des Expéditions Maritimes des Normands, p. 23, ed. Paris, 1843).

⁷ Keyser (Religion of the Northmen, p. 93, New York, 1854).

⁸ Germania, c. 24; also c. 22.

need lands to live on," said Boical, indignantly, to a Roman officer, who would have purchased his treachery by a grant of land, "but never a place to die in."¹ The German also cherished an unusual affection and respect for woman, whom he made his companion rather than his slave. Though he bought the *mund* or power over his wife from her parents,² he yet endowed her in her own right, made her the animating spirit of his home, allowed her to share in his enterprises, and, with a mystic religious feeling, invested her sex with something of a sacred and prescient character.³ The words of his weird Alrunar, issuing from the solemn shadows of the woods, impressed him as oracles, and the fiercest warriors deemed that over every battle-field celestial maidens hovered to carry the souls of the worthy to an eternal joy.⁴ In spite of his external ruggedness, therefore, his hard, reckless, brawny violence, there was in the German a vein of tender and chivalric sentiment, a play of kindly, Brobdignagian humor, and a susceptibility to superior influences. When brought into contact with civilization he early learned to appreciate it; his rudest societies exhibited some strivings toward a just combination of freedom and order; and, if he adored the thunder-god in the skies, he also worshiped Baldur, the beautiful, in the secret groves. I do not, indeed, conceive it an extravagance to say that, in his earliest manifestations, in his wild poems and rough laws, one finds the germs of his later Shakspeares, and Beethovens, and Cromwells—of that genius which has made his literature the richest in the world, and kept his sons, for a thousand years, on every throne of Europe.

The religion of the Germans was an outgrowth of their manifold, deep, and robust nature, modified by the influence of their external condition. Coarser minds among them worshiped the cosmical forms and forces—trees and rocks, fire and frost, the living spring, the deep wood, the high mountain, the storms, and the stars. Of temples or altars they had few, situate chiefly in the awful gloom of forests, or on the bleak tops of hills,⁵ while they maintained no separate priesthood

Religion of the
Germans.

¹ Tacit. (Annal., l. xiii., c. 56).

² See *postea* for the *Mund*.

³ Tacitus (Germania, viii., 18; An-

nales, i., 59); Cæsar (Bello Gallico, vi., 21).

⁴ Edda of Sæmund—the Voluspa.

⁵ Tacitus says the Germans had no

for their mysteries. The chiefs were the priests of the tribes, as the fathers were of the family,¹ who gathered omens from the flight of birds, from the entrails of beasts, from the dropping of twigs, from the neighing of milk-white horses, from the fall of breaking waters, and from the changes of the moon. They consulted sorcerers and sorceresses who traded with demons, whose weird incantations arrested the elements, and whose magic philtres charmed the senses and transformed men into brutes. Sacrifices of animals, and of human beings sometimes, mainly prisoners of war, were made in the midst of wild and noisy festivals.²

These doctrines and practices the German possessed, in common with other heathen, as he did that higher polytheism which peopled the universe with multitudes of supernatural beings. His fancy was only, perhaps, more prolific than that of others in giants and dwarfs, in dragons and monsters, in white elves and black elves, in mermen and mermaids, in neckar and trolls, in ghosts and goblins. Every locality had for him its tutelary genius, every individual his guardian or his malignant spirit. But his peculiar superstition is to be sought in that circle of divinities and beliefs which has taken the name of the Asa-faith. It is supposed, by some, to have been a late exotic, brought by the warrior-priest, Odhinn, from the East, to Scandinavia, whence the seeds were scattered over the whole Teutonic soil.³ Later researches, however, show that it was rather an indigenous product, inspired by northern nature, and speaking the inmost northern heart.⁴ Unlike the serene and beautiful myths which the lively Grecian fancy shaped beneath its fair blue skies, it was stormy and roaring, like the seas and woods of the north. It breathed of struggle and gloried in battle prowess. Chief among its gods were Odhinn, or Woden, the all-pervading, supreme ruler of gods and men, who received, in

temples; but our later information, principally from Scandinavian sources, would disprove this. See Ozanam (*Les Germains avant les Christianisme*, c. 2, Paris, 1847).

¹ Tacit., *Germ.*, c. 10. Compare Möser (*Osnabrückesche Geschichte*, b. I.; *Einleit.*, §§ 8, and 27, 28).

² Grimm, *Mythologie*, *passim*.

³ Mallet (*Northern Antiquities*, p. 87, ed. Bohn, Lond., 1847).

⁴ See Grimm (*Deutsche Mythologie*, *passim*), which throws much and often unexpected light upon the Germanic forms of the Asa-doctrine.

the shield-roofed Valhalla, the heroes slain in battle; Thor, or Donar, the god of thunder and of strength, who fought perpetually with the Trolls and the Jötuns; and Tyr, or Tio, the inspirer of wild courage, and the consecrator of glory and dominion.¹ Connected with these were divinities of a milder temperament; Baldur, the beautiful, who made all things light, and comforted the wretched; Frey, the bland and good, who ruled over rain and sunshine, delivered the bondsmen from their chains, and distributed among men fruitful seasons, peace, and riches; Bragi, of the flowing beard, god of poetry, whose wife, Induna, kept the apples of immortal life; and Freyja, the goddess of love and spring. Indeed, the wild play of the German's imagination had enlivened every realm of nature with gigantic and grotesque creations, while the profounder reaches of his thought had evolved a stupendous theory of nature, of man, and of deity. He saw around him mystic primeval realms of light and darkness—fire worlds and mist worlds—which enveloped the round disk of the earth. On the one side, a golden-roofed palace, brighter than the sun, opened its portals to the good; on the other stretched the Strand of the Dead, where the wick-ed waded through venom streams, tormented by the dragon; while from the one to the other reached the wonderful ash, Yggdrasil—tree of life—at whose roots, nourished by perpetual springs, the nornar sat dealing out the destinies of men.² Nor was this vast and teeming mythology without hope of the future. It told of the origin of the world, of the propagation of evil, and of the long struggle between light and darkness; but also of the final destruction of the present race of demigods and men, and of the glorious resurrection of the earth, ever green and fair, when Baldur the beautiful should return, when Nidhögg the dragon should slink into nothingness, bearing death on his wings, when there should be no more sorrow or trouble, and the Mighty One, "whose name is unutterable," should come to establish forevermore a holy and blessed peace.

¹ Tacitus imputes Roman names and functions to these divinities, so that it is quite impossible to recognize them in his disguises.

² Keyser (*Religion of the Northmen*, translated by Pennock, New York, 1854).

The social constitution of the Germans, like that of the early Greeks, Romans, and Kelts, was a barbaric aristocracy, with some differences, of course, in each case.¹ Agricultural and, for the most part, sedentary, the Germans had fixed habitations and an established order; yet they did not live in cities nor allow of contiguous settlements.² The family was the nucleus of the social aggregate, and included, besides the father, mother, children, and collateral relatives, the whole body of domestics, or slaves, and certain companions, or vassals, who were attached to it in a more or less dependent character.³ All these were held to be in the *mund*, or tutelage and authority of the chief of the family, and were bound together by the strictest ties of reciprocal protection and fidelity. As the chief had to answer for the offenses of his dependents to others, so they were obliged to defend his interests, to bear his burdens, and adopt his quarrels.⁴ Nor could any one separate from the connection, save in the most formal manner and before magistrates.⁵

The striking and peculiar feature of this family union⁶ was

¹ What Mr. Grote writes of the Homeric Society (*Hist. Greece*, vol. ii., c. 20) may be applied, to some extent, to the old Germans, as he shows by his numerous illustrative references to the barbaric codes. Niebuhr's account, also (*Lectures on Hist. Rome*, vol. i., pp. 70-74), of the Romans just before the time of Servius, furnishes many analogies. Curson (*Hist. Bretons*, vol. i., introd. 5) traces the most striking resemblances between the social and political institutions of the Kelts and the Germans (comp., also, my chap. ii.). I find similarities, too, in the early Aztec "civilization" as described by Prescott (*Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i., b. i., c. 2), although the author, comparing this with developed feudalism, says they are few and accidental. But the true point of comparison is with feudalism in its germs. Of course, as Mr. Prescott says, it subserves no useful historical purpose to push these resemblances too far; yet, ethnographically and morally, I can not but regard them as important. If the affinities of language bear upon

the question of the unity of the human races, so do the affinities of institutions. Besides, I value the latter, inasmuch as they seem to indicate some unitary law which presides over the formation and development of all societies.

² Tacit. (*Germ.*, c. 16).

³ See what I have said, in chapter second, of the Keltic Clan, and particularly Lehuërou (*Hist. des Institutions Mérovingiennes*, t. ii., cc. 1-11, ed. Paris, 1843).

⁴ *Mundium*, *mund*, mouth, or word, meaning that the father spoke for the rest, or was *responsable* for them, his hoerigen, or hearers. The Latin word *cliens*, from *cluere*, to hear or to obey, is given by Niebuhr (*Rom. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 165, note, Am. ed., 1844) as an analogue.

⁵ *Lex Salica*, tit. 61. Compare, also, *Lex Burgund.*, t. 39. *Lex Athelstani*, t. 2, and others, going to show the thorough solidarity of the family.

⁶ These family-unions are the *gentes cognationibusque* of Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.*, vi., 22), and the *familie et propinqui-*

The companions
or clansmen.

the system of companionship or fellowship, which required every youth, as soon as he had donned his spear in the assembly of the warriors, to attach himself to some chief as a follower. The chief, whose adherents were numerous, accordingly as his reputation for wealth, courage, and adventure invested him with an attractive renown, considered them "his ornaments in peace, his bulwark in war." The engagement was free and the duties reciprocal. The companions, living upon the estate and bounty of the chief, lent him, in return, the aid of their gallant services. Together they shared the hazards of the distant march, together joined in the revels of the bivouac, and together met the shock of battle—the companions striving for the praise of the chief, and the chief striving for victory. As the result of the joint emprise, the one received "the warlike steed, the bloody and conquering spear," which was the gauge of his fidelity; and the other the plunder which multiplied his wealth, and the fame which increased his retinue. A relation so voluntary and devoted gave mobility to the society, and, doubtless, blossomed into generous friendships, but it bore none the less the bitter fruits of incessant private and public wars. It was only by constant martial exercises that the spirit of the warriors could be kept alive and glowing. Frequent conquests and predatory expeditions were necessary to procure the means of subsisting such numerous and prodigal hosts. Without the recurrence of opportunities for the display of prowess, the warmth of their adherence might cool; and woe to the leader whose shield rusted, whose stores diminished, whose glory paled! His ascendancy would then be lost, and the swarms of fervid and intrepid youth who had flocked to his banners would transfer their enthusiasm to another whose horns flowed with ruddier juices, and whose standard flamed in the front of bloodier onsets.

The practical result of this organization of the martial band within the tribe must have been to gather the effective power of society in the hands of the most brave and adventurous. The peaceably disposed, individuals and families, would be easily subjected by the warlike. Thus, Tacitus

tates of Tacitus (Germ., c. 26); in various German dialects they were denom-

inated *sibscheaft*, *farsæ*, *farimauni*, etc. See Lehuërou, *ubi sup.*, p. 8.

tells us how the Cherusci, who desired to cultivate repose and justice, were forcibly subdued by the restless and aspiring Catti;¹ and we find, moreover, in the early German union but two fundamental divisions of class—the free and the unfree, or the lord and the dependent.² The marks of the freeman were: free birth, or descent from parents who were free, the possession of landed property, exemption from labor and legal penalties, and the right to bear arms and take part in public affairs. On the other hand, the marks of the unfree were: ignoble descent, exclusion from the assemblies and the armies, and liability to labor and to punishment. Between the free and the unfree a broad line of separation was drawn, both in laws and customs, and even in dress and personal appearance.³ The freeman who

¹ Germ., c. 36.

² These classes, however, were subdivided into many different grades of rank: the freemen into (1) the royal free, (2) the noble free, and (3) the common free; and the not-free into (1) freedmen, or emancipates, (2) serfs, or tenants of the glebe, and (3) slaves. All these are mentioned, directly or indirectly, in c. 25 of Tacitus, i. c., the "Regnantur," or those who reign: *reges*, kings; *nobiles*, nobles; *ingenui*, free-born men; *libertini*, freedmen; *coloni*, tenants or serfs; and *servi*, slaves. The same grades appear in all the law-books, and are marked in nearly all the old German dialects.

³ It is a much contested question whether there was a nobility among the primitive Germans. Von Savigny (Hist. Roman Law, vol. i., p. 172) alleges broadly that "the existence of a particular patrician order, and not as a class indefinitely distinguished by their wealth and respectability, can not be questioned." Yet they enjoyed, he goes on to say, no preponderance in the political or judicial systems. On the contrary, Pardessus (Loi Salique Dissert. Cinquième) argues that the nobility spoken of by Tacitus and the laws was a mere personal distinction. Compare Schmidt (Hist. des Allemands, t. i., p. 361); Hallam (Middle Ages, vol. i., p. 156). In my view, the true solution of the difficulty has been indicated by

Von Savigny, and is more fully given by Wirth (Geschichte des Deutschen, b. i.), namely, that freedom was in itself privilege: that all the freemen regarded themselves as nobles, and that there were two degrees of these nobles, the upper and the lower, between whom, even if we suppose their political *status* equal, there was a broad actual difference in dignity of descent, personal distinction, wealth, and influence. Lehuërou, I find (Hist. des Inst., t. ii., c. 7), remarks, *L'Ingénuité était un premier degré de noblesse*; and it would be hard to discover, I think, any criteria of noble rank in the later aristocracies not applicable to these German freemen. Indeed, if we may accept Wirth's etymologies, they were originally rather lords than freemen. "The word *freier*," he says, p. 69, "has its root in *frow*, whence the later *frir*, and, at last, *freier*; but *frow* means the ruler, the governor, the master. It was an error to translate it by the Latin *liber*, or free." He deduces *lite* also, which is the name of the serfs or bondsmen in the law-books, from *liuti*, whence *leute*, German for people. "In the most primitive times," he adds, "there were no *freier*, freemen, but *frowen*, rulers, over against whom stood the *liute*, or people," p. 67. He shows, moreover, that the freemen were few in number compared with the other classes, about one twenty-fifth. Grimm (Deuts. Rechtsalterthümer, theil. i., s.

intermarried in a lower order forfeited his caste, and the children fell into servitude; the free woman who married a slave must either kill her husband or become a slave;¹ while the slave who lifted his desires toward a free woman "plays with his life," says the law of the Langobards.² The slave, indeed, was not considered a person: he was a thing, or, at best, an animal, who might be bought, sold, tortured, maimed, or killed at the pleasure of his master.³ A German in the Roman army, who once clove the skull of his slave for some slight offense, on being called to account for it by the Romans, seemed utterly surprised that he could not do as he pleased with his own.⁴ Even if emancipated, the freedman was still in the *mund* of his master, and could not become a real freeman till the third generation.⁵ Nor was the *litus*, or serf, in the estimation of the Germans, a freeman:⁶ he was a *person*, perhaps, which the slave was not, having a low weregild or security set upon his life; but he had no *status* in the courts, the armies, or the assemblies. He was, in short, a tenant ascribed to the glebe, bound to a master in predial or agricultural services, and transferred also from one owner to another with the land. For small offenses against the law, like the slave, he atoned with his hide, and for great ones with his life.⁷ Moreover, he worked with his hands, which, in the mind of the German freeman, was an almost irretrievable disgrace.⁸

331) thinks one half of the population was free. As to dress, see Tacitus, 17 and 38.

¹ See Lex Ripuariorum, tit. 58, §§ 14, 15, 18; Lex Salica, tit. 14, § 11; tit. 27, § 3 of Pardessus's Fifth Text.

² Lex Langobardi, tit. 88, §§ 3, 7, 9.

³ Compare Tac., 25, with Lex Salica, tit. xi., § 1; Lex Bajuvar., tit. xv., § 6; Lex Frisionum Additio Sap., tit. ix., § 1; Lex Burgundionum, tit. xxxv., § 2; Lex Visigothorum, lib. iii., tit. 2, c. 2. In the last two laws the woman is ordered to be slain. Grimm shows that slavery was the hardest and cruellest the farther back we go in German antiquity, and that it was Christianity which meliorated the hard fate of the dependant (Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, theil. i., s. 302).

⁴ Agathias, Hist., l. ii., c. 7.

⁵ Posselt (Geschichte des Deutschen, b. i., s. 13, anmerk. f.); also the authorities cited by Lehuërou, t. ii., pp. 213, 214.

⁶ Pardessus (Loi Salique Dissert. 4^{ème}) contends that he was, on wholly insufficient grounds, as I think. He was not a slave, who could be bought and sold bodily; and he might possess movable property; but he was still of the servile order (unless he had been a freeman and reduced himself to servitude by his vices, and then he was considered *in servitium ingenuale ordine*, which was an exceptional case). Comp. Tacit., c. 25, and the passages from the barbaric laws collected by Pardessus.

⁷ Lex Frision., tit. xx., § 3.

⁸ See the contemptuous tone in

Most distinguished among the freemen were the royal or dy-
 The kings. nastic families, such as we shall meet hereafter in the
 Balthes among the Wisigoths, the Amals among the Ostrogoths,
 the Merowings among the Franks, the Aigilolfings among the
 Bavarians, etc., from which alone the sovereign kings might be
 chosen. The grounds of their eminence are hid under the hoar
 frosts of antiquity; probably they were the brilliant deeds of
 some heroic ancestor, but pride and credulity traced them
 to the gods.¹ Yet, beside the prerogative of furnishing the su-
 preme kings to the tribes, they enjoyed few advantages over
 the higher nobility.² Nor was this prerogative in itself im-
 portant. The right of the king was an inchoate right until
 he had been lifted on the shield by the warriors; and his pow-
 er depended even then (especially among the northern races)
 more upon his personal qualities, his eloquence in council,
 and his bravery in war, than upon his hereditary pretensions.³
 He presided among the wise men in the malls, and he might
 lead the armies to battle if he had the capacity; but other-
 wise the nobles chose a leader (*dux*, heretogh) from their own
 rank.⁴ A few presents made his public revenue. When it
 chanced that the king possessed courage, activity, eloquence,
 strength—the qualities that moved the barbaric heart—then the
 vague religious associations which clustered about his birth-
 right, combined with a hearty admiration of his actual merits,
 might swell his power to more formidable proportions; but if
 he were cowardly, unenterprising, or puny, the lusty warriors
 paid little heed to his divine extraction. In every case they
 were suspicious and resentful of the growth of an absolute sin-
 gle-headed dominion; for, themselves the main pillars and col-

which the *Lex Visigothorum*, lib. v., tit. vii., c. 17, speaks of men of the inferior order, *abjectæ conditionis* (Lindenberg., pp. 116, 117).

¹ See Jornandes (*De Reb. Get.*, c. 13) for the Goths, and the Saxon chronicle, *Heimskringla*, *Fredegher*, etc., for others.

² Any one invested with superior authority was called king among the northern races; there were upper-kings, under-kings, half-kings, sea-kings, net-kings, etc.; but the supreme chief of

tribes, I think, was in all cases taken from a particular family. See Thierry (*Lettres sur l'Hist. de France*, ix., pp. 116, 117).

³ Tacit., c. 11.

⁴ This had its analogy among our Indians, with whom the name and office of the sachem were hereditary in certain families; but the chief, or leader of the war-party, was elected by the body of warriors (*Morgan, League of the Iroquois*, p. 99).

umns of the social structure, they endured with impatience an ornamental capital.

In the political and territorial divisions of the Germans, they exhibited their characteristic tendency to aristocratic separation and independence. The house or family was the unit, out of which the subsequent or larger aggregations, such as the Tenth, or Tithing,¹ the Hundred, and the Gau (or canton), were formed as the multiples. Over the family the fathers or chiefs exercised supreme control, and these, when gathered into the general assembly, which was held at stated periods on the Mallberg, or hill of talk, appointed the authorities who administered justice in the courts of the gaus and hundreds. All the people might attend the malls, but the business was prepared and controlled by the chiefs or nobles.² If a proposal, however, displeased the multitude, they rejected it by murmurs; and if it were agreeable, they accepted it by clashing their javelins. As legislation is not greatly in vogue among primitive tribes, who consider their laws either the gifts of the gods or as immemorial and sacred prescriptions, the functions of these assemblies were mostly judicial. They appointed the judges of precincts—*grafen* for the gaus, and hundreders for the hundreds—who heard and determined causes, and prosecuted criminal offenses. Trials, both civil and criminal, were regular procedures conducted according to established rules.³ The proofs were either testimonial, by compurgators, who swore to the credibility and character of the litigants; or by witnesses, who deposed to actual facts; or else by ordeal, the boiling water, the red-hot iron, and the wager of battle. But, except in time of war, no corporeal restraints or pains were inflicted as the punishment of crimes,⁴ the body of the true freeman being as inviolable as his house or his honor. Only mulcts were im-

¹ The tithing, I presume, existed among all the German tribes, although I find the most decided traces of it in the Saxon and Anglo-Saxon monuments. In the outset, a tithing may have consisted of ten houses, or *ganz*, and the hundred of a hundred tithings, and so on; but Millar (*Historical View of the English Government*, vol. i., p. 180, *et seq.*) has shown that, in the nature of

things, this numerical relation could not be long maintained.

² Tacit., *Germ.*, c. 11.

³ See Pardessus (*Loi Salique*, Disserts. 9, 10, 11).

⁴ Tacitus says that traitors and deserters were hung, and dastards suffocated in the mud; but treachery and cowardice are the peculiar offenses of a state of war.

posed, a part of which, under the name of *fred* (or peace-money), went to the state, and another part, called the *weregild*, went to the injured party and his kinsmen.

This system of criminal legislation arose out of the practice ^{The *weregild*.} of blood-vengeance or private war (*fehde*, feud), which seems to be universal in inchoate and nascent societies.¹ Where the social bond is limited to the ties of family and tribe, or to such feeble political connections as may be involved in transient war-leagues, and there is no central authority to decree laws, nor yet magistrates to pursue crime, every individual wronged or offended takes upon himself his reprisals. Revenge, the synonym of justice, becomes his sacred duty, which is assumed by all his kindred and friends, and is transmitted by them to subsequent generations.² Families annihilate each other in the bitterness and fury of their hatred, and the feud, often extending from tribe to tribe, involves entire nations in its bloody retributions. Experience of these sad results suggests to the self-interest, as well as to the discernment of rulers, the necessity of legal interventions; but, as the pride of the turbulent clans will not brook the disgrace of stripes or of restraints, while there is no executive power to enforce them, the usual expedient of nearly all early societies has been the composition.³ At first this would be, doubtless, as among our Indians, a gift from the wrong-doer to the sufferer and his relatives, to appease their wrath and in confession of his error. The amount of it

¹ The Mosaic law recognizes its existence, Numbers, xxxv., 18-28; Deut., xvii., 8; Joshua, xx., 6. The composition, or *weregild*, however, was forbidden. Grote remarks it (*ποινή*) among Homer's Greeks (vol. ii., c. 20), and he quotes Loekiel (*Mission of the United Brethren*, pt. i., c. 2, p. 15) to show it in full play among the American Indians. See Bancroft (*Hist. U. S.*, vol. iii., pp. 275, 276). For the dreadful and destructive effects of the *lex talionis* among the ancient Germans, Grimm (*Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, v., 1, 2); and Schelgel (*Comment. de Cod. Grægis*). Illustrations of the habit in more recent times may be seen in what Gregorovius relates of the vendet-

ta in his (*Wanderings in Corsica*, c. xi., p. 158, Phil., 1855).

² Tacit., Germ., xii., 21.

³ See the remarks and notes of Grote (l. ii., c. 20), also the elaborate discussion of the origin, nature, and progress of the *weregild* in De Petigny (*Études Mérovingiennes*, t. iii., c. 2). The word *weregild* the latter derives from *ver*, man, and *geld*, worth or value, indicating that it measured the worth of a man who had been killed. Others write the term *wehrgeld*, and derive it from *wehr*, defense or protection, and *geld*, money, Guizot (*Essais*, iv., c. 2); cf. Müser (*Osabrückische Geschichte*, b. i., s. 25).

would be voluntary or conventional, until, in process of time, a regular tariff of satisfactions might grow up, adapted to every case of offense and to every variety of circumstance under which it should be committed. Such, at least, was the system of the weregild among the Germanic tribes, in the maturer forms of it preserved in the barbaric codes. Comprising in its provisions all the law-worthy classes, it may be regarded as a universal and permanent arbitration scheme, which prescribed pecuniary equivalents for every crime, and graduated them to the rank of the offender and the offended, and to the sex and official position of either, as well as to the nature and circumstances of the offense. The life of the freeman was assumed as the standard or medium rate of the scale, and then the distributions were varied in the eight following degrees:

1st. According to the class of the injured party, the noble being valued twice or three times as much as the simple freeman, and the freeman twice as much as the *lité*, or tenant.

2d. According to the rank of the offender, the noble paying more than the freeman, and the freeman more than the *lité*.

3d. According to the sex of the person injured or offending, woman receiving and paying more than man, and the pregnant woman more than the maiden.

4th. According to the value of the injured object, whether it were the honor, the liberty, the person, or the property of the sufferer, every limb and member, every species of goods and chattels having its specific and fixed value.

5th. According to the official relations of the sufferer, priests, ambassadors, hostages, guests, the men of the army in the time of war, etc., having a double, and often treble estimation because of their character.

6th. According to the intention of the offender, i. e., whether the offense were committed of malice, or by accident, or heedlessness.

7th. According to the mode of the injury, i. e., whether it was done with an iron weapon or billet of wood, etc.; and,

8th. According to the place of the crime, i. e., whether in a man's house, on holy ground, in the public assembly, or on the high road.¹

¹ Menzel (Geschichte der Deutsch., b. i., theil. i., § 15). We shall see, also,

The scheme of the weregild was an advance upon the anarchical and sanguinary practice of private vengeance, because it replaced spasmodic force by a regular procedure. There was a moral element in it also, inasmuch as it implied the voluntary consent of parties to a peaceful adjustment of their disputes; but it gave fixity and permanence to the distinctions of class, and consecrated, by all the sanctions that reside in law, the oppressive ascendancy of the nobles.¹ None but the powerful and the opulent were able, in process of time, to meet the exorbitant demands of the were; and the consequence was, that the common freemen were either expelled as outcasts from their tribes, or fell into the more complete subjection of the chiefs.

If this warlike constitution of the German society was disastrous to the freedom of many of its members, it found a providential justification in the strength which enabled it to resist the encroachments of all-subduing, all-corrupting Rome. It had been an early aim of the empire to convert Germany, as it had already converted Spain and Gaul, into a tributary province. During the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius (from B.C. 20 to A.D. 9), the Roman generals swept its frontiers with fire and sword.² But the strenuous and noble resistance of the great leader of the Cherusks (Hermann, or Arminius) arrested the devouring flight of the eagles, and, by the terrible massacre of the legions of Varus, in the Teutoberg forest, sent a thrill of dismay to the heart of the imperial palace.³ In vain Germanicus avenged the murder of his countrymen, and drew the images of the captive streams and the weeping sons and daughters of the north in triumph through the mocking streets of the capital. Rome did not renew her wars upon the Rhine and the Elbe, while the great historian of her last exploits confesses, as he mournfully reviews the events of the past, and casts a sharp, perturbed glance into the future, that the

that after the settlement of the barbarians within the empire a great distinction was made between the Germans and the Romans.

¹ This is clearly established and strongly put by Wirth, who, by means of a labored investigation of the comparative value of the *solidus* (the money standard of the Codes) in early

times, proves that the practical effect of the composition was to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. See his chapters iv. and v.

² Velleius Paterculus, l. ii., 95, 97; Florus, iv., 12; Dio. Cass., l. iv., c. 1.

³ Dio. Cass., lvi., 18; Suetonius in Octav., cc. 23, 49.

Germans were men who might be triumphed over, but never vanquished.¹

Rome had, however, other methods of conquest than by arms, and her traffic, her bribes, her intrigues, and the seductions of her friendship and favor often accomplished more than the sword of her legions. A vigorous and splendid civilization will, by the simple fact of its contiguity, rapidly assimilate the rude surrounding tribes. The Germans were, moreover, peculiarly susceptible to the charms of civilized life, and adopted, with eagerness, its ideas and its manners.² Some were bought by Roman gold, and some were influenced by their education in the Roman schools and Roman armies; but not a few preferred, from genuine conviction, the stable and magnificent achievements of an orderly state to the precarious freedom and violence of their native rudeness.³ A party, of Romanizing tendencies, soon sprang up in every tribe; and the scene, which Tacitus has so touchingly described, of the interview between Hermann and his brother Flavius, wherein the latter, already in the service of Rome, pleads for the adoption of Roman culture and greatness, and the other, a leader of his race, asserts the claims of country, of kindred, of ancestral freedom, and of the domestic gods, till the wrangle advances from invective and menace to open battle, may be regarded as typical of the divisions of the whole Germanic race.⁴ Nor did Rome fail to avail herself of the feuds to which they gave rise, in acquiring and maintaining an extensive sway over the tribes.⁵ Stubborn revolts, like those of the Batavians, under Civilis, only served to display the impotent restlessness of her allies, and the security of her dominion.⁶ The boldest and bravest among them were often compelled to take their kings from the hands of the emperors, and their laws from the mouths of the jurisconsults.⁷

From the time of Vespasian to that of Marcus Aurelius, or

¹ Tacit., Ann., l. ii., c. 88, et Germ., c. 37.

² See the histories of Merobod, Dezobél, Athanarik, Ataulf, and others, in Tacitus, Zosimus, Orosius, Jornandes, and others.

³ Tacit., Germ., cc. 29, 42.

⁴ Annal., l. ii., cc. 9, 10.

⁵ Tacit., Ann., l. ii., cc. 45, 62, 63; compare, also, l. xi., c. 14; xii., 29; xiii., 55.

⁶ Tacit., Hist., l. iv., *passim*.

⁷ Tacit., Ann., l. xi., c. 16; Dio Cass., lxxvii., 5.

The acme and fall of the Roman power in Germany, A.D. 69-161. for nearly a century, the relations of Rome and Germany were comparatively undisturbed. History is silent as to the extent of the Roman acquisitions, although mute memorials, still dug from the soil of Saxony, Lusatia, and Silesia, coins and vases, whose legends speak of unrecorded marches and triumphs, and the remains of fortresses and walls, over which the forests have since grown, would seem to indicate an extensive Roman occupancy;¹ but we know of Roman colonies in the interior of Germany;² the primitive inhabitants were not subdued, as the Gauls had been, nor was their speech amalgamated nor their spirit absorbed by the invader. On the other hand, after two hundred years of dictation and partial rule, such was the undiminished vigor of the German, that he began to retort upon the empire the cruel strokes with which his own home had been visited. The reign of the good Marcus was a long and desperate struggle against such inroads. It seemed, indeed, as if the whole of Germany were set in motion by some powerful and mysterious impulse from the north. The Chauci, or Hauken, broke over the Rhine into Belgica; the Catti (Hassi, Hessians) swarmed into Sequania and Rhætia; the Marcomanni and the Quadi marched upon Italy; while Dacia, so laboriously conquered by Trajan, was completely submerged by Alans, Goths, and Vandals.³ Rome, barely successful in repulsing the invaders by arms, lost the moral influence of the victory. Her inherent weakness was unveiled, and the Germans learned, what they had never before seen so well, that the destinies of the future depended upon their domestic unity.

Accordingly, we find them, during the disastrous period which followed the advent of Commodus (A.D. 180-250), dreading no longer the terrors of the Roman arms, but demanding Roman tribute as the price of their forbearance, even while they brooded, in the secret of their fastnesses, over gigantic schemes of confederation and conquest.

¹ Reichard (*Germanien unter den Römern*, ss. 282, 384); Mone (*Urgeschichte des Bodischen Land*, b. i., s. 251).

² Cologne, Trèves, Zanten, Bâle, Bottenburg, Salzburg, and Wels, per-

haps Passau and Regensburg, were the chief Roman colonies in Germany, and these were all on the frontiers.

³ Spart. in *Did. Julian*, 60; *Capitolin*. in *M. Anton.*, 25-32; *Dio.*, lxxi., 3; see, also, *Eutropius*, viii., 12, 13.

When they bound more prominently into history, in the middle of the third century, a signal and stupendous change is to be noted. The several names by which the tribes were known to Tacitus have almost disappeared: we hear no more of the Bructeri, the Catti, the Marcomanni, and the Quadi; but, in their stead, of Saxons, Franks, Alemans, and Goths, which are the names of permanent leagues and vast confederations.¹ The GOTHs, if we are to believe the story of their Scandinavian origin, must have put behind them the whole length of the European continent, for they were found in the neighborhood of the Black Sea, where, divided by the Dniester into the Wisigoths and the Ostrogoths, and drawing in their train the Victofals, the Tafals, and the Gepids, they were alike formidable in numbers and enterprise.² The SAXONS, grown from a small tribe in the Kymric peninsula to a cluster of tribes³—Hauken, Kerusks, and Angles—extended from the mouths of the Elbe to those of the Weser, and, skimming the seas in their light wicker keels, were the terror of the northern coasts.⁴ On the Lower Rhine, a still more powerful confederacy, called the FRANKEN, or freemen,⁵ was formed out of the valorous races which, as Tencteri, Usipeti, Camavi, Catti, Bructeri, and Angri-vares, had so long maintained both peaceful and warlike relations with Rome.⁶ And the ancient Suevi, already composed of many border tribes, but now absorbing others, take the name of ALEMANS, or all-men, and muster, like the front-guard of barbarism, in the very focus of danger, which is also a two-sided citadel of attack, between the head-waters of the Danube and

¹ The origin of these confederations is one of the disputed questions of history; some writers ascribe them to great northern invasions, which compelled a union on the part of the invaded tribes; but it seems to me that there was something more of deliberate purpose in them, not merely of defense, but of aggression upon the empire. The remarkable and complex league, known as that of the Five Nations, among our Iroquois Indians, was prompted by the double motive of internal strength and external security. Morgan (*League of the Iroquois*, b. i., c. 1, p. 7).

² On the Goths, see Gibbon (vol. i.,

c. 10). He fully adopts the theory of their Scandinavian origin.

³ Isidor. *Hispal.*, in *Gloss.*, 24.

⁴ The Saxones are named by Ptolemy for the first time about 180 A.D., but they were not then important.

⁵ Of the meaning of the name hereafter.

⁶ Their area extended from the Main, along the right bank of the Rhine, to Lake Flevo. They first appear as Franks, A.D. 242, in the refrain of a song sung by Aurelian's soldiers:

"Mille Francos, mille Sarmatas semel occidimus,
Mille, mille, mille, Persas quartimus."—*Voplacus in Aurel.*

the Rhine.¹ These, with the BURGUNDS on the Elbe, were the greater leagues, but there were others of less note.

Thus compacted and marshaled along the whole line of the Roman frontier, these nations did not want either occasions or motives for aggression. Conquest, with its incidents and its results, is ever a tempting excitement to the barren and inactive life of the untutored man. There is always, moreover, a restless mobility in his societies, arising partly from the necessities of individuals who disdain labor, and yet covet its fruits, and partly from the exigencies of its aristocratic constitution, compelling it to provide for the younger branches of families, which drives it into wild adventures and forays; while often accidental causes—a famine, an earthquake, great wars, or any sudden displacement of people—start migrations and commotions, which propagate themselves through various intermediate tribes, from the centre of a continent to its most distant extremities.² But the German, in his relations to the empire, was moved and provoked by special influences of history and position. He had many passions to be gratified, and many revenges to satiate. The fair, the rich, the luxurious provinces of the south tempted alike his irrepressible spirit of adventure, his cupidity, his ambition, and his vengeance. There, sunnier climates ripened the harvests of more generous fields; there, sumptuous and stately cities garnered the ill-defended treasures of ten centuries of conquest and of labor; there, too, were the seats of that mysterious political power which had commanded the universal movements of the globe for so many years; and there still dwelt the races which had left the deepest traces of unrequited wrongs upon his memory—of burning cabins, wasted flocks, and captive children—of long years of haughty dictation—of innumerable encounters, and a yet undecided victory. Transient and desultory assaults, often repulsed, and as often renewed, kept alive the flame of hatred, while they sharpened the appetite for plunder. At length, in those turbulent years of shame and calam-

¹ The meaning usually assigned to *Allemen*, or *Aleman*, is, composed of all sorts of men; but it is more in accordance with barbaric pride and arro-

gance to suppose that it means all men, or entirely men.

² See Grote (*Hist. Greece*, vol. iii.) on the various movements of the Scythians and Kimmerians.

ity which followed the death of Decius (A.D. 251), the opportunity of the barbarians came. Like a long-pent storm, they broke on all sides over the empire: the Franks, crossing the Rhine, traversing the whole length of Gaul, scaling the almost inaccessible heights of the Pyrenees, desolating the fair capital of Spain, and transporting their ravages to the astonished shores of Africa; the Alemanni, leaping the barriers of the Alps, descending upon the plains of Lombardy, and waving their victorious banners almost in sight of the capital; and the Goths, quitting their settlements in the Ukraine to make themselves masters of the coasts of the Euxine; to desolate the fertile plains of Asia Minor, and the shores made immortal by the genius of Homer; to ransack the beautiful islands of the Ægean; and to burn the cities and temples of Greece, still filled, we may suppose, with the matchless sculptures and the unfaded pictures of the great Athenian masters.¹

It was the arduous but vain endeavor of the noble line of Il-
Impotence of
the Roman
resistance.
lyrian emperors to make head against this rising and angry deluge. Claudius checked the Goths (A.D. 269); Aurelian punished the Alemans (A.D. 270); Probus drove the Franks and Burgunds, through streams of blood, back to their native jungles;² but the more they smote, the more the barbarians multiplied. When Diocletian divided the imperial power with Maximilian in order to render resistance doubly effective, the hydra baffled as well the brain of Jove as the club of Hercules.

The emperors were impotent, because, while they were try-
The Germans
in the Roman
armies.
ing to expel the Germans on one hand, both their necessities and their policy compelled them to adopt the Germans on the other; for, such was the degeneracy of the Roman people, such the weakness of the Roman state, that it was by barbaric arms chiefly that the barbarians could be encountered.³ The old military exclusiveness of the Republic, which had confined the legions to citizens, was gradually relaxed under the Empire, until the ranks were filled, first by provincials,

¹ Gibbon (Dec. and Fall, vol. i., c. Epit., 2; Vopiscus in Aurel., 36-39; 10); Dixerippus, Excerpta, 8; Orosius, in Prob., 13-15.

² Zonar., l. xii., c. 24; Aurel. Vict.,

³ This view is elaborately presented by De Petigny (Études Mérovingienne, t. i., c. 2).

and then by foreigners. During the wars of the usurpers, their superior vigor and endurance, together with their exemption from party sympathies, gave a special value to the services of the Germans. They were eagerly sought by the rival factions, and roundly paid as auxiliaries. At the close of the wars, moreover, they were recompensed, in accordance with ancient *Lætic colonies*, practice, by gifts of land along the frontiers and in the interior, on which they settled as colonists,¹ and where they lived with their families under their own leaders and laws. Recruited from time to time by other soldiers, or by prisoners taken in war, or by whole tribes, which, expelled by their enemies, received the succor of the Romans, these settlements often grew into populous villages; but while their obedience was given nominally to the empire, their feelings were in reality with its invaders. In Gaul alone, for instance, there were establishments of German *læti* at Chartres, of Batavian at Constance and Bayeux, of Suevan at Mans and in Auvergne, of Frankish at Rennes, of Sarmatian and Taifalian at Poitiers, at Paris, at Amiens, Rheims, Langres, Autun, Valence, and of others elsewhere.² If, in the outset, they were esteemed mere subjects of the empire, they grew in power and insolence as they grew in numbers; and they asserted for themselves, under the name of friends and allies, the privileges of masters. Furnishing troops and officers to the army, they also furnished leaders and dictated terms to the court. From the time of Valerian to that of Theodosius, the records teem with the names of Germans who had been advanced to the highest military and civic commands. Long before any German nation had won by its sword a foot of ground within the empire, German chiefs participated in the control of the armies, in the intrigues of administration, and in the revolutions which made and unmade emperors. It was a chief of the Herules who was consul under Gallienus; it was a king of the Alemans who proclaimed Constantine Augustus; the captain of the guards and the grand equerry of Constantius were Germans; the count of the two

¹ They were called *Læti*, and the colonies *lætic colonies*, probably from the German word *leude*, people, because they were regarded as the people or men of the empire. Comp. Zosimus, Hist.,

ii.; Code Theodos., l. xiii., tit. ii., lex 9; Amm. Marcell., xvi., l.

² De Petigny, Institut. Méroving., t. i., p. 210.

Germanies, under Julian, was a Frank, as the master of the militia in Gaul under Jovian was; while, in later periods, the palaces and the camps swarmed with German officials of the most distinguished rank.

These were silent invasions of the empire, or, rather, infiltrations, which preceded the more noisy and armed invasions. But the advances of the German influence were still more efficiently aided by a policy which Rome had long practiced, of adopting as federates and allies the nations which she could not repulse as enemies. From the mouth of the Rhine to the mouth of the Danube, she had gradually gathered and established, by treaties, by grants, by gifts and amnesties, bands of barbaric defenders, as she thought, but who might at any time become, as they often did become, assailants. Under a merely formal recognition of the supremacy of the empire, they retained their own laws and magistrates, and formed a state within the state. Many of them were true friends, many more were secret foes; but the best of them could be provoked into animosity, as the best of them also aspired to a larger control of the affairs of the mistress of the world. Conscious of their indispensable importance to the Roman rulers, they assumed the air and the tone of dictators; and if, in the interests of the empire, they sometimes repulsed the inroads of their countrymen, they also more frequently opened the way to destructive irruptions.

At last those irruptions came (A.D. 374-5), and Rome found that her principal defenders were the brothers and countrymen of the enemy. *Quis custodes custodiat?* The swift Scythian tribes, unchained from the Ourals like a torrent, stirred the barbaric seas to their depths; the waves of population chased each other with tempestuous fury; and, when they broke maddening over the feeble barriers of the empire, what was there to stay the desolating tides but other seas liable to be lashed by the kindred element into the same frothy agitation and uproar?

CHAPTER X.

THE GREAT INVASIONS.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GERMAN MONARCHIES.—
DOWNFALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

THE era that we now approach was marked by the most extraordinary migrations and changes among the people of Europe recorded in history. Involving a struggle for the sceptre of the world between the southern races, which had always possessed it, and the new races of the north, which were about to succeed to their power, they are particularly interesting to us, because, in the course of them, Gaul was finally separated from its dependence upon Rome, the Western Empire itself perished in the midst of frightful and protracted spasms, and a new order—the germ of the modern European society—grew up out of its ruins.¹

Theodosius, with whom our narrative parted at the close of the seventh chapter,² left behind him two incompetent heirs, Arcadius, in the seventeenth, and Honorius, in the eleventh year of his age; and to these he assigned, respectively, the government of the eastern and western provinces. The former had for his mentor an astute and scheming Gaul, named Rufinus, who was master of the offices; and the latter, a valiant and ambitious Vandal, named Stilicho, who was master of the militia.³ Between the civilian and the soldier, reciprocally distrustful of each other, the empires were soon involved in pernicious and fatal jealousies. Neither of them scrupled to employ barbaric assistance in the prosecution of his wars and intrigues. Stilicho, a barbarian himself, and a more active, if not more sagacious manager than his rival, by concluding a convenient treaty of peace and defense with the Franks and Alemans on the borders of the Rhine, made the

Reign of Honorius in the West,
A.D. 395-423.

¹ In my brief outline of the incidents of this period (A.D. 395-476) I shall follow De Petigny (*Études Méroving.*, tt. i., ii., ed. Paris, 1851), who himself follows, with some corrections, Dubos

(*Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Française*).

² See *ante*, pp. 182-3.

³ Zosimus, iv., v.

West secure for a time, and left himself free to pursue his designs against the East (A.D. 496). But he soon encountered in that field a far more formidable adversary than the cunning prime minister of Arcadius.

This was Alarik, the king of those Visigoths whom Theodosius, for their services in overthrowing Arbogast and Eugenius,¹ had lately settled in Moesia and Thrace as federates of the empire. A scion of the royal race of the Baltes—brave, energetic, and noble—Alarik had combined the scattered multitudes of his countrymen under a single and imperious rule.² Dissatisfied, however, with the tardy acknowledgment of his merits by the descendant of the great emperor, he had broken into an open revolt against the Eastern court. For the greater part of a year he avenged his griefs upon the fair province of Greece. It was supposed that Rufinus, for purposes of his own, had stimulated this vengeance, and Stilicho, assuming to be in some sort the guardian of both empires, undertook the chastisement of the double enemy.³ He procured the murder of Rufinus by the hands of Gainas, a chief of the allied Ostrogoths, and then drove the forces of Alarik, with some slaughter, into the mountain passes of Epirus. Eutropius, the minister who succeeded Rufinus, having more to fear from Stilicho than from Alarik, conferred the supreme military command of the præfecture of Illyria, which was in dispute between the empires, upon the latter, who, thus encouraged, made open war upon the domains of Honorius (A.D. 400–402).⁴ For three years he assailed them with varying successes, till the bloody battle of Pollentia (A.D. 403) at length put a doubtful termination to the contest.⁵ Honorius, who had been compelled, in the course of it, to remove his court to Ravenna, amid the marshes of the Adriatic,⁶ repaired to Rome to celebrate his triumph, but his victorious general adopted another policy. Looking to the possible advent of his

¹ Cassiodor. (Hist., l. xi., c. 9).

² Jornandes (De Rebus Geticis, c. xxxix.).

³ Claudian (De Bell. Get., *pass.*), who was, however, a mere instrument of Stilicho, and a prejudiced witness.

⁴ Zosimus, l. v., *passim*.

⁵ Claudian, of course (De Reb. Get., v., 580, *et seqq.*), claims the victory for Stilicho, but Orosius, Jornandes, and Cassiodorus rather give it to the Goths.

⁶ Procopius (De Bell. Vandal., l. i., c. 2).

son Eucher, by marriage with the daughter of Honorius, to the Western throne, and not unwilling to add the throne of the East to this prospective dominion, he deemed it prudent to conciliate and to conspire with his recent adversary. He confirmed Alarik, therefore, in the military rule of Illyria, granted him an annuity of four thousand pounds of gold, and persuaded him to an assault upon the Eastern empire.¹ Thus the East and the West alternately used the barbarians to despoil each other.

These treacherous and fatal negotiations occurred precisely at a time when unparalleled ferments were heaving upon the tribes of central Europe, and driving one upon another in precipitous masses. Already one formidable horde, comprising more than two hundred thousand warriors, Sarmatians, Gepids, Goths, and Alans,² and led by a pitiless chief named Radaghast,³ had pushed across the Noric Alps, down upon the plains of the Adige. They forded the Po, and thriddled the Apennines, ravaging all before them, till they reached the walls of the fair and populous city of Florence. Stilicho, gathering an army rapidly from the allies of Italy and of Gaul, marched to the heights of Fiesole, gradually surrounded the foe, cut off his supplies, and reduced him, with the aid of pestilence and famine, to a condition which rendered victory easy. The vast swarm, compared by contemporaries to that of the ancient Kymri and Teutones, was dispersed or captured, and the glory of the exploit raised the fame of the gallant master of the militia to a level with that of the invincible Marius.

But he had stripped Gaul of troops in the process, and, while Radaghast was making his way into Italy, other hordes, more numerous and savage, if that were possible—Suevi, Vandals, and Alans—took advantage of the opportunity to assault the Gallic frontiers. Stopped for a moment on the banks of the Upper Rhine by the confederate Franks and Alemans, whom Stilicho had left to guard the fords, they soon overpowered all resistance, drew the

Invasion of Gaul
by the Suevi and
Vandals, A.D.
466-7.

¹ Zosim. (Hist., l. vi., cc. 26-29)

² Some call him a Scythian, others

³ Orosius, vii.; Zosimus, v., 26; a Goth.

Olympiodorus apud Photium.

resistants themselves into the vortex which they created, and then, on the last day of December of the year 406, broke, like a sullen winter-storm, upon Gaul.¹ The cities of the west, Mentz, Rheims, Auxerre, were sacked and burned; Arras, Amiens, Spire, and Strasburg fell into their hands; while Cologne and Trèves only escaped through a vigorous defense of the loetic Franks. Crossing the Loire, at length, between Orleans and Nevers, they devastated the Lyonnese, Aquitain, the Narbonnese, and Novempopulania, stopping alone at the foot of the frowning Pyrenees.² They would have surmounted the summits of those grand hills in the depth of winter but that the hardy Basques, who were used to the region, cooled their hot phrensy in the snow-beds of the mountains.

The letter of Jerome, which describes the disasters of Gaul, closes with a bitter reproach of Stilicho, "that barbarian travestied into a Roman," to whose projects against the East, the withdrawal of the troops which might have guarded the provinces, was imputed. His barbaric origin and alliances bred suspicions of his fidelity in the popular mind. He was accused not only of a willful and persistent indifference to the sufferings of Gaul, but of a secret collusion with the invaders. The general feeling against him and his barbarians inflamed itself into a virulent hatred, and an insurrection of the legions broke out at Pavia, in which the barbaric chiefs of the army, with their families, were furiously murdered; the emperor himself was forced to order the arrest and execution of his favorite; the son of Stilicho was imprisoned and assassinated; his wife, Serena, a niece of Theodosius, cruelly strangled; and his daughter, though married to the emperor, compelled to an ignominious divorce. The Christians also sympathized in the sedition; heretics and pagans were banished from the public offices, their women and children were assailed by mobs, and all the higher commands were given exclusively to Romans and to Christians.³

¹ Zosim., vi., 8; Procop. (*De Bell. Vand.*, i., 8); Renatus Frigeridus apud Greg. Turon., ii., 9; Chron. Prosperi, ad Ann.

² St. Hieron. (*Epist. ad Geruntia*, 91); Orosius, l. vii., c. 27.

³ Zosim., v., 34; Oros., vii., 38. But Sozomen (*Ecc. Hist.*, ix., 4) ascribes this vengeance chiefly to the suspicion that Stilicho was plotting for the succession of his son Eucher to the throne by conciliating the pagan party.

In the mean time, Gaul found a defender among the distant legions of Britain, which, sympathizing in her terrible sufferings, and indignant at the criminal delays of Honorius and Stilicho, raised an obscure soldier, named Constantine, to the purple. They seemed to have had no other motive in the choice of this leader than his name, which recalled that of the great Christian emperor. At once crossing the Channel, and assuring himself of the friendly disposition of the allied Franks of Belgica, he established an independent government at Arles.¹ Joyfully welcomed by the Gauls, who were angry at the desertion of their interests by the imperial functionaries, he was, nevertheless, not so readily accepted in the Spanish part of the præfecture, where the friends and relatives of the family of Theodosius still exercised a powerful influence. Constantine, therefore, commissioned his son, and a favorite lieutenant, Gerontius, to reduce Spain to subjection (408).² A feeble resistance on the part of two great proprietors, Didymus and Valerianus, connections of the emperor, and officers of the provincial government, was easily overcome, and the whole of Spain made to acknowledge the usurper.³ Proceeding to consolidate his power, he renewed the treaties with the Ripuarian Franks, and with other tribes of friendly Germans, and considered plans for the settlement or the expulsion of the Vandals. With the latter, indeed, he had several encounters more or less bloody. But nowhere was any serious obstruction offered him by the imperialists. Stilicho, intent upon his Eastern and other ambitious projects, was doubtless willing that the insurgents and the invaders should waste each other in mutual wars. Once, indeed, to maintain a show of authority, he sent a Wisigothic mercenary, named Sarus, to besiege Constantine in Valence, but without serious results.⁴

A more damaging opposition arose in Spain, where Gerontius, the friend and subordinate of Constantine, piqued by personal grievances, revolted against the usurper, and raised a foolish tool, named Maximus, to the purple. This

¹ Trèves had been the usual seat of the præfecture, but that place having been sacked by the Franks so often, the offices were in A.D. 402 removed to

Arles. Fauriel (t. i., p. 54, who quotes Edict. Honorii, *ann.* 418).

² Zosim., vi., 8.

³ Oros., vii., 40.

⁴ Zosim., vi., 2.

The usurpation
of Constantine,
A.D. 407-411.

Revolt of
Maximus.

compelled him to provide for his own defense in a new quarter, and to break off certain friendly negotiations which he had opened with the court.¹ But it had also, in the end, a beneficial effect, for it became a means of relieving him of his troublesome neighbors, the Vandals. Those savage bands, who had wandered for three years about the south of Gaul, removing their camps from place to place, as the exigencies of subsistence and the defect of plunder required, either took advantage of the troubles created by Gerontius, or were instigated by Constantine, to pass over into Spain, the country of their original destination. Whatever their motives, they wrought a havoc there which surpassed in atrocity any of their doings in Gaul.² The greater part of the beautiful peninsula, from the foot of the Pyrenees to the Straits of Cadiz, was overrun and pillaged, and then divided among them (A.D. 411), the Suevi taking Gallicia, the Alaps Lusitania, and the Vandals Betica, since named from them Andalusia (Vandalusia).³ They formally inaugurated three kingdoms, which were the first that had yet been established by force within the limits of the empire. All that remained to Rome was an inconsiderable part of the country doubtfully held by Gerontius and his puppet emperor, and this was warred upon by Constantine.

Rome did not intervene either against the usurpers or the barbarians, because she was absorbed by more menacing hostilities at home. Through the execution of Stilicho, the projected enterprise against the East had been broken off, and Alarik disappointed. He had, moreover, been offended by the late truculent reaction against the foreigners, who, driven from the regular armies, flocked to his rallying standard. Claiming from Honorius the recompenses promised by Stilicho, and the renewal of a friendly and equal alliance,⁴ the infatuated court at Ravenna rejected his claims with disdain. Alarik, not in a mood to be trifled with, marched his forces through Italy, and sat them down in front of the very gates of Rome.⁵ Amid all the convulsions of foreign and do-

Alarik invades Italy, A.D. 409-410.

¹ Greg. Turon., ii., 9; Sozom., ix., 18.

² Idatius, Chron.

³ Isidor., Hist. Vandal.; and Oros., vii., 40.

⁴ Zosim., i. v., c. 37; Oros., i. vii., c. 27.

⁵ Zosim., i. v., c. 37.

mestic war, that sacred metropolis had remained inviolable: for more than three hundred years, or since the days of Otho and Vitellius, the sound of hostile arms had not been heard in her streets;¹ for more than six hundred years, or since the days of Hannibal, no beleaguering army had threatened her walls; and her supercilious inhabitants beheld now, with mingled mockery and surprise, the shaggy "wolves of the Goth" encircling her eternal hills. But famine soon depleted their pride, the revolt of forty thousand slaves soon sapped their confidence. Rome capitulated, and paid an enormous ransom to its conquerors.² Alarik then withdrew into winter quarters in Tuscany, where he renewed the negotiations for peace with Ravenna. Nothing could have been more moderate than his demands;³ nothing more haughty or obstinate than the official rejection of them. In the end, the Gothic chief was driven a second time to a siege of Rome; even a third time was he driven to it, when, in his just exasperation at the folly and perfidy of the government, he gave the city over to the sword and fire (August, 410).⁴

Honorius and his ministers were mollified in their arrogant opposition to the barbarians by the humiliations of the great city; and when Alarik died, which was in the course of the same year, they negotiated with his successor and brother-in-law, Ataulf,⁵ on more favorable terms. Ataulf, less of a warrior than Alarik, cherished a yet more decided inclination than he for the arts of civilized life:⁶ he was cultivated, gentle, and generous; and, what had an important bearing upon public events, passionately in love with Placidia, the daughter of Theodosius, and half-sister of Ho-

Ataulf succeeds
Alarik. Recon-
ciliation with the
empire, A. D.
411.

¹ Faurler, t. i., c. 1.

² It consisted of 5000 pounds of gold, 30,000 of silver, 4000 tunics of silk, 3000 pieces of fine scarlet cloth, and 3000 pounds of pepper, the pepper being then worth almost as much as the gold. Zosim. (loc. cit.).

³ Orosius (l. vii., c. 27) and others agree in praising the Goth's ardent desire for peace, and the moderation of his demands, which were simply a place for his people.

⁴ Even in this third siege, Alarik and

his followers, while punishing the Romans dreadfully, imposed restraint upon themselves. The churches and sacred vessels were respected, and the worst outrages perpetrated were against the commands of the leader. Augustin (*De Civitate Dei*, l. i., cc. 1-6).

⁵ This is the Adolphus of Gibbon. In the Gothic it was probably *Attahjolf*. See note to Bohn's edition of Gibbon, vol. iii., p. 428.

⁶ See the remarkable speech given in Orosius, l. viii., c. 43.

norius, who had been taken as a captive in one of the sieges of Rome. He was eager, therefore, to accommodate himself and his people to the wishes of Honorius. Nor were there wanting to Honorius other motives than his fears for concluding a treaty with the Goths. As yet, no attempt to recover his authority in Gaul, and the other disaffected regions beyond the Alps, had been made, but that attempt was about to be made. A brave Roman leader, Constantius, who had served under Theodosius, and was now master of the militia of Italy, was deputed into Gaul, to chase away the usurpers and to conciliate the adverse sentiments of the people. The forces of Gerontius, engaged in besieging Constantine at Arles, he rapidly annihilated, and Constantine himself soon after, though vigorously supported by the auxiliary Franks of Belgica, was also made to succumb.¹ The one killed himself, and the head of the other was sent to the emperor; yet the spirit of revolt on which they had floated into power and been sustained was not suppressed.

A noble Gaul, Jovinus, instigated and supported by the Gallo-Romans, by the allied Franks, by a party of the Alans, and by the Burgunds, who had lately advanced from the Boden-See into Helvetia, and fixed themselves permanently there,² repeated the experiment of revolt. Nearly the whole of northern and central Gaul espoused his cause; the victorious Constantius recoiled before the formidable numbers which he collected; and then it was that Ataulf, with his troops, was sent across the Alps to complete the work which the Roman general had so well begun, but was unable to finish.³ Eighty thousand Wisigothic warriors, carrying with them their wives and children, descended into the valley of the Rhone.⁴ They encountered Jovinus in the neighborhood of Valence, and in the stubborn battle that ensued cut to pieces or dispersed his forces. He and his brother Se-

¹ Oros., l. vii., c. 42; Fregeridus apud Greg. Turon., l. ii., c. 9.

² Prosper., Chron. ad Ann. 418.

³ This expedition of Ataulf is, in the accepted histories, treated as a warlike movement against the empire. I agree, however, with De Petigny, t. i., p. 309,

that Constantius would not have been allowed to depart from Italy with his troops if Ataulf had not been already on friendly terms with Honorius.

⁴ On the number of the Wisigoths, see Fauriel (Hist. Gaule, t. i., p. 114).

bastian, whom he had decorated with the vain title of Augustus, were captured, and shared the fate of unsuccessful usurpers. Their heads were sent to Ravenna, to be exposed on pikes to the gaze and ribaldry of the Roman crowds.¹ The Gauls were punished for their insubordination, the nobles of Arvernica, in particular, suffering the blows of offended power.²

Order, however, was not restored by these official rigors; the defensive line of the Rhine could not be re-established; and the barbarians, already in possession of various districts—the Burgunds in Helvetia, the Franks in Belgica, the Alemans in Upper Germany—maintained their encroachments. Neither were the native insurgents—the Bagauds and the Bretons—reduced to subjection.³ A complete social disorganization, in fact, had accompanied and followed the late seditious troubles. The Armoricans, from the Loire to the Seine, inspired by the example of their brothers in Britain, who revolted under Constantine, deposed and chased away the Roman magistrates, and instituted a kind of independent government of their own;⁴ and the Bagaudery, or popular insurrections, had so extended as to embrace not merely the discontented slaves and colons, but many of the higher classes, whom the taxes or the invasions had ruined, and to whom brigandage had become the only means of subsistence.⁵ In northern and central Gaul, a small district only between the Alps, the Vosges, and the Somme, remained exclusively subject to the Roman administration, while the south and west were about to fall into the hands of the Wisigoths.

Ataulf, having repressed the usurpers, claimed two rewards for his services; the first, the hand of Placidia in marriage, and the second, a guaranty of subsistence for his people. But he was parried in both objects; in the one by Constantius, who was also a suitor for the favor of the royal maiden, and in the other by the poverty of the empire, which, in a year of excessive dearth,⁶ could not easily furnish

Ataulf seizes a part of Gaul, A.D. 412-413.

¹ Prosper., Chron.

² Greg. Turon., l. ii., c. 9.

³ De Petigny, t. i., p. 312.

⁴ Comp. Dubos (Histoire Critique de la Monarchie Française, l. vi., c. 5), who, on a few words of Zosimus, has

built an imaginary republic, greatly to the exercise and perplexity of the French antiquaries.

⁵ Zosim., l. vi., c. 2.

⁶ Prosper., Chron. ad Ann. 413.

the supplies he required. Proceeding after a brief delay to recompense himself, he took possession of Novempopulania, and of the southern part of the two Aquitains, by driving out the remains of the Vandals, and establishing his residence at Narbonne.¹ Once established, he celebrated his nuptials with Placidia in a series of magnificent games and festivals after the Roman fashion.² His seizure of the country was less a conquest than a peaceful occupation, for the people welcomed him as a deliverer, while the marriage with Placidia only consummated a friendly union between the barbarians and the Cæsars.³ Constantius assailed him for a time in Narbonne, but fruitlessly, for the splendor and liberality of his reign made him popular with the natives; yet the jealous rival secured a sure revenge by getting him dispatched, as an ally of the empire, into Spain, where he was expected to chastise or expel the Vandals and Suevi.⁴ His people, reluctant to quit their recent settlements in Gaul for a bloody war on the other side of the Pyrenees, and offended, moreover, with his decided Roman tastes and proclivities, followed him with disaffection. They had scarcely arrived at Barcelona when they put him to death, and proclaimed one Singherik as his successor (A.D. 415).⁵ The leader of an ignoble faction, Singherik was himself assassinated within seven days, and the power was conferred upon Wallia, a brave and intelligent chief, who contrived to reconcile the disputes of the factions, to renew friendly relations with the empire, and to execute the delivery of Spain, in which Ataulf had been frustrated (A.D. 416).⁶ The Vandals, the Alans, and the miserable remnants of the force of the usurper Maximus were routed in several sanguinary battles and driven to the hills; Honorius triumphed at Rome for the successes of his allies; and Wallia and his people returned to Gaul to claim the just reward of their gallant and useful exploits (A.D. 417).⁷

In the feebleness of the empire and the atony of the provin-

¹ Idatius, Chron., et Rutilii Itinerar., v., 498.

² Jornandes (De Reb. Getic., c. 31) marries Ataulf to Placidia before he left Italy, but Olympiodorus places the marriage at Narbonne in January of 413.

³ Idat., Chron. ad Ann. 414.

⁴ Orosius, vii., 43.

⁵ Prosper., Chron. ad Ann.

⁶ Prosper., Chron. ad Ann.; Olympiodorus apud Phot., p. 187.

⁷ Jornandes (De Reb. Get., c. 33 et seqq.).

Settlement of
the Wisigoths
in Gaul, A. D.
418.

cial population, it would have been easy, doubtless, for the Wisigoths to seize whatever requital they coveted at the point of the sword; but that course would have involved them in endless violences, and they were now on amicable terms with Rome. They accepted a grant, therefore, as nominal subjects of the empire, but on the condition of military service alone, of two thirds of the cultivated lands in the fertile provinces of Novempopulania and southern Aquitaine, between the Pyrenees and the mouths of the Garonne. Toloso was chosen as the residence of their king and the capital of the first barbaric monarchy founded on this singular basis of internal independence and external subjection. The Wisigoths retained their own laws, customs, and magistrates, while they acknowledged the imperial supremacy.¹ Wallia, however, dying the year of his return into Gaul, the consolidation of his power and the adjustment of the relations of his people to the native society in which they were settled was committed to the skill of Theodorik the First, who, for thirty years thereafter, swayed the destinies of his race.²

Honorius calls
a convention of
the Seven Pro-
vinces, A. D. 418.

Honorius endeavored, simultaneously with the peaceful settlement of the Goths, to pacify the chronic discontent of his Gallic subjects by the grant of a liberal amnesty to the less obstinate offenders, and the convocation at Arles of an assembly of the Seven Provinces. These were the provinces south of the Loire,³ and the assembly was to be composed of all their official dignitaries, or of such deputies as might be sent in their place. But what he hoped to accomplish by the measure it is difficult to divine. Even if it had been, as some allege, an attempt to erect a permanent representative government, it was sure to fail in the rapid and turbulent revolutions of the age. Yet the act is a useful historic monument, inasmuch as, confining its contemplated operations

¹ Compare Dubos (*Hist. Crit.*, t. i., l. ii., c. 4); Vassette (*Hist. Générale de Languedoc*, l. iv., cc. 18-24); De Pétigny (*Etudes Méroving.*, t. i., p. 358).

² Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, iv., 35), on the strength of a doubtful passage in Sidonius, would make him a grandson of Alarik.

³ They were the two Narbonnenses, Novempopulania, Viennensis, the Alpes Maritimas, and the two Aquitains. But compare, on the subject, Dubos (*Hist. Crit.*, t. ii., c. 5), who gives the edict, and argues its purport at length.

south of the Loire, it shows to what extent the barbarians and others had already wrested Gaul from the authority of the empire.¹ Armorica, as we have just seen, had returned to the rule of its native chieftains; colonies of Saxons, whose piratical seizures along the northern coasts had given to it the name of the *Tractus Saxonicus*, were fixed at Bayeux and among the islands of the Loire; the kings of the Riparian Franks, who were in possession of Cologne, extended their ravages, if not a regular authority, into the greater part of the First Belgica; the Salian Franks alternately harassed and occupied the Second Belgica as far as the Somme;² while the Burgunds exercised a federate dominion over the Sequannese, or what is now Franche Comté and Switzerland.

Honorius died in 423, leaving no member of his family to inherit the troubles of his tottering throne. But, in the political theory of the times, his colleague, Theodosius II., who had succeeded Arcadius in the Eastern Empire, became his legitimate successor.³ The empire, in spite of this divided rule, was still regarded as a unity, and Theodosius made ready to assert his claims. While he was yet doing so, a faction at Rome, composed of old pagan senators, heretics, and barbarians, raised one John, an officer of the imperial guards, to the purple;⁴ while the Count Bonifacius of Africa proclaimed the pretensions of Valentinian III., the infant son of Placidia by her old lover Constantius, to whom she had been married on the demise of Ataulf.⁵ Thus the Roman world was delivered over once more to the wars and contentions of no less than three ambitious rivals.

Among the partisans of John was a young man named Flavius Gaudentius *Ætius*, originally belonging to a Sarmatian colony of Little Scythia, but more recently raised to one of the domestic offices of the court. His early

THE RISE AND
ADMINISTRATION
OF *ÆTIUS*, A.D.
423-428.

Ætius supports
John, A.D. 425.

¹ Ecclesiastical history and tradition furnish other evidence of the same fact. Many councils of the Church were held in the fourth century, at which deputies attended from Cologne, Mentz, Trèves, Spire, Strasburg, etc.; but in the fifth century these deputies hailed alone from cities south of the Loire. De Petigny (*Études Méroving.*, t. i., p. 321).

² Fauriel, however, and others, will not admit any permanent advances into Gaul at so early a date.

³ *Idat.*, *Chron.* ad Ann. 423.

⁴ *Procop.* (*De Bell. Vandalici*, l. i., c. 3).

⁵ *Prosper.*, *Chron.*; *Idat.*, *Chron.*; *Procopius* (*De Bell. Vandal.*, l. i., cc. 2, 3).

life had been passed alternately among the Huns, as a hostage (in which position he had studied their manners and won their friendship), and in the ranks of the army, where he acquired consummate military tact. Selected by the party of John to repair to the King of the Huns to solicit his aid in their schemes of aggrandizement,¹ he returned with sixty thousand of their swift and formidable horsemen among his followers. He returned, however, only to find his party defeated, and Valentinian III. emperor, acknowledged by Theodosius, under the regency of Placidia.² His insolence, his cunning, and the force at his command, speedily procured his reconciliation with the court, by which he was sent into Gaul to contend against the Wisigoths, who, for some real or imagined offense, had assaulted Arles, the Roman capital. Crossing the Alps with his Huns, he succeeded in the course of a year in driving the besiegers back into Aquitain, and in suppressing disturbances among the Ripuarian Franks of the First Germany, whom he compelled to accept the sovereignty of the empire (A.D. 428).³

His first services acquired him great éclat and power at Ravenna, but he used them basely, in the interval, for the accomplishment of an infamous design. Conspiring with Felix, the master of the militia of Italy, against the Count Bonifacius of Africa, whose influence and rivalry they both dreaded, he inveigled that heroic man into a position of hostility to the government. Ordered to lay down his command, the proud count resisted the indignity, and when an army was sent to enforce his submission, resorted to the fatal expedient of an appeal for succor to the Vandals of Spain. They listened to his invitation, which included the promised concession of the province of Mauritania, and thus a horde of wild barbarians was introduced into the most vital part of the empire, the source of the subsistence of Italy, which the emperors had sedulously guarded for centuries as a sacred reserve, and the capture of which the old oracle of the Sibyl had declared would be the death-blow of the world.⁴ Notwithstand-

**The Vandals
Invited into
Africa, A.D.
427-428.**
¹ Renatus Frigeridus (apud Greg.
Turon., l. ii., cc. 8, 9).

² Olympiodorus, *Idat.*, et Prosper.

³ Prosper., *Chron. ad Ann.*

⁴ Procop. (*De Bell. Vand.*, l. i., c. 7); De Petigny (*Etudes Méroving.*, l. ii., p. 16).

ing his complicity, *Ætius* yet contrived to cast the blame of the event upon his coadjutor *Felix*, whose degradation he procured, while he won for himself the place of master of the militia.¹ A brilliant victory, achieved, on the heels of his promotion, over the *Juthongs*, who had invaded *Noricum*, confirmed his ascendancy, and quieted the suspicions of the friends of *Boniface*.²

Moreover, the new tempests gathering in Gaul summoned and saved him from the petty storms of the court. *Ætius attacks the Franks in Gaul, A.D. 481.* The *Armoricans*, to whom domestic revolutions had given a new leader in the Count *Grallon*, were invading *Touraine* and the countries on the *Loire*, and the *Salian-Franks*, under a powerful chief named *Chlodio*, already in possession of the country on the borders of *Tongria*,³ were pushing their ravages as far south as the *Somme*. A young tribune, *Majorian*, subsequently emperor, restrained the encroachments of the former, while *Ætius* directed his own efforts against *Chlodio* and his bands. These were repulsed, and compelled to recognize the Roman supremacy;⁴ but they were still left in occupation of their territories, which probably extended now, between the *Scheld* and *Meuse*, from the River *Wahal* to *Cambrai*.

Meanwhile, his unprincipled proceedings against *Bonifacius* had been exposed at *Ravenna*, where the discovery He is deposed and reinstated, A.D. 482. excited a just execration and resentment, and led to his dismissal from his command, which was transferred to his

¹ *Prosper.*, *Chron.* ad Ann. 429.

² *Ibid.*, ad Ann. 480.

³ His fortress of *Dispargam* is supposed to be the modern *Drysburg*, between *Brussels* and *Louvain*; but the geography of the place has given rise to much controversy. *Gregory of Tours* (l. ii., c. 9), who narrates this encounter with the *Salian-Franks*, under *Chlodio*, says, "Qui apud *Dispargam* castrum habitabat, quod est in finibus *Thoringorum*." The question is, whether this *Thoringorum* refers to the *Thuringians* of Germany or to the colony of *Ubii* and *Sicambii*, afterward called *Tongrians*, settled in Gaul, between the *Scheld* and the *Meuse*, in the time of

Augustus (*Suetonius* in *August.*, c. xxi.). Compare *Dubos*, *Fauriel*, *Lehuérrou*, and *De Petigny*. The chronology of the event is equally uncertain, *Tillemont* and others referring it to A.D. 488, and *Dubos* to 445. I follow throughout the dates of *De Petigny*, for reasons which he assigns (*Études Mérovingiennes*, t. ii., pp. 81-83), but which I have no room to detail. The fact that this body of Franks was the nucleus of those Franks who conquered Gaul afterward, and founded the *Merovingian* dynasty, has given some importance to these controversies.

⁴ *Idat.*, *Chron.* ad Ann. 431.

intended victim.¹ But Ætius was not the man to resign his place without a struggle. Mustering the barbaric auxiliaries of Gaul, he passed the Alps, and waged a furious war against the Roman army of the Count. In this he was worsted, but his great rival was also slain; and it is a singular evidence of the weakness of the government, that this insolent captain, who, after his defeat, had repaired to the frontiers and fortified his broken forces with numerous levies of Huns, Herules, and Sarmatians, was able to exact from it his own restitution and the additional honor of the patriciate. As soon as his triumph was assured, he betook himself once more, with his ever-faithful Huns, into Gaul, to complete the work of subjection which he had there undertaken. In this second expedition he found not only the Bretons of Armorica,² but the Burgunds and the Wisigoths, in arms, while the Vandals of Africa, under a fierce and turbulent king, Genserik, were menacing all the Roman districts. Ceding to the latter, on certain conditions of peace, the two Mauritanias,³ he defeated the Burgunds with much slaughter (435); he reduced the Armoricans to submission (436), through his lieutenant, Litorius Celsus; and he finally assailed the Wisigoths, who were stubbornly besieging Narbonne. During these campaigns Gaul was made to suffer a double extremity of distress. In the first place, the Huns and Alans, in the service of the Imperialists, wherever they passed, committed a havoc of which the most truculent enemy might have boasted;⁴ and, in the second place, the Bagaudery of the rural populations, visited by so many and incessant calamities, had become chronic.⁵ Ulterior Gaul⁶ was overrun by these tumultuary bands, which, under the command of a leader named Tibat, pillaged and slew indiscriminately. Ætius dispersed them after considerable carnage, although the diversion produced by their resistance only enabled the Wisigoths to pro-

¹ Procopius (*De Bell. Vand.*, l. i., c. 3); Prosper., *et Idat.*, *Chron.* ad Ann. 432.

² The term Bretons, I think, is used in reference to the Armoricans for the first time about 461, at a council of the clergy of the third Lyonnese, held in Tours, where one Mansuetus, Bishop of the Brstons, is mentioned.

³ Procop. (*De Bell. Vand.*, l. i., c. 4).

⁴ Paulinus (*De Vita Sancti Martini*, l. vi.); Sidonius, *Panegy. Aviti*.

⁵ Prosper., *Chron.* ad Ann. 438.

⁶ A line drawn from the mouth of the Garonne to the Lake of Geneva would pretty nearly mark the division between Ulterior and Cterior Gaul. *De Petigny*, t. ii., p. 58, note.

long their warfare upon Narbonne. Driven at length from the city, they were in turn besieged in Toulouse, where they might have been overborne but for occurrences in Africa which led to an unexpected truce (439).¹ Genserik, breaking his late compacts with Ætius—perhaps instigated by the Wisigoths—had seized upon Carthage, the second city of the empire, which controlled the resources and the arms of six opulent provinces. The Roman power in Africa was nearly annihilated, and a fleet, rapidly mustering to an attack upon Sicily, seemed to fill Rome and the world with terrible apprehensions (A.D. 440).² Ætius at once concluded a peace with the Goths, which left them at liberty to resume their possessions in Aquitain, while he rushed to avert the portentous calamity brooding over Italy.

During the ten years that ensued Gaul enjoyed a comparative tranquillity. If Spain was wrenched from the Roman dominion by the restless Suevi (A.D. 439–449); if the island of Britain, after a brief but anarchical independence under its native chiefs, was also torn from her grasp forever by the intrepid Saxon (A.D. 445), the head and centre of the Western præfecture remained, amid the dislocations of the time, breathless and calm.

It would appear as if she but awaited, in pale anxiety and ^{Attila} suspense, the bursting of a heavier tempest. For fifty years or more a feeling of awe and expectation had followed the movements of the Huns, who hovered like a sombre cloud on the confines of either empire. Ferocious and sanguinary monsters, whom the barbaric superstitions begat of the embrace of demons with the witches of the desert, they were equally detested as friends and enemies. Their great leader, Roua, long a patron of Ætius, having died (A.D. 441),³ left his sceptre to his nephews, Attila and Breda, or, rather, to Attila, who, soon thereafter, compassing the murder of his colleague and brother, reigned alone. He was a man of that indomitable and imperious character which seems created only to make the world afraid. Combining, with a matchless mastery of will, the divided tribes of his race under a single and ab-

¹ Prosper., Chron. ad Ann. 439.

death is variously placed in A.D. 435 and 441. See Thierry (*Histoire d'Attila*, t. i., c. 2, p. 49, ed. Paris, 1856).

² Idat., Chron. ad Ann.

³ Sometimes called Rugilas, whose

solute command, and pushing their conquests with a marvelous fertility of warlike resource through all surrounding races, till his dominion extended from the Black Sea to the Baltic,¹ he became the universal terror of Europe. With the empires at first he negotiated and chicaned, to mask with profounder dissimulation the ulterior purposes of his ambition; but, when his hour came, he knew well both where and how to strike. The solicitations and the purposes of Genserik; his hatred of the Wisigoths, ancient but fugitive subjects; civil dissensions among the Franks of Gaul, one of whose factions besought his assistance; and his pretended claims to the hand of the Princess Honoria, who, in a moment of fantastic passion, had sent him her troth, combined in presenting motives which directed his march upon the Western Empire, and upon its weakest and most defenseless part, the distracted Gallic province.

In the winter of the year 450 he began to move forward, with a force of five hundred thousand men, from his wild Danubian fastnesses to the banks of the Rhine. By the beginning of March, in the following year, he had reached the fords of that separating stream. His motley throng, embracing representatives of nearly every race in Europe—the black Kazar, the tattooed Gelon, the stalwart Rugian, the Herul, crazy with valor, and the Bellonote and the Neuri,² who have left their names alone to history—had gathered other varieties of savagery upon its passage. The Quad and the Marcoman of the Carpathian Hills mingled with the Suab of the Black Forest and the outcast Frank of the northern dunes.³ All the wild valor that for five hundred years had threatened civilization seemed to be confounded in one impulsive mass. Amid the rolling boulders of the ice, and upon the trunks of trees torn from the Hercynian woods, they crossed the river near the confluence of the Moselle. Attila, installing himself for a moment in the ancient capital of Trèves, summoned Gaul to surrender in the magniloquent tones of an Oriental sovereign.

¹ Niebuhr (Lectures, vol. iii., p. 350) remarks that the extent which Gibbon assigns to the dominions of Attila "is one of the weak points of his work;" and yet I do not see that there is reason to doubt that Attila's jurisdiction and

authority were acknowledged over the greater part of Eastern Europe.

² Sidonius Apoll. in Panegyri. Aviti, v., 819.

³ Priscus (Excerpta de Legat. apud De Petigny, t. ii., p. 94).

The debilitated Roman garrisons fled even before he had advanced; the federate barbarians, half sympathizing in his career, offered but an ineffectual resistance; while the poor provincials, disarmed by Roman policy, disgusted by Roman oppression, debased by Roman vices, stood in doubt whether he might the more properly be regarded as an enemy or a deliverer. But the smoke of a hundred burning villages, the ruins of the fairest cities—Augst, Strasburg, Mentz, Metz, Worms, Tongres, Arras—speedily convinced them that the stranger was, indeed, a foe. The consternated multitudes fled to the fortresses of the towns, to the caves of the mountains, to the waves of the sea. Alone the heroic and pious bishops of the Church rose superior to the paralyzing terrors of the panic. Arrayed in their magnificent robes, and chanting their solemn and imposing psalms, they would often place themselves at the head of their timorous flocks, and, with prayers and threatenings, arrest, if not roll back, the irresistible human tide.¹

Yet these were ineffective obstacles, and the invasion spread from Jura to the ocean, and from the Somme to the Loire. The city of Orleans, which commanded the passage of the Loire into southern Gaul—memorable on that account in many a Roman campaign, and destined to become still more memorable for the exploits of the inspired Jeanne Darc—was the last object of attack and of defense. Besieged by Attila with the bulk and flower of his forces, it was held for five weeks by a few sturdy and desperate citizens, under the lead of the good St. Agnan,² amid the combined miseries of war, pestilence, and famine. But when the last scintillations of hope had expired—when the Huns had effected a breach and begun the carnage, faith rather than eyesight discerned from the topmost tower³ the distant approaches of the succoring army of Ætius. Behind the clouds of dust it saw the glittering eagles of the legions and the waving standards of the Goths.⁴

¹ The Lives of the Saints, to which the reader will give some credit, are full of instances.

² In Vitâ B. Anian. apud Bouquet (Scriptores Rerum Gallic., t. i., p. 645).

³ Vit. St. Anian., and Greg. Turon., l. ii., c. 7.

⁴ The main incidents of this description I have found in Thierry (Histoire d'Attila, t. i., c. 6).

Ætius, who had occupied the interval of his absence from Gaul in strenuous labors for the defense of Sicily and Italy against Genserik, was not deceived by the pretenses of Attila in respect to the real objects of his westward movement; but he could not disfigure the peninsula of troops, nor yet collect with ease another army among the allies and federates of the province. A party of the Franks and the lætic colonists promptly responded to his summons;¹ but the Alans were in open revolt, the Burgunds sulky, and the Wisigoths, though eager to encounter Attila, unwilling to quit their own frontiers. The general reluctance drove him to despair; nevertheless, by painful entreaties, aided by the eloquence of the polished Arvernian noble, Avitus, who undertook a mission to Theodorik, the Goths were at length induced to move. Once on foot, their example stimulated the zeal of the Brehons of the Alps, of the Salian-Franks and their long-haired leader Merowig, of the Burgunds of King Gunther, of the Ripuarians of the Rhine, and of the remoter Bretons of the sea-coasts. A mass as multifarious almost as that of Attila met in the camp of the Roman chief, and marched to the relief of Orleans. After a fierce and bloody struggle, it forced the proud king of the Huns to beat an ill-concealed retreat.²

The immense army of Attila, consisting chiefly of cavalry, withdrew, with precipitation, along the Roman road which led from Orleans to Sens, and thence to Troyes, and did not rally until it had reached the broad plains³ which stretch before the village of Chalons.⁴ There they pitched their tents and drew up their wagons, but were scarcely intrenched when the pursuing forces of Ætius began their castrametations on the same fields.

The night that followed was a night of awakening suspense and dreadful preparation. Attila himself, buried in the depths of his tent, was sleepless and depressed.

¹ Sidon. Apoll., who was the son-in-law of Avitus (Panegy. Aviti, v., 36).

² Jornandes (De Reb. Geticis, c. 36).

³ Then called the Campania, and still called Champagne—between the valley of the Yonne and that of the Aisne, with the forest of Ardennes on the north.

⁴ On the way there seem to have been several encounters between the Huns and a body of Franks at Mauriacum, now Méry-sur-Seine (Greg. Turon., ii., 7).

The reverses he had suffered before Orleans, and the privations endured by his troops on their march, had lessened his habitual confidence in himself and in them. A Christian hermit, moreover, dragged as a captive in his train, had aroused his superstitious fears by a strange and prophetic salutation. "Attila, scourge of God, hammer of the world," he said, "know that heaven is about to break the instrument of its vengeance!"¹ In his gloom, he called his savage and fantastic crew of conjurors about him, to dispel, by their mystic rites, the fatal foreboding of the priest.² "Then," says Thierry, "was enacted a scene which has found no parallel in the history of Europe. Under that Tartar tent, by the lurid blaze of torches, in the midst of France, a council was held of all the dread superstitions of the barbaric world."³ The dark mummary was unpropitious; Attila was told that he would fail, and yet, when he heard also that the chief of the enemy would be slain, supposing the prediction to refer to Ætius, his soul recovered its composure, and his will its wonted energy.⁴

By the ninth hour of the next day a million of men, many of them brothers by race and lineage, were involved in the decisive conflict. It was a battle, says the old Gothic chronicler, "fierce, multiform, terrible, obstinate; such a battle and such a slaughter as the world had never seen, and will never see again. The little stream (the Vesle) which traversed the field, almost dry till then, was swollen beyond its banks by the blood which mingled with the water."⁵ When night drew on the carnage was still continued, and far into the darkness was heard the shock of bewildered steeds, the clash of indiscriminating swords. Theodorik, the brave king of the Wisigoths, was trampled to death by his own troops; Ætius himself was separated from his command; friend and foe were madly jumbled together in the confused mob of battle; and, as the combatants at last retired to rest, they retired in utter unconsciousness as to who were victors, who vanquished.⁶

A drawn
victory.

Victor uterque fuit, victus uterque fuit.

¹ This epithet, "The Scourge of God," which Attila never applied to himself, originated, Thierry shows (*Hist. d'Attila*, t. ii., p. 248), among the legends of the Middle Ages.

² Jornand. (*De Reb. Get.*, c. 37).

³ *Hist. d'Attila*, t. i., p. 183.

⁴ Jornand., *ibid.*

⁵ Jornand. (*De Reb. Get.*, c. 40).

⁶ *Id.*, *ibid.*

The morning sun rose upon a plain heaped, it is said, with more than two hundred thousand corpses.¹ Neither leader, each aware of his own loss, but not of that of the enemy, essayed to renew the combat. The opposing forces glared sullenly upon each other, but made no motion of attack. Only in the midst of the silence, the Wisigoths sought mournfully for the body of their chief, Theodorik, which they found beneath the mounds of the slain, and buried with loud howls and lamentations on the field of glory. Yet, doubtful as the victory seemed, it was, in reality, for Attila a defeat;² for, in his position, any thing short of a grand success was a failure. On the other hand, the triumph of Ætius, even if it had been more decided, was the triumph of his barbaric allies, who were recently his enemies, and might become so again at any moment. As Attila recoiled toward the Rhine, therefore, Ætius, instead of pursuing him, contrived, by various pretexts, to disperse his doubtful host. But the falling empire was stayed; the Roman rhetors coruscated once more with congratulatory metaphors; and Christian Europe, rescued from an impending heathenism, shouted joyful hosannas to the Lord.³

Rome had been respited, not delivered; Attila had been discomfited, not vanquished; and the chief of the Huns, after regaining his home, laden with booty, prepared for another campaign. Early the next spring he crossed the Julian Alps into Italy. Delaying a while in the siege of Aquileia, whose inhabitants, flying to the islands of the Adriatic coast, laid the foundation of the romantic city of Venice, he successively ravaged Milan, Brescia, Mantua, Padua, and other cities.⁴ Rome was merely threatened and spared.⁵ Why, we can not say: it may have been the re-collected forces of Ætius, or it may have been the prayers and entreaties of the Pope St. Leo, as the legends allege, which caused him to return to his Danubian retreats; but he left the metropolis unmolested. Per-

¹ Idatius and Isidore say 300,000, but Jornandes 262,000.

² The Roman writers claim a decided triumph in the actual fight; but it is clear, from Jornandes, that this construction is a little forced, although they triumphed in the result.

³ Jornandes, c. 41; Greg. Turon., ii., 7.

⁴ Prosper., Chron. ad Ann.

⁵ Vit. S. Leo. Magn. apud Bolland, April 11th.

haps he hoped to glut a bitterer rancor, or to find a readier as well as richer prey, in the eastern capital. If so, he was not destined to enjoy the fruits of his schemes. On his arrival at his forest capital, while celebrating, with more than barbaric pomp, his marriage with Ildico, he was found dead in the nuptial bed.¹ The splendid empire which his genius had reared did not long survive him; his sons and his generals soon became embroiled in deadly wars; his German vassals revolted, and the power of his race dwindled away. Yet, brief as his career had been, such was the awe, the fear, and the admiration that he had every where inspired, that his name pervaded and glorified the traditions of every European nation.² Sometimes as a terrible personification of destruction, the "Scourge of God;" sometimes as the venerable patriarch and founder of states, and sometimes even as a holy Christian apostle, he hovered for centuries in the imaginations of the Roman, the German, and the Hungarian people, more a stupendous myth than an historical personage.

The greatness of Ætius, who was regarded as twice the de-
Assassination of Ætius by Valentinian, A.D. 454. liverer of civilization from an overthrow that seemed inevitable, rose to its meridian splendor. By a strange derision of destiny, however, he who had once almost wrecked the empire by his perfidy, and been promoted in spite of his guilt, had now rescued it by his valor, to be killed in spite of his merit. Pressing too importunately the marriage of his son with the daughter of Valentinian, he aroused the fears of the monarch and the jealousies of the courtiers, and was secretly slain by the hands of the incensed or deluded emperor.³ The moan of despair which followed the report of his death was an evidence of the value in which his services were held, if it may not be regarded as a eulogy of his character.

The Western Empire had now but twenty-two years more
THE FLATTING OF THE IMPERIAL PHANTOMS, A.D. 455-489. of life, and they were destined to be years of weakness, agony, and contempt. Valentinian, for his murder of Ætius, was himself soon slain by some instru-

¹ Whether he died in a fit or was killed by his unwilling bride can not be discovered. See various authorities in Thierry (*Hist. d'Attila*, t. i., p. 229, note 1).

² These are gathered and well told by Thierry, in his second volume.

³ Procop. (*De Bell. Vand.*, l. i., c. 4); Prosper., *Chron.*, et *Idat.*, *Chron. ad Ann.*

ment of the barbaric and pagan party, which caused the senate to raise one Petronius Maximus to the purple. He, marrying Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian, against her will, aroused in her all the spite and pride of an offended woman. The result was a conspiracy with Genserik of Africa for the revenge of her private wrongs by a public calamity. She invited the Vandals to a sack of Rome, and, when they came, neither the clemency of the Goths nor the policy of the Huns restrained the violence of their assault. They stripped the very roofs of the temples of their gold, and provoked, if they did not incite, the population to tear the aspiring Maximus to pieces.¹

In this extremity, the Gallo-Romans of Gaul, aided by Theodorik II., king of the Wisigoths,² proclaimed Avitus, a rich and accomplished Arvernian noble, and master of the militia of Gaul, to the perilous position of emperor. He was accepted by the senate of Rome, and, at the outset, promised a vigorous administration. Creating Majorian commander-in-chief, he sent him against the Alemans then invading Rhætia; he procured the Wisigoths to punish the revolted Suevi of Spain; and he declared a war, which was committed to the conduct of a powerful Suevan chief, Rikimer, against Genserik. All his generals were successful: Majorian overcame the Alemans, the Wisigoths drove the Suevi into the mountains, and Rikimer completely destroyed the Vandal fleet on the coasts of Sicily.³ But the scandals of his luxury and licentiousness provoked a discontent which drove him ignominiously into private life, where he perished of pestilence or chagrin.⁴ The empire then fell into the hands of Majorian, with the reluctant consent of Rikimer, who was made patrician, the highest dignity after that of emperor.

A better emperor than Majorian had not ascended the throne since the days of Probus. He planned and he effected, as far as they could be effected in those de-

¹ Procop. (De Bell. Vand., l. i., c. 4).

² After the battle of Chalons, in which Theodorik was killed, he was succeeded by Thorismund, his eldest brother, who was soon after murdered by a second brother, Theodorik II.

³ Procop. (De Bell. Vand., l. i., 5); Sidonius (Panegy. Aviti, v., 367); Idat., Chron.

⁴ Marii Avent. Chron. ad Ann. 456; Evagrius, l. ii., c. 2.

Majorian emperor; not accepted in Gaul, A.D. 457.

generate times, the most salutary reforms of the finances and of the laws, and Rome hailed him as her glorious restorer. But Gaul, patriotically attached to the cause of her own Avitus, refused to recognize his claims.¹ An open resistance was organized against him at Lyons, which failed, however, as the Wisigoths who were in Spain did not assist it, while the Burgunds were actively opposed to it. The latter, by way of reprisal, sacked the city of Lyons, which was the principal seat of the insurgents, and received the territories of the First Lyonnese, the ancient state of the *Ædui*, as the reward of their co-operation.² Already in possession of Helvetia, Sequania, the Vienne, and Maritime Alps, this cession rendered them masters of nearly all eastern Gaul, and laid the foundation of that powerful Burgundian monarchy which plays so conspicuous a part in the future. Other factions revolted the next year, with the aid of the Wisigoths returned from Spain, and compelled Majorian himself to cross the Alps in the depth of winter, at the head of an army of Huns, Ostrogoths, Rugians, and Bastarnes. After a single encounter, the Wisigoths consented to a treaty of peace which recognized the supremacy of the emperor,³ and a series of grand festivities at Arles celebrated the restoration of the Gauls to the acknowledged chief of Italy.⁴

For the future security of the province, Majorian left behind ^{*Ægidius in Gaul, A.D. 459.*} him, as lieutenant, Afranius Syagrius *Ægidius*, one of the most eminent of the local aristocracy, master of the militia of Gaul—familiar alike with the arts of Rome, and the languages and manners of the barbarians.⁵ His influence with the latter availed him in inflaming a dissension which had sprung up among the Salian-Franks. The king of those warrior tribes, Merowig, dying in 457, had been succeeded by his son, Hilderik, an impetuous and dissolute prince, whose debaucheries, as the chronicles say,⁶ but whose enmity to the Roman power more probably,⁷ raised against him a domestic revolt. He was deposed and driven away, taking refuge in Thu-

¹ Procop. (*De Bell. Vand.*, i., 7).

² Marii Chron. ad Ann. 457.

³ Idat., Chron. ad Ann. 458.

⁴ Sidonius, *Epist.*, i., 11 et ix., 13.

⁵ Greg. Turon., l. ii., c. 11; and Sidonius, *Carm.* v., v. 553.

⁶ Greg. Turon., l. ii., c. 12.

⁷ De Petigny, t. ii., p. 168.

ringia, while, by the intrigues of the Romans, Ægidius was made king in his place.¹ Ægidius accepted the position, but, nevertheless, committed the actual administration to Viomad, who had taken part, seemingly, in the plot against Hilderik, although he was secretly his friend. As the whole of Gaul was thus in friendly relations with the government of Majorian—the Franks by means of Ægidius, the Burgunds through the influence of Rikimer, and the Wisigoths by the bonds of the recent treaty—he directed his attention to the conquest of Genserik, the great pirate of the Mediterranean. A magnificent fleet was prepared in the Tuscan Sea and the ports of Liguria, with which he proposed to seize Carthage and recover Africa (A.D. 459). Genserik, frightened by the formidable danger, demanded peace from the emperor, which was imperiously denied. No sooner was the fleet ready, however, and Majorian falls against Genserik, A.D. 460. collected at Carthage, than, by a sudden surprise (to which Rikimer was supposed to be privy), it was seized by the Vandals and burned to the water's edge. Majorian, whose hopes were thus annihilated, made as favorable treaty as he could with Genserik, and returned to Italy. Mortified by his disappointment, and worn out by his many labors, he died the following year, or was slain by the same secret and powerful hand which had betrayed his fleet to the Vandal incendiaries.

A rich patrician of Lucania, though of no personal weight, was raised to the empty dignity by Rikimer, who sought to impose his creature upon all the empire. Ægidius, the friend of Majorian, resisted the scheme of the insolent Suevan, and rallied the forces of Gaul to a re-

Rikimer makes
Vibius-Severus
Emperor, A.D.
461.

¹ That the Franks should have deposed their king is not improbable; but the selection of a Roman in his stead is an incident which has occasioned much comment. It is to be explained only in this way: since the treaty with Ætius in 431, they had been the firm *federati* or allies of the empire, recognizing its sovereignty and obeying the commands of the Roman *magister militum* in Gaul. When, therefore, they ousted Hilderik, they naturally recurred to the only authority that was left, that of Ægidius, who, exercising a supreme

control over them in the absence of their native sovereign, is called by the chroniclers their *king*. The whole occurrence was doubtless, as De Petigny suggests, a plot of the Romans, who, finding Hilderik, then a youth, averse to the Roman rule, took advantage of the umbrage given by his licentiousness to get him degraded from his rank. Still it is curious that a proud nation like the Franks should not have chosen some other person of the family of Merowig in his place.

volt. Rikimer, however, was already in league with his fellow-Germans, the Wisigoths and the Burgunds, who assailed Ægidius, drove him from Arles, and pursued him to the banks of the Loire (A.D. 462). At Orleans he turned upon the pursuers, defeated the Wisigoths under Friederik, brother of the king, and was in a fair way of recovering the steps he had lost. But precisely at that juncture, it is said, Hilderik, the banished king of the Salian-Franks,¹ informed of the position of affairs by Viomad, returned from Thuringia at the head of a mass of Germans, seduced his old subjects from their allegiance to Rome, fell upon Ægidius with a vigor of wrath that had been nursed for eight years of exile, and, after several desperate and stubborn contests, routed him completely at Trèves.

Ægidius died either of wounds or despair, and was the last of the great Romans who commanded in Gaul. The Feebleness of the empire. Roman authority may be said to have expired with him; for, with the exception of the Arelate, the Second Narbonne, and a few scattered provinces of the north still held by Roman governors, the whole country was controlled by Germans and Bretons. They confessed a nominal subjection to the empire, but the actual power was in their own hands. Nor was Italy in any better condition. The poor dislocated republic, in fact, shorn of every glory but the memory of her ancient renown, seemed staggering to her fall, while the hawks, the ravens, and the "wolves of the wold"² gathered around in hungry eagerness for the carcass.

Nevertheless, the Eastern court, so long inactive, made a last effort to revive the prostrate energies of the West. Anthemius, an accomplished Greek, illustrious by descent, position, marriage, and ability, was nominated to the sovereignty on the death of the impotent Severus. He began his work, as so many before him had begun, with high hopes and vigorous resolves.³ Conjointly with the Eastern government, he organized a stupendous expedition by sea against "that eternal scourge of the Roman name and

Anthemius created Emperor by the Greek court, A.D. 467.

¹ *Gesta Regum Francorum*, c. 8; *Fredegher*, *Hist. Franc.*, c. 2; both late and doubtful authorities for this period.

² Anglo-Saxon ode on the victory of

Athelstane. *Warton* (*Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. i., p. 79).

³ *Cassiodor*. (*Hist. ad Ann. 467*); *Sidonius Apoll.* (*Panegy. Anthemii, passim*).

power," Genserik, which disastrously failed, and the Vandal was enabled to extend his sway over Africa¹ (468). He next endeavored to chastise the Wisigoths of Gaul, who, under King Eurik, the youngest brother of Theodorik II.,² were steadily pushing their dominion toward the Rhone and the Loire. By embroiling them with the Bretons, the Saxons, and the Franks³ (469-471), he hoped to check their encroachments; but, in the mean time, he quarreled with Rikimer. The all-powerful patrician made war upon him, seized Rome, and proclaimed Olybrius, another creature of his, and the candidate at the same time of Genserik, the true emperor⁴ (472). In less than seven months this ephemeral monarch also died, and Rikimer soon after him; when Gundebald, a king of the Burgunds, raised Glycerius to the throne, who was opposed and driven out by Nepos, a second nominee of the Eastern court.⁵ In Italy, however, which was now thoroughly desolated—where public disorder and private misery had arrested all useful labors—where wasting famines and terrible pestilences added new horrors to the devastations of war⁶—Nepos found but little support. Few cared to strike, even if they had been able, for so fragile a structure as the Western throne.

In Gaul alone a strenuous effort was made to uphold the Roman supremacy and the Roman name. The same Arvernia the last support of the empire. brave mountaineers of Auvergne who, under the Vercingetorigh, had been the last to surrender their Keltic birth-right, were also the last to yield their Roman inheritance. Their merit is the more conspicuous in this because they were more than aware of the servile and vainglorious pretensions of the imperial government. "Faithful to the traditions of our fathers," says Sidonius, sadly, "we respect laws which are impotent: it is a sacred obligation with us to follow the fortunes of Rome even in its decay: we patiently bear the shadow of the empire, supporting by habit, rather than choice, the vices

¹ Procopius (*De Bell. Vand.*, l. i., c. 6).

² Eurik had killed his brother and succeeded to his power (*Mari Chron. ad Ann. 467*). See next chapter.

³ These events are obscurely told by the annalists; yet Fauriel and De Pe-

tigny try to bring some order out of the confusion.

⁴ Cassiodor., *Chron. ad Ann. 472*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *ad Ann. 473, 474*; *Jornandes*, c. 45.

⁶ *Comp. Sidonius, Epist.*, v. et x.; *Greg. Turon.*, l. ii., c. 18.

of a decrepit race which clothes itself in purple."¹ Shut up in their capital of Clermont, and reduced to the last straits, neither the impetuous charges of the Goths nor the slow corrosions of famine could wear down their heroic and indomitable courage.² It was Nepos himself, in the end, who basely treated away to the Wisigoths what their swords could not win. Arvernia was surrendered; the long-coveted limits of the Rhone and the Loire were reached; the frail tie of alliance which had so long sustained the impotent pride of the empire was abandoned; and the barbarian king addressed the emperor, not as a subject or a federate, but as an equal and a sovereign³ (475).

But, in relinquishing the last strong-hold of Gaul, Nepos relinquished every thing. His bravest and noblest defenders were lost to him. Orestes, a leader of the federate barbarians of Italy, found it thereafter easy to drive him into exile, and to raise to the purple his own son Romulus, whom, in contempt, the debased Italians themselves called not Augustus, but Augustulus⁴ (476). He was the last of the kind; for, when those barbaric allies demanded land as a reward for their services—a moderate request in the deserted and barren condition of the country—and it was refused them, they deposed Augustulus. Odoaker, chief of the miscellaneous host of Herules, Rugians, Varns, Scyrri, and Alans, in a moment of excellent sense exclaimed, "This thing called the empire, why does it cumber the ground?" and he transmitted the regalia and the ornaments of the imperial dignity to the court of Constantinople as empty bawbles no longer needed upon earth.⁵ The Western Empire was no more;⁶ the great sun which for so many centuries had illumined and dazzled the world was set, and the nations were left to grope in the twilight of its once effulgent day.

¹ Sidon., Panegy. Avit.

² See Sidonius, Epist., ll. iii.—vii., for an account of these glorious and brilliant resistances.

³ De Petigny, t. ii., p. 301.

⁴ Cassiodor., Chron.; Jornandes, c.

⁵ Odoaker is said to be a Herul, or Yarl, but his name is Saxon.

⁶ This was in 476; but the legal extinction of the empire did not take place till 480, when Nepos, who was still the emperor, though driven away, died.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CONQUESTS OF CHLODWIG¹ AND HIS SONS. (FROM A.D. 481 to A.D. 561.)

ON the downfall of the Western Empire the diocese of Gaul was distributed among the Bretons, the Saxons, the Wisigoths, the Burgunds, the Franks, and a certain sporadic and anomalous magistrate called the King of the Romans. We have already remarked incidentally the positions and the advances of these several possessors, but it will be useful now to consider them somewhat more in detail.

1. The Bretons, consisting of the remains of the native Kym-
The Bretons. ri, and of such accretions as they had received from the lætic colonies of the usurper Maximus,² and by emigrations from the island of Britain, particularly during the revolt under Constantine,³ occupied the rugged and storm-beaten peninsula which stretches from Cape St. Malo to the mouth of the River Vilaine.⁴ They had preserved, to a large extent, their ancient manners, customs, language, and government, although, after many revolts, they had been compelled to recognize the formal supremacy of the empire. Tenacious and obstinate in charac-

¹ I shall adopt the German names of these Frankish monarchs instead of the French names, simply in order to mark their German origin and character. This is also in accordance with the practice of Chateaubriand, Thierry, Martin, and other modern French authorities. See Thierry (*Lettres sur l'Hist. de France*, Append. i.). The objection of De Petigny that we do not know the original forms of these names, and that Clovis may be as near the native pronunciation of the name of the first Frankish king as Chlodwig, does not affect the case. It is desirable to avoid the perversions of the early history of Gaul, which have grown out of the use of the French terminations of names, and this can be done by using the German terminations. Who would suppose, in reading of Clovis, Clotaire,

Thierri, Brunehaut, etc., that he was dealing with the most unmistakable old Teutons. Yet, in the forms Chlodwig, Chlothar, Theuderik, Bruneilda, etc., that fact is discovered at once. Chlodwig is derived from *hlođ*, famous, and *wig*, warrior.

² *Ante*, c. vii.

³ *Prosp.*, Chron. ad Ann. 409. Many priests and monks were among these emigrants, and it is supposed that Morvan, or Morgan, known to the Greeks and Latins as Pelagius, was of the number.

⁴ Called *Armorica* by the Romans, but differing from the *Tractus Armoricanus*, which was a military circumscription extending from the mouth of the Seine to that of the Garonne. De Petigny (*Eclaircissement*, ii., vol. ii.).

ter, their country afforded a last home to the Druidical superstitions, so that, as late as the close of the fifth century, Christianity was yet little diffused among them, and required the services of a single missionary bishop only.¹

2. The Saxons possessed but an inconsiderable part of the The Saxons. Gallic soil, in the environs of Bayeux, and among the islands of the Loire, whose deep and woody bays furnished a shelter for their piratical craft. Yet their daring enterprise, which scorned the winds and waves of the sea, and their ferocious courage and love of plunder, had carried the terror of their names along all the coasts from the Elbe to the Garonne. Once, indeed, they had overrun and seized the entire territory of the Andegaves (Anjou); but the combined forces of the Romans, under Count Paul, and of the allied Franks, under Hilperik, had dislodged them from their conquest, and driven them back to their more northern settlements.² Whether they acknowledged the authority of the empire is not clear; nor is the question important, as their relations to Gaul were for many years desultory and transient.

3. The Wisigoths were by far the most numerous, as well as The kingdom of the Wisigoths. powerful and civilized, of the German races in Gaul. Under the guidance of their great and heroic king Eurik, who, succeeding Theodorik II., reigned from A.D. 466 to 484, they had conquered, besides the greater part of Spain, i. e., from the Pyrenees to the Ebro (477-8), the extensive and fertile district which lies between the ocean, the Loire, the Rhone, and the Alps.³ It was the ambition of Eurik, anticipating that of Theodorik the Great and of Charlemagne, to erect a German monarchy which should rival the fallen empire in dignity, splendor, and power; and, though his direct authority reached only from the Loire to the extremity of Spain, the most distant tribes confessed and bowed to his greatness. The Saxon, the Herule, the Burgund, the Frank, came as suppliants to his court.⁴ He supported the Ostrogoths of Pannonia in their wars against the Huns, and "the great king of Persia even con-

¹ Mansuetus, who attended the Council of Tours in 461, was called *Episcopus Britannorum*, which would seem to show that no local Church had then been organized. A bishop of Vannes

first appears at the Council of Orleans in 511.

² Greg. Turon., l. ii., cc. 18, 19.

³ Procop. (De Bell. Goth., i., 12).

⁴ Sidon. Apoll. (Epist., l. viii., ep. 9).

sulted him as the oracle of the West." As the legislator of his people, he was the author of a digest of customs and laws, which has been since known as the Code of the Wisigoths.¹ It consisted of transcripts of the Roman law, records of old Wisigothic customs, and special provisions regulating the relations of the people under their new circumstances of conquest and settlement. Less valuable than the Salic law as a monument of the primitive German constitution, it is nevertheless highly important as evidence of the state of the Goths, and of their relations to the native society. As they had converted to their own use two thirds of the lands of the natives by a peculiar allotment called the *Sortes*,² they had become, in consequence, cultivators of the soil, and some of them mechanics and miners.³ The system of composition, or *weregild*, which was universal among the German races, had given place to corporeal or other afflictive penalties, similar to those of the civil law.⁴ The courts were modeled after the forms of the Roman judiciary; the administrative and military officers had assumed Roman names and functions, and the monarch himself appeared less as a barbaric chief governing by force or fear, than as a political sovereign exercising his authority in the large and intelligent spirit of a just ruler.⁵ The Germanic element of society chiefly obtrudes itself in the practice of free companionship, or of leader or follower, and in the extreme severity with which certain crimes, growing out of the untamable spirit of independence, were visited.⁶ Moreover, the Goths had been Christians since the days of Constantine; and, living amid the usages and influences of the empire, had largely adopted the language, as well as the laws and religion of Rome. The court of Eurik was filled with Roman rhetors, his principal secretary being Leo, a grandson of the famous orator Fronto; Rother, a Goth, composed a history of his own times; and other Goths, such as

¹ *Codex Wisigothorum apud Canciani (Barbarorum Leges Antiquæ, iv., 175)*. Some of the laws are ascribed to Theodorik, his predecessor, and others were subsequently added.

² *Lex Wisigoth.* (lib. x., tit. i., lex 14; also tit. ii., lex 1).

³ *Ibid.* (lib. vii., tit. vi., lex 8).

⁴ *Ibid.* (lib. iii., *passim*).

⁵ *Ibid.* (lib. ii., *passim*).

⁶ *Ibid.* (lib. vii., tit. li., lex 8). The Wisigothic laws are more important in the history of Spain than in that of France, where their power soon died out. On the subject generally, see Von Savigny (*Roman Law in the Middle Ages*, vol. i., c. 5, § 2).

Athanarid, Hildebald, and Marcomir, were distinguished on the lists of philosophers.¹

4. The Burgunds,² comprising, for the most part, Suevic tribes, whose original seats lay between the waters of the Mein and Neckar, whence they had advanced into Helvetia in the train of the Vandals (A.D. 407), were fewer in number and less warlike than the Wisigoths. Involved in the revolt of the usurper Jovinus, they were defeated by Ataulf (A.D. 413), but not expelled their cantons, in the possession of which they were afterward confirmed, as allies, by Honorius.³ They took advantage of the troubles caused by the adversaries of Ætius to invade the Sequanese, and the southern part of the First Belgic, which was also subsequently relinquished to them on condition of acknowledging the majesty of the empire.⁴ They were next granted a foothold in Sapaudia (Savoy), whence they encroached upon the whole Viennese (A.D. 443).⁵ In the wars of Majorian against the insurgents of Gaul they sided with the emperor (A.D. 457), and were rewarded for their valor with a possession of the whole Lyonnese.⁶ Thus their power extended over the greater part of eastern Gaul, from the foot of the Vosges to the River Durance. Like the Wisigoths, they partitioned the land between themselves and the Romans, taking one half of the houses and gardens, two thirds of the cleared land, and one third of the bondmen.⁷ But Christians, agriculturists, and mechanics, even before they had passed the lines,⁸ they did not oppose nor vex the Romans, but treated them more as Christian brothers than as strangers.⁹ As much can not be said of the conduct of the members of the royal family in respect to each other; for, when the old king Gondioch died (468),

¹ Faurl (Hist. de la Gaule Mérid., t. i., p. 584).

² The derivation of this name is undecided; it may be a Latinized form of *Burg-wohner*, a dweller in towns or fenced inclosures; or it may have come from *Bër*, or *Bur*, one of the old Germanic deities. Grimm gets it from a Moso-Gothic word, *faiguna*, whence the old High-German *fergund*, a hill-range. In the Anglo-Saxon "Traveler's Song" they appear as the *Burgends*.

³ *Ante*, c. x., p. 250.

⁴ Prosp., et Idat., Chron.

⁵ Idat., Chron.

⁶ Marit Chron. ad Ann.

⁷ Lex Burg., tit. liv., §§ 1-3. See Von Savigny (Roman Law in the Middle Ages, vol. i., c. 5, § 1).

⁸ Socrat., l. vii., c. 30. As to the fact that they were Arian Christians, and not Catholics, as Socrates says, compare De Petigny, t. ii., pp. 44-48.

⁹ Blande, mansuete, innocenterque vivunt, etc. Orosius, l. vii., c. 19.

dividing his estates among four sons, Hilperik, Godeghisel, Gundebald, and Gundebald, they fell into bloody feuds.¹ Hilperik, the eldest, made master of the militia by the Romans, took the ascendant for some time, while the youngest, Gundebald, repaired to Italy, where he joined his fortunes to those of Rikimer. After the death of the great patrician, he was instrumental in raising Glycerius to the purple (473), but when that phantom vanished in the rising beams of Nepos, he returned to Gaul to claim his paternal estates. Hilperik, though the husband of a Catholic wife, and supported by the sympathies of the Gallo-Roman population, could not prevail against the youth, the energy, and the fame of one who had played a conspicuous part on the great theatre of Italy. He was beaten and slain, together with a brother who adhered to his cause, while his wife was tossed into the Rhone with a stone to her neck, and his daughters, Chrona and Chlotilda, were sent into exile.² Gundebald and Godeghisel divided Burgundia among themselves, not knowing that they had reserved Chlotilda to taste a sweet and precious revenge.

5. The bands of Western Germans, which dwelt between the **The Franks.** Saxons and Alemans on the right bank of the Rhine,³ do not appear as Franks till the year 242, when a band of Aurelian's soldiers, after encountering them at Mentz, sang a *balista* as a song of victory over them.⁴ They called themselves Frank-en or the Freemen, probably because they were a peculiarly brave, fierce, and independent people, and because, also, they had for centuries disdained and resisted the Roman yoke.⁵ Resembling other Germans in manners, customs, and religion, they were driven to warlike enterprises by the same necessities and motives. Their rapid and capricious assaults upon the Roman

¹ Cassiodor., Chron.; Jornandes, Hist. Goth., c. 45.

² Greg. Turon., ii., 27; Sid. Apoll. (l. v., Epist. 7). Comp. Fredegher, l., 17.

³ Comp. the authorities in Dom Bouquet (Pref., t. ii., c. 8), and particularly Sulpicius Alexander (apud Greg. Turon., l. ii., c. 9).

⁴ Vopiscus (in Aurel., c. 7). The Abbé Gibert (Mémoires pour servir à

l'Histoire des Gaules, Paris, 1847) has settled the date.

⁵ I see no inconsistency in the two derivations of Franken given by Adelung (Älteste Geschichte des Deutschen, p. 268) and by Grimm (Geschicht. des Deutschen Sprache, t. i., p. 512). They may have been both *frak*, *frank*, *vrang*, bold or ferocious, and *frakkar*, *franci*, *francan*, free; for in early and violent times the fierce, bold men are the only free men.

frontiers demanded the incessant vigilance, and often the hardest fighting of the legions. If we might believe the panegyrists of the emperors, they were more than once totally annihilated, but they strangely reappear after these defeats with fresher courage and in augmented numbers.¹ No history of their spasmodic excursions into Gaul, sometimes made for mere objects of plunder, and sometimes in view of more permanent settlements, can or need be written.² It is enough to observe, incidentally, their gradual but continuous progress toward the conquest of its northern parts. In less than thirty years after the name is first mentioned, they are found in possession of sixty Gallic cities (*civitates nobilissimas*), whence it is said they were driven by Probus with an incredible slaughter³ (A.D. 277). Nevertheless, they supported Proculus and Bonosus, a few years later (280), in serious revolts against the empire.⁴ Maximian Hercules spent twenty years (286–306) in repulsing them, and ended with granting them peace and homes on the deserted lands of the Treviri and Nervii.⁵ Constantius Chlorus carried on a similarly destructive war against them in the island of the Batavi, where they had been for some time fixed; but the victories he achieved only transplanted them the more numerous as colonists upon the Belgic soil⁶ (A.D. 292). Once established there, either by conquest or concession, they made farther way for themselves. Constantine beat them signally (306), and gave two of their kings, with a multitude of others, to the wild beasts of the amphitheatre at Trèves, amid spectacles whose magnificence was remembered twenty years afterward;⁷ but he received many of them also into his service, and spread other multitudes over the Gallic fields.⁸ Under his sons, they raised the

¹ Julian admits as much, but I have missed the passage.

² All the questions relating to the origin and early movements of the Franks have been vehemently debated by the French antiquarians; but, satisfied with a general statement of the results of my own researches, I shall not fatigue myself and my readers with their speculations.

³ Vopisc. in Probr., c. 13, who says 400,000, but this includes other barbarians.

⁴ Vopisc. in Procul. et Bonos.

⁵ Panegyr. Mamertini in Max. Hercule, c. 5.

⁶ Eumeneus (Paneg. Constantini, c. 5; also Panegyr. Incerti, c. 4). These colonies, according to Mamertinus, were placed in the territories of the Ambiani, the Bellovakes, the Tricastini, and the Lingones, i. e., on the Somme, the Oise, and the upper Seine.

⁷ Eumen. (Panegyr. Const., 10–12; Panegyr. Incerti, 23), and Nazar (Panegyr. Const., 16).

⁸ Amm. Marcell., xxi., 10; Libanius, Orat., l. x.

usurpers Magnentius and Sylvanus to the purple (350-355), while others took forcible possession of some forty-five cities in the Belgics.¹ Julian, on his arrival in Gaul (355), discovered that the "Germans," meaning the Franks, occupied a space of three hundred stadia on this side of the Rhine, and that the whole region for three times that extent was depopulated and wasted.² He attacked and defeated them, but he did not dislodge them; on the contrary, he granted them a permanent footing in Toxandria as subjects of the empire.³ In that capacity they soon attained a controlling position in the offices and armies of Gratian and the Valentinians.⁴ They resisted the great invasion of the Vandals in the time of Stilicho, but did not scruple to take part in the subsequent ravages.⁵ Among the confusions of that disastrous period, indeed, it is not improbable that they seized the cities of Spire, Strasburg, Amiens, Arras, Therouane, and Tournai, and by their assaults on Trèves compelled the removal of the præfectoral government to Arles.⁶ Chroniclers who flourished two centuries later refer to the year 418 large and permanent conquests in Gaul by a visionary king called Pharamund, from whom the French monarchy is usually dated.⁷ But history seeks in vain for any authentic marks of

¹ Julian, *Orat.*, i., 34, 42.

² *Epist.* ad S. P. Q. Athen.

³ *Amm. Marcell.*, xvii., 8, who first distinguishes between the *Salian* and *Riparian* Franks, the former being those who advanced from Batavia southward and westward, and the latter, those who advanced from the Rhine about Cologne. The name *Salian* is commonly supposed to be derived from the River Isala or Issyl, on which they dwelt; and the name *Riparian* from the Latin *ripa*, bank, and the Celtic *uari*, occupants: occupants of the banks of the Rhine; but these etymologies are to me unsatisfactory, and I believe the words to refer to some deeper ground of distinction among the tribes, which we can not now perhaps discover. The word *sala* was an important word, running through the whole legislation of the *Salians*. There is a Gallic root *salia*, meaning property-holder, which

may furnish a better clew. See Mone (*Celtische Forschungen*, p. 288).

⁴ *Ante*, c. vii.

⁵ *Frigeridus* (apud Greg. Turon., ii., 9).

⁶ Hieron. (*Epist.* ad Geruntiam). His words are peculiar: *Ambiani, Atrebatæ, extremi hominum Morini—translati in Germaniam*; and the writers commonly interpret them as if the inhabitants of those cities had been carried captive into Germany; but a more consistent meaning would be that these cities were made German, i. e., reduced to the possession of the Franks. De Petigny (*Études Méroving.*, t. i., p. 261). After this time no Roman garrison is mentioned north of the Scheldt in the *Notitia*.

⁷ The whole existence of Pharamund seems to depend upon a line in Pithou's edition of Prosper's Chronicle ad Ann. 418, which says, "Pharamundus regnat in Francia;" but the passage is not

his performances. Chlodio, a Salian chief, who issued from his fortress of Dispargum (in modern Brabant) about 431, and seized Camaricum (Cambrai), is a more actual personage, although we know scarcely any thing more of his feats.¹ *Ætius* had many skirmishes with both branches of the Franks (A.D. 428-432), with the followers of Chlodio, doubtless, among the rest, in the course of which he compelled them to confess the majesty of the empire, and, in return for their allegiance, confirmed them in their possessions.² A dim tradition reports how their internal discords, growing out of a question of disputed succession, induced a faction among them to invite and to join the stupendous invasion of Attila (451); but, for the most part, they fought under a leader called Merovig, or Meerwig, on the side of Rome, adhering to it till the close.³ Hilderik, the chief who reigned over the Salians of Tournai from 457 to 481, and whose story fable has adorned with romantic and improbable incidents, satisfied his martial ardor in repulsing the Wisigoths and Alemans from his frontiers, without molesting the poor and worm-eaten body of the empire.⁴ On his death (481) he left his command to a son, Chlodwig, whom he had by the runaway wife of Basin, king of Thuringia.⁵ His dominions corresponded nearly to the modern kingdom of Belgium; while other tribes occupied the surrounding districts—the Ripuarians, Lower Germania (Rhenan Prussia)—a tribe under a chief named Harrarik, Therouane

in the better edition of Sirmond, and may be regarded as an interpolation. *Fredegher*, and the *Gesta Regum Francorum*, both belonging to the eighth century, most likely copied from an earlier and spurious authority. Be that as it may, Pharamund, of whom the classic French historians give most respectful accounts, is definitely disposed of as an arrant impostor.

¹ *Greg. Turon.*, i. ii., c. 9.

² *Idat.*, *Chron.* ad Ann. 431; *Greg. Turon.*, ii., 9; *Jornand.*, *Bell. Goth.*; *Sidon.*, *Carm.*, v., 213.

³ *Sidon.*, *Carm.*, vii., 380.

⁴ *Fredegair.*, *Epit.*, c. 2.

⁵ See *ante*, c. i., p. 38. *De Petigny*, on the authority of a letter of St. Remi, makes him the Roman *Magister Militum*, t. ii., p. 2.

⁶ *Greg. Turon.*, ii., 12. He died at Tournai, and eleven centuries afterward, i. e., in 1653, his tomb was discovered at that place, containing, besides the bones, the iron of an axe, the handle and scabbard of a sword, the blade eaten away by rust, a great number of little golden figures, like bees (*to fleur de lys*), a golden buckle, an agate vase, a globe of crystal, and some rings of gold, on which were traced the effigy of the monarch, and the legend *Chilidericus Regis*. He is represented with long floating hair, and a javelin in his right hand. Some of the remains are still preserved, I believe, in the *Musée* of the Louvre. See *Montfaucon*, *Monument*.

—and another, under Ragnakher, Cambrai and its dependencies.¹

6. The kingdom of Syagrius, the son of Ægidius, embraced the cities of Soissons, Amiens, Senlis, Beauvais, and the Vermandois, in the Second Belgic, and certain undefined parts of the Sennones and of the Second and Third Lyonnese, but whether he had ruled there since the death of his father (464), and by what authority he had ruled, are disputed questions.² It would seem to be the more probable view that his power was an independent one, assumed in the interests of a discontented Roman party at a time when the youth of Chlodwig gave them reasonable hopes of avenging the cause of Ægidius against the Franks. In this light I shall regard it when it shall be necessary to return to it in another connection.

The native and Roman society was represented mainly by *The bishops.* the bishops of the Catholic Church, who, as the vicergerents of heaven, the dispensers of grace, the workers of miracles, the depositaries of mystery, the possessors of knowledge, and the chief civic authorities in the curia, impressed alike the imagination of the people and of the barbarians. They were invested with an awful sanctity, and an almost irresistible power. Intervening in nearly every domestic relation, from the baptism of the child in his cradle to the last shrift of the departing soul, catechising the young, marrying the adolescent, chastising the weak, and menacing the obstinate, their influence was felt in every tender and susceptible hour. But as the policy of the emperors and the changes of circumstances had added civic functions of high dignity to their spiritual powers, giving validity to their decisions as umpires in numerous civil and ecclesiastical cases,³ charging them, as the defensores of the cities, with the admonition of magistrates, the protection of the poor, the wardship of widows, orphans, and slaves,⁴ and associating them often in the highest acts of administration, as the conscience-keepers, the advisers, and the ambassadors of mon-

¹ Greg. Turon., l. ii., cc. 27, 41–42.

² Greg. Turon., l. ii., c. 27; Frédé-
gai., c. 15. Comp. Dubos (Hist. Crit.,
t. i., c. 6); De Petigny, t. ii., p. 37.

³ As to the extent of the civil juris-
diction of the bishops, see Gosselin

(Power of the Popes, vol. i., pp. 150–
166, ed. London, 1858).

⁴ An account of the duties and pow-
ers of the Defenders may be gathered
from Codex Theodos., lib. i., tit. 2.
Cod. Justin., lib. i., tit. 55.

archs, their political ascendancy was even more marked than their priestly domination. In the general decline of the municipal magistracies they still stood erect, as the highest and almost only authorities remaining. Thus they rendered the episcopate the nucleus of whatever local patriotism still survived. The parish took the place of the *curiæ*, and, in proportion as the old political ties were broken or relaxed, new ties of reliance and support were knit about the persons of the priests. They became the men of the people, as they already claimed to be the men of God.¹ By the fact of their eminence and power in the native society also, they challenged the respect, and even the awe of the barbaric immigrants, while the circumstances of the time often called them to intervene between the two, either to avert inroads, to compose quarrels, to shelter the weak, to conduct negotiations, or to heal the wounds of ancient conflicts.

Devoted to their order and to their faith, the ecclesiastics were not slow in availing themselves of the opportunities opened to them by their position. They were intelligent enough to perceive that all was over with the empire; the imperial palaces were closed; the imperial throne was vacant; and the sceptre of the Cæsars had been surrendered to the distant East. Nothing more was to be hoped from that source. But in the place of the Cæsars stood the warrior-chiefs of the new races, aspiring to an equal power, and often wielding a greater one, and to these they turned as to the props of the future time. With all the prestige which might be derived from their sacred character, their moral excellence, their superior knowledge, their influence over the multitude; with all their ambition, and subtlety, and zeal for their class, they crowded the bivouacs of the barbaric sovereigns, swarmed in their halls, conducted their diplomacy, impressed their fancies, and appealed to their religious feelings.

Unluckily for the success of the bishops, they did not find the minds of those barbarians an unwritten sheet of religious impressions. The most of them were already Christians, but Christians of an odious and recusant per-

The barbarians
are Christians.

¹ Of the influence of their position upon themselves, and, by reaction, on the people, it is not yet time to speak.

suasion. Time had avenged the persecutions of an earlier orthodoxy, by bringing the conquering nations into the empire as the converts of banished or fugitive heretics.¹ They had been Arians from the outset, and their subsequent experiences had only matured and strengthened their Arian convictions. There was something, doubtless, in the simplicity and directness of the German mind which indisposed it so universally to the abstruse dogmas of the orthodox Church. They did not comprehend, or did not relish those subtle and transcendent theories of the Godhead, which seemed so easy to the disputatious Greek, and so seductive to the imaginative Asiatic.² Perhaps their hereditary repugnance to a sacerdotal class, combined with their jealousy of Roman sway, impelled them to reject a form of faith indissolubly blended with the pretensions of the Latin clergy. Many of the German kings cherished not merely an honest and intense, but even a persecuting zeal, imitating the bad example of Theodosius and other emperors, who had raised the hand of violence against the holders of adverse opinions.³ By a double motive, of piety and ambition; then, the bishops were prompted to labor for the conversion of the German kings, or, in the failure of that aim, for the overthrow of their irksome, if not oppressive ascendancy.

Of all the Germans in Gaul the Franks alone were pagans, mollified, some of them, by their long contact with the inhabitants of the empire, but not fixed in any of the tenets of the new faith. Naturally, therefore, the prelates looked to them as a counterpoise to the other races, and to the Franks settled about Tournai especially, whose young leader, Chlodwig—astute, fearless, and aspiring—was in a condition to be made a serviceable instrument. His followers were few, but, as the scion of the royal race of Merowig—of that old, half-fabulous demigod or sea-warrior who had founded the dynasty—he enjoyed a certain traditionary eminence among the other tribes. He

¹ This is conjectural; for no records or even legends remain of the first conversions of the Teutonic nations to Arian Christianity beyond the little that is told of the effects of Ulphilas among the Goths. Concerning him and his Mosso-Gothic translation of the Scrip-

tures, see Waits (*Über das Leben und Die Lehre des Ulfila*, Hanover, 1840).

² Milman (*Hist. Latin Christianity*, vol. i., p. 252).

³ Eurik and Genserik were both persecutors.

The Franks
alone not
Christians.

was but fifteen years of age when he was lifted on the shield (481), and must have been known already to the venerable St. Remigius, or St. Remi, who for seventy years and more administered the bishopric of Rheims.¹ It was probably through him that the bishops (one of whom, Aprunculus, had been driven from his see of Langres by the Burgunds as early as 481 for plotting in favor of the Franks²) carried on their intrigues. On the accession of Chlodwig, an affectionate letter was addressed to him by St. Remi, exhorting him to practice justice and charity, and, above all, to give good heed to the counsels of the clergy.³

Chlodwig, however, does not enter conspicuously upon the scene till the year 486, when he assailed Syagrius, the "King of the Romans" of Soissons and its dependent districts. He appears to have been impelled to this movement, which was only a revival of the feud between their respective parents, Hilperik and Ægidius, by a jealousy of the Roman influence among the Frank tribes, and by a fear that this Roman independency might prove an obstacle to his ulterior designs.⁴ He solicited the co-operation of the other Frankish kings in the enterprise, but was only successful with Ragnakher of Cambrai; Harrarik of Therouane and Sighebert, the chief of the Ripuarians, preferring to await the issue of the event. Syagrius was beaten, and fled for refuge to the court of Alarik II., the young and degenerate son of Eurik, who became King of the Wisigoths on the death of his father, A.D. 484. Either averse himself to the Roman ascendancy, or fearing to irritate the Franks, Alarik declined to shelter him, and

¹ He died in 533, in the 96th year of his age, having been made bishop in his twenty-second year (Greg. Turon., *De Gloria Confess.*, c. 79); Frodoard (*Hist. Eccles. Rem.*, i., 57). This period comprises the whole reign of Hilperik, the father of Chlodwig, and it is evident, from the tone of a letter which St. Remi addresses to the son on his advent to power, that he was on familiar terms with the family (*Epist. Remigii Episcopi ad Chlodoveum*, apud *Scriptores Rer. Franc.*, t. iii.).

² *Idem*, which the Benedictines refer to the year 507, but which, for reasons assigned by De Petigny, seems

more properly to belong to the first year of Chlodwig's reign.

³ In this letter St. Remi addresses Chlodwig as *Dominus*, speaks of his "having undertaken the administration of military affairs" (*administrationem vos secundam rei bellicæ suscepisse*), and calls his command a *beneficium*. On the strength of these expressions, Dubos (*Hist. Crit.*, l. iii., c. 18) argues that Chlodwig was the master of the militia in Gaul, and a mere lieutenant of the Eastern empire, which still asserted its supremacy over the diocese.

⁴ Greg. Turon., l. ii., cc. 27 et 41; Dubos (*Hist. Crit.*, t. ii., l. iv., c. 1).

delivered him to the envoys of Chlodwig, by whom he was slain.

An incident of this expedition is illustrative of the manners and relations of the times: Chlodwig, it would seem, The vase of Soissons. had enjoined upon his warriors the severest restraints as to the plunder of property, and particularly that of the churches. But, in spite of his remonstrances, they carried off much spoil, which, according to custom, they afterward divided at Soissons. Among the booty was a sacred vase, which St. Remi reclaimed, and Chlodwig promised him, but which a soldier, when the claim was preferred, broke into pieces resentfully, saying that all the warriors must share and share alike. Chlodwig dissembled his wrath for the time, but several months afterward, during a review of the troops on the Marz-feld, pretended to find some defect in the armor of the soldier who had broken the vase, and threw his axe upon the ground. As the soldier was stooping to pick up his weapon, Chlodwig buried his own axe in his head, exclaiming, "Twas thus you served the vase at Soissons."¹

The defeat of Syagrius was not the final subjection of the Sennonese, and for several years longer Chlodwig was engaged in a series of irregular wars with them and with the Armoricans. Five of these years he spent in the blockade of Paris, which, being reduced by famine, was at length relieved through the intervention of the beneficent St. Genevieve.² Negotiations for peace were then concluded, probably under the advice of St. Remi.³ It may be conjectured that one of the conditions of this peace, imposed as a guarantee of the future, was the marriage of Chlodwig with a Catholic wife,⁴ whom the bishops had ready in a favorite convert named Chlotilda, the exiled niece of the Burgundian king Gundebald. A multitude of romantic adventures has been woven by tradition into the narrative of the incidents of this espousal.⁵ All that we know of it, on good authority, is that

¹ This anecdote is usually given by the French historians to show the limited nature of the royal power among the Franks. It is to me more indicative of Chlodwig's early sense of obligation to the bishops.

² In *Vita Sanctæ Genovefæ* apud Bolland., cc. 35-40.

³ Frodoard (*Hist. Ecc. Rem.*, p. 69) and Hincmar (*Vita St. Remigii*).

⁴ De Petigny, t. ii., p. 400.

⁵ Fredegher (*Hist.*, cc. 17, 18);

Chlotilda was a thorough Catholic, and that, just after the king had terminated a successful foray against the Tongrians, the union was solemnized. She undertook immediately the formal conversion of her husband, of whose religion, however, either she or the historian was ignorant, as her arguments are made to turn chiefly upon the pranks of Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and other Roman gods.¹ The scheme was somewhat retarded at the outset by the death of their first child, a son, to whose baptism Chlodwig had consented, but who died the very week of his immersion. The baptism of a second son, named Chlodomir, however, was followed by a more favorable result, and discharged his resentment.

But his conversion was not completely accomplished, or, at least, announced, till 496, when he was engaged with Sighebert, the King of the Ripuarians, in a war against the Alemans. Nearly defeated during a battle fought at Tolbiac,² he bethought himself of his wife's powerful deity, and exclaimed, "O Jesus Christ, whom Chlotilda affirms to be the son of the living God, who, as they say, givest succor to those who are in straits, and grantest victory to those who hope in thee, if thou wilt accord me victory over my enemies, I will believe in thee, and be baptized in thy name."³ Having said this, adds Gregory, the Alemans forthwith turned their backs and fled. Chlodwig pursued them as far as Rætia and Noricum, slaying a great many of them, and reducing their country, the Upper Germania (Alsace), together with the Decumatian fields (Baden and Wirtemberg), to his possession. When he returned his wife claimed the fulfillment of his solemn promise, and besought the aid of St. Remi to instruct the neophyte in the Christian faith. It was arranged that he should be baptized on Christmas day at the church of St. Rheims.⁴ Accordingly, when the time came, the edifice was adorned with an unexampléd splendor: "They covered the interior porticoes with paint-

Gesta Reg. Franc., cc. 11-13; Aimon., Monach. Floriacens., l. i., c. 13; Vita Sanctæ Chlotildis, t. iii., c. 8.

¹ Greg. Turon., l. ii., c. 28.

² Now Zulpich, about twenty miles from Cologne.

³ Greg. Turon., l. ii., c. 30.

⁴ Ibid., c. 31. The nature of Chlodwig's piety is discovered by an anecdote which says that once, when St. Remi was describing in pathetic tones the betrayal and execution of the Savior, the king jumped up and shouted, "Hua! if I had been there with my Franks!"

ed tapestries and white veils; they raised the baptismal fonts; they diffused the perfumes; they lighted the flaming tapers; and the whole temple was embalmed as with a celestial odor, and the Spirit of God descended upon those who officiated with such grace that they believed themselves transported to Paradise." Dressed in his showy pontifical robes, St. Remi led his spiritual son by the hand toward the font. "Oh, patron," asked the latter, astonished by the glitter and parade, "is not this the kingdom of heaven which thou hast promised me?" "No," replied the prelate, "but the way that leads to it." "Then the new Constantine," says Gregory, "advanced to the font, to be healed of the old leprosy which corrupted him, and to wash away in that regenerate water the hideous stains of his past life. As he stepped forward, the saint of God said to him with his eloquent lips, 'Bow thy head meekly, Sicamber; adore what thou hast burned, and burn what thou hast adored.'" Saying this, he laved his brow with the waters of the sacrament, and anointed him with the holy chrism.¹ The sister and three thousand of the warriors of Chlodwig were baptized with him; but others, more obstinate in their Odinism, deserted his standard for that of Ragnakher, the King of Cambrai.²

The joy and the expectations of the Catholics in this event are marked in the phrase of Gregory, the "new Constantine," and thenceforth the King of the Franks became their champion and their hope. He was, in fact, the only orthodox monarch of all Europe. The Emperor of the East, though nominally Catholic, was still suspected on some mysterious points of dogma. Theodorik, King of the Ostrogoths, Hunerik, King of the Vandals, Alarik, King of the Wisigoths, Gundebald and Godeghisel, kings of the Burgundians, and all the little kings of the Franks, not worshipers of Thor, were avowed and zealous Arians.³ Chlodwig was Catholic, and, as he was afterward named, "the eldest son of the Church." Pope

*Rejoicing of
the Chris-
tians.*

¹ Greg. Turon., l. ii., c. 81. On this occasion a tradition, which can not be traced beyond the ninth century, relates that a pigeon of brilliant whiteness brought a holy vial (ampulla) from heaven, containing oil, with which St. Remi gave the holy unction. This al-

leged miraculous vial was preserved at Rheims for the consecration of the French monarchs till 1794, when it was broken by the Revolutionists.

² Hincmar, *Vita Sancti Remigii*.

³ Dubos, t. ii., l. iv., c. 8.

Anastasius addressed a letter of thanks and congratulation to this "glorious and illustrious son," in which he was enjoined to fill to the full the felicity of the "common mother," to become her crown of glory as well as her column of defense.¹ Bishop Avitus, of Vienne, wrote to him, "Your faith is our victory; the Divine Providence has made you the arbiter of the age; every where the happy triumph which this country has obtained through you is celebrated; every combat that you may engage in will be a gain for us."² Others wrote and acted in the same spirit, and all Gaul, says Gregory, longed for the coming of the Franks.³ The arrest and banishment of several bishops among the Burgundians and the Wisigoths for conspiring against their own monarchs in behalf of the monarch of the Franks bore witness that the neighboring races were of the same opinion.⁴

The conversion of Chlodwig rapidly consolidated his power in the north of Gaul; the Gallo-Romans, and the scattered remains of the old Roman garrisons and colonies, readily conceded his supremacy, although the Bretons, whose bishops were not in strict alliance with those of other parts, yielded a more reluctant acquiescence.⁵ He was consequently free to turn his eyes toward the German powers of the south, whither the way was prepared for him by the turn of events in Italy and the ever-restless machinations of the ecclesiastics. Odoaker was no longer the chief of the barbaric occupants of the ancient peninsula. He had surrendered his dominion to Theodorik the Great, king of the Ostrogothic tribes, which, after the dissolution of the Hunnic empire in 453, had reared for themselves a vast dominion upon the borders of the Danube. By alternate hostilities against or alliances with the court of Constantinople, they had become the arbiters of the Eastern world. Zeno, the Isaurian, eager to rid himself of their dangerous proximity, set them upon Italy, which was, in a four years' war (489-493), reduced to subjection.⁶ Gunde-

¹ Epist. Anastasii Papæ apud Scriptor. Franc., t. iv., pp. 49, 50.

² Epist. Aviti, *ibid.*

³ Greg. Turon., l. ii., c. 36.

⁴ These were Volusianus of Tours, Theodorus and Proculus in Burgundy,

and Quintianus of Rodes. Greg. Turon., l. x., c. 81.

⁵ Comp. Dom Lobineau (*Hist. Bretagne*, t. i., l. i., pp. 7-13).

⁶ Gibbon relates the rise of the Ostrogothic kingdom with his usual eloquence

bald, King of the Burgunds, availed himself of the war to ravage Liguria, and provoked the reprisals of Theodorik, who, however, being no vulgar king, but a statesman of comprehensive policy, took his own way and time to accomplish his revenge. Noble in his instincts, yet educated at the Eastern court, and imbued with all the traditions of Roman greatness, Theodorik projected, on the broadest basis of tolerance and equal laws, a Germanic reconstruction of the imperial unity. He revived and fortified whatever was deemed excellent in the ancient polity; he surrounded himself with wise and philosophic councilors;¹ and he extended his family and political alliances to nearly all the tribes of his native country, with a view to make himself the great pacificator of Europe. To the King of the Wisigoths he gave his eldest daughter in marriage; to the King of the Thuringians his niece; while he adopted, as a son-at-arms, the King of the Herules; and asked for himself to wife the sister of the rising young King of the Franks.² In this way Chlodwig, who found any pretext for war sufficient when his interests or inclinations prompted, became involved in his quarrel with Gundebald. Together they planned a simultaneous invasion of Burgundy from the north and the south, on the condition of an equal division of the expenses and of the spoil.³

Meanwhile, the Catholic prelates of Gundebald's dominions were active in turning these events to the advantage of their church. Unwilling to resort to war, we must suppose, so long as peaceful negotiations might avail, they first worked zealously for his conversion to the truth. Their letters and expostulations proving vain, they summoned a great conference of bishops at Lyons, to engage in a public and elaborate debate with the Arian clergy, that his prejudices might be removed and his understanding enlightened.⁴ The controversy profited little, for he asked at the close of it the somewhat embarrassing question, "If yours be the true faith, why

(vol. v., c. 89), but a more detailed account is to be found in Manso (*Geschichte des Ostrogoth. Reiches*, Breslau, 1824).

¹ Cassiodorus and Boetius among others.

² See Cassiodor., *Epist.*, *passim*.

³ Procop. (*De Bell. Goth.*, l. i., c. 12).

⁴ *Collatio Episcoporum coram Gundebaldo Rege* (apud *Scrip. Rer. Gaul. et Franc.*, t. iv., p. 100).

The bishops
and the Bur-
gunds, A.D.
499.

do you not hinder your brothers the Franks from marching to our destruction? Or does the true doctrine consist in covetousness for the goods of others and thirst for human blood?" Avitus, the Bishop of Vienne, in his reply, avoided the point of the interrogatory, although he plainly indicated to the king an alternative. "Return with your people to the law of the Lord," he said, "and you will have security on your frontiers. Those who are at peace with heaven may have peace with men."¹ As the king promised merely to think of that, the proselytizing bishops departed not much consoled.

We do not know, of course, what immediate agency they had in this result; but, as soon as their conferences were closed, Chlodwig brought to bear upon the Burgunds the effective arguments of the lance and battle-axe.

Chlodwig makes war on the Burgunds, A.D. 500. Conspiring with Godeghisel, the king's brother, who reigned over a small part of Burgundia, and desired to reign over the whole, he assaulted the forces of Gundebald at Dijon. The conflict was stubborn, and would have been doubtful but that, in the midst of it, Godeghisel deserted to the Franks, and gave them the victory. Gundebald fled to Avignon, whither he was pursued by Chlodwig, and besieged, while Godeghisel remained behind to secure the fruits of his treachery.² In exchanging Gundebald for him, however, the Catholics had gained nothing, for he was even a more decided Arian than the king; while Chlodwig and his troops had been led off into a distant region to carry on a hopeless siege in the midst of swarms of imbittered enemies.³ Very soon, too, this deposed king, by the sympathy which his misfortunes excited, and the promises of political and religious reform which, on the persuasions of the priests, he addressed to his old Roman subjects, produced a reaction of feeling in his favor. He was enabled, after proffering a small tribute to the Franks, to raise the siege, to recover his freedom, collect his scattered forces, and march upon the usurper at Vienne, where, putting him and his adherents to death, he resumed his ancient sway.⁴

¹ Collat., *ibid.*

² Greg. Turon., l. ii., c. 32.

³ Nevertheless, the clergy called the undertaking "a holy and glorious en-

terprise" (*Vit. S. Dalmatii apud Script. Rerum Gall., t. iv., p. 100*).

⁴ Marius Aventicensis, *Chron.* ad Ann. 500.

His gratitude or justice was evinced in the immediate compilation of a system of laws, which, as it placed the Burgunds and the native Romans on a more equal footing, may be regarded as the fulfillment of the promises made before his escape. It adhered to the institution of the weregild except for the crime of murder, but the same rate of composition was established for the Burgund and the Roman. It maintained, too, the original *sortes*, or divisions of land; but it allowed of no new partitions to fresh comers, while it granted the old Roman residents a preference in future sales or redemptions. In the judicial arrangements, the singular method of eliciting truth by the oaths of compurgators, or, when these were challenged, by the duel of champions,¹ was retained; but this could have been applied only incidentally to the Roman class of subjects,² for whose special benefit the procedures of the Roman law were observed in the courts, while an abridgment of the Theodosian Code was prepared to expound and regulate their national laws.³

Nevertheless, the prelates were unsatisfied with the political guarantees and rights conceded by Gundebald without his religious conversion; they pursued, therefore, their work of proselytism. They got so far, according to Gregory, as to induce him to request a secret baptism into the true faith from the hands of Bishop Avitus of Vienne. He desired to make it secret because of the prejudices of his German subjects; but the bishop, to whom a public abjuration alone seemed to be of any utility, declined the proposal; so the king was left to persist in his heresies to the end.⁴ Avitus was the less strenuous now, perhaps because he found a recompense for his pains in Sighismund, the son of Gundebald, who was associated with him in the government, and became, under the skillful manipulations of the apostle, a thorough and devout

¹ On compurgation and the wager of battle there is an intelligent article in a late North American Review (art. i., January, 1859).

² The Lex Burgundiorum was probably first promulgated in 502, although something was added to it by King Sighismund in 517. Von Savigny (Hist. Rom. Law, t. ii., pp. 1-4).

³ This has come down to us under the false title of Papiniani Liber Responsorum, and was first published by Cujacius in 1566. Irving (Introduction to the History of the Civil Law, Append. ii., ed. London, 1837); Savigny, also, vol. ii., p. 32.

⁴ Greg. Turon., l. ii., c. 84.

Catholic.¹ Orthodoxy acquired the ascendant in the court; Sighismund lavished favors upon the monasteries and the churches; and Chlodwig might thereafter assert that, if he had not added to his territorial possessions by the Burgundian war, he had yet fulfilled, to a considerable extent, the wishes of his ecclesiastical patrons.² The Burgunds were conquered in the sense most acceptable to those whose superior sagacity and intelligence enabled them to play off the barbaric chiefs against each other, according to the projects of their own ambition. The winds and waves of religious agitation, as Avitus wrote, had not entirely subsided, but there was a calm in which they might see the port where they would no longer suffer shipwreck.³

The Wisigoths alone, of the German invaders of Gaul, clung to the Arian faith; and it may be supposed that the same influences which had aimed at the alternative of the conversion or the overthrow of the Burgunds were zealously directed toward them.⁴ No pains were likely spared by the venerable bishops to compass their ends, nor is it any more likely that they always stickled at the means. Alarik, knowing his danger—knowing that the ecclesiastics were undermining within, while they could at any time command from without the powerful aid of the Franks, was compelled to exercise an unusual vigilance and circumspection. Among other things, he tried to come to an amicable understanding with his northern neighbor, the restless and choleric Chlodwig, and accordingly invited him to a conference, which was held on a small island of the River Loire, opposite the city of Amboise.⁵ The principal result of the interview was that Alarik consented to material modifications of his laws, suggested in the interests of the Romans and Catholics. He recalled the banished bishops, softened many of the ancient Germanic customs, and compiled an abridgment of the Theodosian Code, under the name of the *Breviarum Aniani*, for the administration of justice according to the Roman forms, and the maintenance of the municipal organization of the civitates, and of the privileges of

¹ Sirmond (in *Notis ad Epist. Aviti* 19 et 20, p. 21, note).

² On this subject, see Dubos (*Hist. Crit.*, t. ii., l. iv., c. 12).

³ Aviti *Epist.* 34 ad Aurelianus.

⁴ *Vit. St. Cesarii*, apud Bolland., c. 16.

⁵ *Greg. Turon.*, l. ii., c. 35.

the curiæ.¹ Alarik supposed that by these concessions he had assuaged all griefs and silenced all complaints; yet the council of Agde, held the same year, hardly concealed the spirit of revolt under its lavish protestations of gratitude and respect for the monarch.² "He had pushed tolerance," says De Petigny, "as far as it was possible; but it is not tolerance that religions and parties wish: an entire community of sentiment and principle alone satisfies their zeal." The council had no sooner separated than Bishop Quintianus, of Rodez, had to be deposed anew, and Bishop Verus sent into exile, because of their plottings.³ As the king had, moreover, about the same time provoked the discontent of his subjects by financial exactions and an issue of spurious coin, he furnished his enemies with materials to work upon.⁴

Chlodwig, who narrowly watched the course of dissatisfaction and intrigue, as soon as the time was ripe, said to his warriors, assembled on the Marz-feld, "What a shame that these Arians should possess the fairest parts of Gaul; let us march upon them, and, with the aid of God, seize their lands!" His hearers, of course well pleased with the proposal, clamored their approval. A numerous army was rapidly collected; Cloderik, a son of the Ripuarian king, joined in with the wild tribes of the Rhine; the Burgunds promised their assistance; and many Gallo-Romans, inspired by religious zeal or the hope of plunder, followed in the wake of those fiercer combatants.⁵ In vain the good Theodorik of Italy saw with pain the approaching rupture between his relatives, and sought to avert the consequences. While his envoys were yet hurrying with his messages of peace from court to court, the hosts of Chlodwig were on their way to the Loire.⁶ A war so holy could not readily be foregone; moreover, the venerable Bishop of Rheims had invoked upon its prosecutors the choicest blessings of heaven. Miracles, therefore, marked their

¹ De Petigny, t. ii., p. 495. It is dated Feb. 5th, A.D. 506, and was prepared by the jurisconsult Anianus, under the direction of Count Goiarik, and submitted to the approbation of an assembly of bishops and Gallic deputies.

² Comp. Concil. Agath. Præfat., and Vit. St. Cæs., i., 17.

³ Greg. Turon., l. ii., c. 37; also, l. x., c. 31.

⁴ Sidon. Apoll., Epist. Aviti 78.

⁵ Greg. Turon., l. ii., c. 37.

⁶ Cassiodor., l. ii., Epist. 1, 2, 3. His letters of expostulation are eloquent and magnanimous.

progress: a stag of wondrous magnitude and beauty guided them to the fords of the Vienne; celestial fires blazed from the basilica of St. Hilary at Poitiers, to illumine their path during the night; and the sacred sortileges, consulted over the tomb of St. Martin, presaged a glorious triumph.¹ The same powers which had prepared the miracles had also taken care of the result. At Vouglé, where the Franks and Wisigoths first encountered, the former achieved not an easy, and yet a decisive victory. Alarik was slain, some say by Chlodwig's own hand; his troops were dispersed; and all his possessions north of the Garonne were claimed for the conqueror. Yet his conquest was not complete; for at Narbonne the chiefs of the defeated party rallied, and raised a bastard son of the fallen king, named Gesalik, upon the shield.²

While the Wisigoths were reorganizing their forces at the foot of the Pyrenees, Chlodwig made the best of his time in securing the possessions which had been opened to him. Dividing his army into two parts, he sent one of them, under the command of his eldest son Theuderik, to subject the First Aquitaine, as far as the confines of Burgundia;³ the other he led himself, across the Garonne, into the Second Aquitaine and Novempopulania. On his way, it is alleged, he captured the city of Bordeaux (Burdigalia) and other considerable fortresses. Gesalik, incapable of holding the open field against him, concentrated his troops in the town of Carcassone, whither he carried also the treasures of the Goths—supposed from popular report to include the accumulated spoils taken by the first Alarik from Rome, and among the rest the magnificent ornaments and vessels of the Temple of Jerusalem.⁴ This furnished an additional motive to Chlodwig for marching upon the town, which he did with great rapidity, but not before it had been placed in a state of thorough defense.

Chlodwig besieges Carcassone, A.D. 507.

¹ Chlodwig sent deputies to try the *Sortileges Biblicorum* at Tours; as they entered the church the chanter was enouncing the words of Psalm xvii., 39, 40, which they at once regarded as a divine promise of success.

² Procop. (De Bell. Goth., l. i., c. 12); also Isidor., Chron. It would appear that in this battle of Vouglé

many Arvernians fell fighting on the side of the Wisigoths, which would seem to show that all the natives did not sympathize with the Franks. Perhaps the friends and countrymen of Ægidius and Syagrius had not yet forgotten the old feuds with the Franks.

³ Greg. Turon., l. ii., c. 37.

⁴ Procop. (De Bell. Goth., l. i., c. 13).

During the time he was engaged in the blockade, Theuderik, his son, had ravaged Arvernia, and then joined the allied Burgunds under Sighismund in an expedition against Arles, which was still held by the Wisigoths.¹ On the way they seized a large number of the frontier cities of the Second Narbonnese and of the Maritime Alps, leaving behind them, however, Avignon, which they were unable to take.² They sat down before Arles in two bodies, one on the right, and the other on the left shore of the River Rhone;³ but in all their assaults, singly or together, they were vehemently repulsed by the Goths. A sedition of the Jews, who were collected there in large numbers by the opportunities of traffic, and the secret treachery, as it was alleged, of the Bishop St. Cæsar, came near wrecking the defense.⁴ This was only prevented by the timely intervention of Theodorik of Italy. Indignant at the miscarriage of his pacific measures and the truculent zeal with which the Franks pursued his fellow-Arians, that powerful monarch undertook the delivery of the besieged,⁵ although he was not on the best terms with the Wisigoths, because of their choice of Gesalik to the kingship, instead of Amalarik, his grandson. As he approached, the Burgunds, remembering their experiences in Italy, fled; the Franks were then easily driven off; and Chlodwig himself, finding the capture of Carcassone impossible, and not caring to await the arrival of Theodorik, should he incline to push his successes, deemed it prudent to withdraw into Bordeaux. Theodorik, however, remained satisfied with the Arlate, which he proceeded to restore and organize in the Roman fashion.

The next year, the struggle was renewed between the Franks and the Wisigoths, the latter of whom, after achieving some unimportant victories, were forced to dethrone their king, Gesalik, and send him for refuge into Africa, to the court of the King of the Vandals.⁶ They proclaimed in his stead Amalarik, the son of Alarik by a daughter of Theodorik, whereby they procured the open and decisive

The Franks and Wisigoths continue their war, A.D. 508-509;

¹ Avit., Epist. 40.

² De Petigny, t. ii., p. 512.

³ Cassiodor. (l. viii., Epist. 10).

⁴ Vita Sancti Cæsarii apud Bolland.,

⁵ Greg. Turon., l. ii., c. 37. Procop., loc. cit. Dubos, makes a different arrangement of these events.

⁶ Cassiodor., l. iii., *passim*.

assistance of the King of the Ostrogoths. Thus conciliated, he speedily forced the Franks into a peace, in the final arrangement of which, always moderate and generous, he allowed them to retain possession of the two Aquitains, while he reserved to himself the Arelate alone, as far as the Durance; and for his grandson, whose royalty was recognized, the Second Narbonnese and Spain.¹

which is closed
by the interven-
tion of Theodo-
ric, A.D. 510.

On his return home, Chlodwig stopped at Tours, to offer his gratitude for various celestial favors to the guardian saint, and while there was invested by Anastasius, the Emperor of the East, with the title and insignia of the consular office. The object of the emperor, doubtless, was to secure his aid against Theodorik, with whom he was at war in Italy, as well as to assert the theoretical supremacy of the empire, a notion to which the Romans still fondly clung. Chlodwig accepted the distinction with visible joy; he indued his limbs in the purple tunic and encircled his brow with the glittering diadem, and, thus adorned, paraded the streets in exultation, distributing money to the crowd and gifts to the churches. Whatever we may think of the legal validity and significance of this act, its practical influences can not be doubted.² It rendered him, in the estimation of his Gallo-Roman subjects, the lieutenant of the Cæsars, the representative and heir of the fallen empire, to whom their orphaned allegiance might be transferred, and by whom the faded splendors of the old civilization would likely be renewed. It must have tended, moreover, to obliterate in his own mind the simple notions of royalty which he had derived from his German ancestry, and to replace them by the loftier conceptions which the priests had

Chlodwig made
consul by the
Emperor of the
East, A.D. 510.

¹ De Petigny, l. ii., p. 528.

² The incident has given occasion to so much controversy that I subjoin the words of Gregory of Tours: "Igitur ab Anastasio, imperatore, codicillos de consulatu accepit, et in basilicâ Sancti Martini, tunica blatea indutus est, et chlamyde, imponens vertici diadema. Tunc, ascenso equo, aurum argentumque in itinere illo quod inter portam atrii et ecclesiam civitatis est, presentibus populis, propriâ manu spargens, erogavit, et ab eâ die, tantum Consul

et Augustus est appellatus." This passage is relied upon by Dubos, De Petigny, Palgrave, and others, who maintain that Chlodwig was only a lieutenant of the empire in his several military expeditions. I shall probably have occasion to recur to the subject in the sequel. Meantime, the English reader may consult the elaborate and judicious remarks of Hallam (Hist. of Middle Ages, Supplementary Notes, c. i., n. 4).

framed out of the Old Testament Scriptures and the Roman imperialism.

The authority of Chlodwig was less securely established, or less cheerfully acknowledged, among his countrymen, the Franks, in the north of Gaul, than elsewhere, and, as soon as he was at peace with the Burgunds and Wisigoths, he turned his attention to them. His object was to concentrate in himself the monarchy or executive force of all the tribes—a most difficult undertaking, but one which he contrived to effect in a summary and characteristic way, not very honorable, it must be confessed, to his own character, or to the instructions of his Christian teachers. Among his coadjutors in the Wisigothic war had been Chloderik, a son of the Ripuarian king, formerly lamed in the battle of Tolbiac. “Thy father is old and limp,” said Chlodwig to him, “and if he were dead thou wouldst succeed to his kingdom and to my friendship!” The young man, comprehending the suggestions of the tempter, at once caused his father to be killed, and sent messengers to Chlodwig to announce the fact. He, by a return embassy, answered, “I thank thee for thy good-will; pray thee show thy treasures to my messengers, before they are appropriated.” Chloderik showed them the chest in which his father kept his gold, stooping down and plunging his arm into it to indicate how much it was. As he did so, one of the envoys raised his axe and struck it into his skull. The Ripuarians revolted at the atrocity; but Chlodwig, after besieging and beating them at Verdun, denied his participation in the crime, and got himself lifted upon the shield as their king. He then marched against Harrarik, the king at Therouane, made him and his son prisoners, and caused the hair of both to be cut off, in sign of their degradation and disgrace. Harrarik, condoling with his son, said to him, “This foliage has been cut off from a green tree, but it will grow and bloom again.” The words being reported to Chlodwig, he instantly divined the menace, and ordered both to be beheaded, seizing at the same time their kingdom and their treasures. Ragnakher was still the king at Cambrai. Chlodwig procured his slaves and vassals to conspire against him, by presents of bracelets and baldricks of false gold (brass gilt). He then took him and his son prisoners, and killed the

Chlodwig consolidated his power among the Franks, A.D. 511.

father with his axe, because he disgraced the family in allowing himself to be fettered, and the son, because he had not prevented the disgrace of the father. Rignomer, another king at the town of Mans, was put to death in the same spirit. "Thus," says Gregory of Tours, who narrates these stories at length with the most impassive coolness, "God crushed the enemies of Chlodwig daily under his feet, and enlarged his kingdom, because he walked with a pure heart before him, and did that which was agreeable in his sight."¹ The same chronicler proceeds: "Having slain, in this wise, many other kings, and his nearest kindred, he extended his authority over the whole of Gaul; and, finally, one day assembling his people, he spoke as follows of the relatives whom he had butchered: 'Unhappy that I am, left like a wayfarer in the midst of strangers, there is now no relative to befriend me in the day of adversity.' But this he said not for sorrow at their deaths, only through cunning, in order to discover whether he had still any relatives left, so that he might destroy them."²

These crafty and sanguinary proceedings are to be ascribed to political motives as well as to personal ambition. Chlodwig had imbibed from the prelates and Romans generally their notions as to the necessity of a centralized and unitary government, and he compelled the submission of the Frankish tribes as a condition precedent to a more systematic

Chlodwig's motives in these murders.

¹ Hist. Franc., l. ii., cc. 40-42. We find, however, by the Life of St. Eleutherius, that other prelates did not regard these crimes with the same complacency as the Bishop of Tours. It is narrated that, after these scenes of perfidy and violence, Chlodwig entered the church at Tournai to return thanks for his victories, when the bishop rebuked him for his sins. Chlodwig manifested a deep contrition afterward, i. e., he uttered prayers and groans, and made considerable gifts to the Church. *Vita Sancti Eleutherii*, apud Bolland., 20th February.

² Greg. Turon., ii., 42. De Petigny, contrasting the skillful, patient, and moderate politics of Chlodwig's earlier life with these scenes of ferocious vengeance and hypocrisy, says that in the

latter he was abandoned to his barbaric instincts, while in the former he had been guided by the clergy. There is, however, no reason for supposing that the clergy had withdrawn their control in his later days; on the contrary, we find, by subsequent acts, that he was as much under their influence as ever. A better moral might have been inferred from these events if De Petigny had told us how the peculiar theology of those times sunk all moral distinctions in a gross external devotion to the Church, or if he had dwelt upon what he himself says, at the close of the paragraph, namely, that the bishops, in looking at the end, shut their eyes to the means. Inst. Méroving., t. ii., p. 554.

organization of his State. He was, in his own esteem, the successor of the Cæsars, the darling of the Church, and the chosen instrument of Heaven in restoring that imperial polity which had disastrously gone down amid the tempests of the invasions. In pursuance of this object, we find him, immediately after the execution of his bloody tasks, convoking a council of The Council of Orleans. bishops at Orleans, to arrange the ecclesiastical dignities and affairs of his realms. About thirty prelates, some of them from the Burgundian and Wisigothic districts, were present, eager to forward his plans, and to cement the profitable union between themselves and the king. By the canons which were passed the orthodox supremacy was defined and fortified; ecclesiastical estates were exempted from taxation, and declared inalienable and imprescriptible; the privileges of sanctuary assured to homicides, adulterers, thieves, and slaves; and the immense donations of Chlodwig to the churches were confirmed and regulated: but, in return, the clergy consented that no person should be allowed to enter into the spiritual or monastic orders without permission of the king or the count.¹

We must refer to the same epoch,² I think, and to the same impulses, the written compilation of the old Frankish The Salic Law collected. customs, which has come down to us under the name of the Salic Law. It was a version in Latin of the primitive jurisprudence of the Mallberg, with some considerable additions, rendered necessary by the altered circumstances of the people. In its original form, this law, which is called a *pactum*, or compact, must have been coeval with the federation of the several Germanic tribes composing the Frankish league.³ Coming together under diversified customs, they found it not only convenient but necessary to digest their separate legislations into a uniform whole.⁴ The dispersions and revolutions inci-

¹ Labbei, Conc. Gen., t. iv., p. 414, can. 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 11, 23.

² The usual date given is 506, but this is an error, inasmuch as the Franks must have been subjected before Chlodwig would think of compiling their laws.

³ The tradition of the *Gesta Reg. Franc.*, c. 4, refers the law to the time of the imaginary Pharamund.

⁴ A prologue, attached to certain

MSS., says that four men, Saloghasht, Bodoghasht, Wisoghasht, and Windoghasht, who dwelt in Salogheve, Bodogheve, and Windo- or Wiso-gheve, were chosen to discuss all causes of discord, and to pronounce their judgment. The Salic law was the result. Eccard and Leibnitz find in Salo-gheve, Bodo-gheve, and Wiso-gheve, the names of the rivers Sale, Bode, and Weser, and suppose

dent to the long conquest of northern Gaul, and the subsequent fusion of the several nations established there under Chlodwig, suggested, it may be conjectured, a second recension, which he undertook.¹ He had powerful motives for doing so in his scheme of a general Frankish monarchy, and in his disposition to diffuse Christianity among his countrymen. He could not, out of regard to the deep-rooted prejudices of the Franks, change the nature of these laws to any considerable extent, nor the structure of society to which they referred; therefore, in all the extant versions of them, we find the social and political constitution disclosed to us the same in its essential features with that imputed by Tacitus to the ancient Germans. There is the same consecration of the family-bond, with its responsibilities; the same general distinctions of ranks; the same system of free-companionship; and the same minute application of the were-gild or composition to all classes of crimes, murders, thefts, arsons, and calumnies. But a careful study of several provisions of the law discloses two marked departures of Frank society from the more primitive condition of the nation: first, in that the old semi-patriarchal, semi-popular nobility of Tacitus has given place to a mere official aristocracy, or nobles by service; and, second, in that the Christian churches are sedulously protected from injury, and the Christian clergy esti-

the *gheve* to have been the German *gau*, or county. But others place the localities of these early lawgivers in Belgium. Comp. De Petigny (Eclaircissements, No. 5 of Etudes Méroving., t. ii., *in fine*).

¹ Wiarda, Guizot, and other authorities are of opinion that no extant copy of the Salic law dates from a period earlier than the seventh century (Civ. en Franc., lec. 9); but Pardessus (Loi Salique, ou Recueil, contenant les anciens redactions de cette loi, Paris, 1843), whose conclusions are drawn from a study of sixty-six different MSS., all that are to be found in the European libraries, eight of which are published at length, supposes that there was an original version in the Frankish tongue, from which different Latin versions may have been made. Of these 66 MSS.,

50 are entirely Latin, and 16 are interpolated with what is called the Mallbergian Gloss, i. e., with peculiar Teutonic words, probably mnemonic or catch-words, used at the Malls. The latter he considers the most ancient, and three of them, containing sixty-five titles, he would refer to times, before Chlodwig, when the Franks were yet heathen. (See Dissertat. Première.) His notes and supplementary dissertations are a complete store-house of minute and valuable learning in regard to the law and the private and public life of the Franks.

² No doubt these royal retainers (the Antrustiones of the Law) existed in the time of Tacitus, but they had not then attained the pre-eminence and importance ascribed to them in the law.

mated, in the rates of the *weregild*, on a level with the highest dignitaries of the barbaric court.¹ We thus see that already, in the very era of the conquest, the royal power had expanded in dignity and consideration, while the way was prepared for the enormous political authority afterward acquired by the priesthood.

These labors finished, Chlodwig took ill and died, in the forty-fifth year of his age and the thirtieth of his reign.² Death of Chlodwig, A.D. 511. Honored doubtless by his people, he was yet chiefly mourned by the Church, which could scarcely refrain from canonizing his memory.³ A great man we are unable to pronounce him, because we know little of his personal character, and that little is unworthy of praise. Not insusceptible apparently of the larger civic motives, and a zealous Christian withal, he was nevertheless savage, vindictive, and perfidious. On a deep ground of native ferocity and cunning the priests had embroidered a subtle web of hypocrisy, which enabled him to cloak enormous schemes of treachery and cruelty under professions of public policy. That he was a considerable warrior seems to be proved by the fact that he rendered the arms of the Franks formidable to so large a part of Europe. But it is still more evident that he was a consummate politician, who, by a skillful use of opportunities, overcame his foes and raised his power to an almost unprecedented height. Though a mere youth at the outset of his career, and the hereditary leader of a small band of mercenaries, he became in the end the acknowledged master of one of the largest and wealthiest of the Roman provinces, and the founder of not only the mightiest of the barbaric monarchies, but of that one alone which was durable.

Whatever his personal merits, therefore, he stands forth on the historic page as the most important figure we behold during the five hundred years that elapsed from Constantine to Charlemagne. With him originated the first of the European nations that lived to be modern—that France

¹ In the first three texts of *Pardessus* there is no allusion to Christianity whatever; but in the later texts the *weregild* for killing a priest is 600 *solidi*, which is the same as that for killing an antrustion or a count.

² On the chronology of Chlodwig's later life, see *De Petigny* (*Etudes Méroving.*, t. ii., éclaircissement 3).

³ *Greg. Turon.* (*Hist. Ecc.*, l. ii., c. 48) and *Sismondi* (*Hist. des Franç.*, t. i., c. 5, p. 141).

which is our peculiar theme. The rude inhabitants of Britain, Germany, and Scandinavia long remained rude and barbarous; the grand structure of civilization reared by Theodorik in Italy, broke into pieces after his death; the splendid royalties established by the Wisigoths in Spain were speedily submerged in the storms of civil war; and the Vandals left few traces in Africa besides the blood-marks in which their domination had been acquired, maintained, and overthrown. But the ascendancy of the Franks in Gaul, blending curiously the ancient civilization with the new barbarism, was continued through all the fierce ferments and fusions of the great age of transition, till antiquity itself was swallowed up of feudalism, and the elements of the modern world were knit and rounded into shape.

CHAPTER XII.

CHANGES PRODUCED BY THE CONQUEST.—WARS OF THE SONS OF CHLODWIG.
(FROM A.D. 511 TO 561.)

THE political relations of the empire with the barbaric nations which passed into its territory were well described in a single sentence of Procopius. "The emperors," he said, "could not prevent the barbarians from entering the provinces, and yet the barbarians did not deem their acquisitions there valid until they had secured the assent of the emperors."¹ In other words, the Roman state, unable in its decrepitude to protect its possessions or to make good its claims to supremacy, saved the more open confession of its impotence by a formal adoption of the Germans as allies. On the other hand, the Germans acquiesced in the protection of the empire, and accepted its patronage, inasmuch as a color of legitimacy was thereby given to their settlements and seizures.²

But, as the power of the empire diminished, the power of the barbaric royalties expanded, and when the Western Empire was wholly extinguished, the assertion of the Roman "majesty" in the West by the Eastern court was scarcely more than a theoretic pretense, which it could not enforce in practice. The struggle then turned on the point as to which of the German nations encamped within the boundaries of the ancient state the inheritance should belong. They were no longer invaders, nor wandering bands of predatory warriors, but established nations, having their capitals and their homes, and contending among themselves for the possession and control of what may be termed a derelict estate. If the barbaric chiefs acknowledged

¹ De Bell. Goth., l. iii., c. 33.

² The French antiquarians and historic writers are divided into two schools on the question of the relation of the barbaric royalties to the empire. The Abbé Dubos (*Histoire Critique*), who maintains that the advances of the Germans into the empire were the result of the concessions of the emperors rather

than conquests, stands at the head of one, and Montesquieu (*Esprit des Lois*), who maintains that these advances were almost pure conquests, at the head of the other. The nature and merits of the controversy are impartially summed up by Lehuërou (*Hist. des Inst. Méroving.*, t. i., Pref.).

in a sort the claims of the Eastern court—if they accepted the Roman office of master of the militia—if they were glad to sport the titles, as Chlodwig did, of Augustus and consul, it was not in the interest or for the sake of the fallen empire that they did so, but in their own interest and for their own sake. By these means they ingratiated themselves in the good-will of the bishops and of the native society, acquired a Roman prestige for their administration, and flattered themselves that they would become the actual heirs of the defunct commonwealth. Chlodwig was only more adroit than other chiefs in his assumptions of the Roman paraphernalia, and consequently more successful in his designs.

That his successes were nevertheless conquests, in the proper sense of the term, can not, I think, admit of much doubt. Chlodwig's successes conquests. He relied for his authority primarily upon his sword and the swords of his good Franks, although he was not indisposed to confirm that authority by such other evidences of its rightfulness as the opinions and exigences of the time might require. He had not, however, the remotest idea of restoring the old empire of the West; he knew that, after a century of struggle against its fate, that form of political existence was prostrate and gone forever; but he hoped to substitute for the Roman ascendancy in Gaul an ascendancy of his own, which might become eventually no less glorious and enduring. He warred and murdered for this end, and he would have warred and murdered with an equal ill-will against the Romans as against the Germans, if the Romans had stood equally in his way.

That this was the real end and character of his ambition is made clearer by the manner in which his dominion Organisation of Gaul under the Franks. in Gaul was administered. We have little or no evidence, it is true, that the Franks divided the private lands among themselves, as the Wisigoths are known to have done when they first settled in Aquitaine, the Vandals in Africa, and the Herules and others in Italy;¹ but the circumstances of their settlement and progress do not appear to have made this kind

¹ Dubos (*Hist. Crit.*, t. ii., l. vi., c. 18). *Comp. Lex Wisigoth.*, v., 4, 19; *Lex Burgund.*, t. liv.; and Cassiodor., l. ix., *Epist.* 4. See the question discussed also by Fauriel (*Gaule Méri.*, ii., 84), Raynouard (*Hist. du Droit Municipal*, i., 256), and Hallam (*Supp. Notes*, vol. i., p. 263).

of appropriation necessary. They had long held possession of ample territories to the north of the Loire, as we have seen, some of which had been granted to them, as *latic* colonists, by the emperors, and some had been abandoned by the first possessors during the tumults of invasion and civil war. When they advanced, therefore, to the south of the Loire, they were already provided with domains, on which they had built their homes and lived, and from which they did not care to depart permanently, because, being less numerous than other parties in Gaul, it was not prudent to disperse their forces. The lands so acquired in the south they divided among themselves, and governed as tributary estates, partly by garrisons established in convenient strong-holds, but chiefly through the still subsisting forms of the Roman administration.

Adopting pretty much the same territorial distinctions as had before prevailed, *i. e.*, of *provinciæ*, *civitates*, and *pagi*, which corresponded closely to their own native *gaus*, hundreds, and marks, they appointed a series of officials whose functions were similar to those of the former Roman officials. To a duke (heretogh in Teuton, and *dux* in Latin) they assigned the command of one of those large circumscriptions of territory comprised in an ancient province, and he was expected, with the aid of his warriors, to watch over its peace and security, to summon his army when needed, and to lead it into battle. Under him, in each *civitas*, they placed a *graf*, or count (*comes*), who exercised therein both a civic and military jurisdiction, assisted by a number of *reicheimburs*, or chosen freeholders, who presided with him in the district courts, and collected and forwarded the taxes. In the lesser precincts, again, were deputies, vice-counts (*vice-comes*), and vicars (*vicarii*), who were engaged in similar duties.¹

Owing to the complicated nature of their tasks, the counts and their subordinates were often selected from among the Gallo-Romans, who were supposed to be more familiar with the routine of courts and treasuries than the untutored

¹ Sometimes, however, there was a *graf* in the *pagus*. Compare Von Savigny (*Hist. of Roman Law*, c. v., § 8) and Pardessus (*Loi Salique*, Dissert. 61^{ème}) as to the extent to which the Roman municipal jurisdictions were superseded or adopted by the Germans.

wanderers from Germany; for the laws were then regarded as personal, i. e., each class of inhabitants was judged by the law of the nation to which it belonged—the Germans by the Salic, Burgundian, Ripuarian, and Wisigothic codes, and the Gallo-Roman by those of the emperors.¹ Moreover, the financial system of the Romans was continued in force to a considerable extent; and not only were the imposts and capitation taxes maintained, but similar methods were resorted to for their collection and transfer.²

But, while the Franks did not abrogate or subvert the Roman system of finance and law in respect to the Gallo-Romans, and even accepted their services in various branches of administration, they yet took care to mark, in the most significant way, their sense of the relative position of the two races. In the rates of the *weregild*, the composition attached to the murder or injury of the Roman was in all cases relatively about one half less than that affixed to the murder or injury of the Frank. Relatively I say, because the social distinctions which prevailed in the native society were still regarded—the Roman possessor being estimated higher than the Roman tributary, and the tributary higher than the slave—but the Roman possessor was nevertheless rated at only half the sum of the Frankish freeman, and the Roman tributary at half the sum of the Frank *litus*. The only exception was in the case of the priests, who were placed on a level with the Frankish nobles.³ By this arrangement the Salic law said to the natives, "You are by no means equal to the Franks, and yet you are not all of the servile or degraded order. You may enjoy your own laws, hold and devise your own property, be eligible even to certain offices of distinction and worth, but the prerogatives and rights of government are with the Franks, your superiors."

¹ Von Savigny (*ubi sup.*, vol. i., c. 8).

² Lehuërou (*Hist. des Instit. Méroving.*, t. i., l. 2, c. 1). It appears to have been, however, only by degrees, and under certain kings, that these taxes were imposed upon the Franks; and the imposition of them became the cause of much trouble.

³ Pardessus (*Loi Salique*, Dissert.

6ème). The *were* of the Roman *Comitiva Regis*, for instance, was 300 solidi, while that of the Frank antrustion (whose place near the king was precisely the same) was 600; the *were* of the Frank freeman was 200 sols, that of the Roman possessor 100, and so on through all corresponding ranks.

Great changes were effected among the Franks themselves in their relations to each other; greater, perhaps, than Changes wrought among the Franks by the conquest. among the old subjects of the empire. (1.) The king, who regarded himself as the heir of the Cæsars, and to whose possession the fiscal lands of the emperors and the public properties of the civitates fell, was enormously aggrandized in wealth, dignity, and power. His ideas and aspirations expanded with the importance of his position. He not only coveted the authority, but aped the manners and the indulgences of the old imperial despots. His court swarmed with polished and cunning Gauls, who commended to his ambition the excellence of the Roman models. The priests confirmed the original claims of his monarchy to a divine descent by religious doctrines which taught its continued and inviolable sanctity. In a little while, the very monarchs whose fathers had slept in the open air on the skin of a bear or wild bull reposed softly on beds of purple and silk, and surrendered themselves to the delights of the bath, the table, and the circus. Their fathers' courts had been a cluster of ferocious, half-naked warriors, but they gathered about them supple bands of ministerials, apt in all the intrigues, vices, and flatteries of the Oriental palaces. Their fathers' powers had depended on the vigor of their arms and the eloquence of their tongues, but they assumed the crown and the sceptre of the Cæsars, and issued decrees, appointed and deposed magistrates, struck coins, and interfered arbitrarily in both public and private affairs, in virtue of their own sovereign will and right.¹ (2.) But the power of the warriors grew with that of the king, especially their ability to maintain large and effective bands of companions and followers. In their earlier condition, the barbaric chiefs who collected a retinue about them were only able to entice and reward its services by the bounties of their table, and the gift of weapons and of battle-horses; but after the conquest they might recompense its fidelity with the more stable and imposing presents of real property. As the king divided among them the lands and treasures which were won by their common valor, so they, in turn, divided among their followers subordinate

¹ Consult Lehuëron (Instit. Méroving., t. i., p. 390, *et seqq.*).

parts of the same valuable spoil.¹ An enterprising chief, swift to strike, eager to grasp, cunning to hold, might, by these means, erect for himself an estate whose opulence and influence would almost rival that of the king. As the lands were distributed, moreover, either as free possessions (*al-odhs*), or as usufructs, or holdings (*fe-odhs*),² in the former case an absolute, and in the latter a conditional property, he struggled to render himself independent as it respects the king, and yet a lord or proprietor as it respects his own followers. His ambition aimed no longer at the mere leadership of expeditionary and predatory bands, but at the lordship of vast domains, which teemed with tenants, slaves, and cattle, and the rich products of meadow, wood, and stream. From the centre of these, where he erected his lordly mansion (*sala*),³ he exercised an almost unbounded and arbitrary sway over the multitude of his beneficiaries and dependents, like the sovereign of a little state.⁴ (8.) Consequent-

¹ We have in this fact the first sproutings of the germ of feudalism, which the Franks brought from beyond the Rhine, where it existed in the Germanic custom of chief and follower.

² The word *alodis* appears in the earliest copies of the Salic law, and is therefore coeval with the first settlements of the Franks; but *fe-od* or *feud* (Latin *feudum*) does not occur till it appears in a constitution of Karl the Fat, who died A.D. 888. In the tenth century it is frequently used in charters and other documents (Hist. Général du Languedoc, t. ii., Append., p. 107). The antiquarians derive *alod* from the Teutonic dialects, in which *all* means all or entire, and *odh*, property, or absolute property, exempt from obligations of rent or service (Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalterthum, s. 493). It corresponds to the *ad-al* of Norway and the Orkney Islands, where free property is distinguished as *ad-aller* (Hallam, vol. i., p. 146, note). But the etymology of *fe-odh* is not so clear; Ducange (v. *feudum*) gets it from *feh*, a stipend or recompense, and *odh*, property; but to this Sir Francis Palgrave objects, that in the Teutonic, feud and feudalism are expressed by *lehn* (loan) and *lehn-wesen*

(Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, ii., 203). His own derivation, however, from the Latin, *emphyteusis*, is still more exceptionable: first, in that the *emphyteusis* was different from the *feod*; and, second, in that the derivation, by "cutting off the head and legs, and extracting the backbone" of the word (Hallam, n. 10), is forced. The conceit which finds *feudum* in the initial letters of the ancient oath of fealty, *Fidelis Ero Ubique Domino Vero Meo*, is obviously no more than a conceit. In the Kymric dialects the word *alod* is used to designate the domestic and hereditary property of any member of a kinship (De Curson, Hist. du Peup. Bret., Gloss.), but I find no traces there of *feod*, the expression for benefice being *seyddawg*.

³ The *alodis* of the Salic law is often called the *terra sacra*, and means, not the land of the Salians, as Lehuéron and others think, but the land immediately about the *sala*, or manor-house (Grimm, Deutsch. Rechts., s. 493). The Ripuarian law denominates it the *hereditas aviatica*, and a formula of Marculf the *alodis parentum*.

⁴ The lands granted only in usufruct to the retainers of a chief were called

ly, while the respective wealth and dignity of the kings and leudes¹ was increased, there were sown between them the seeds of bitter animosities. Both were insatiable in their thirst for power, which seems, indeed, to have been a characteristic of the whole Frankish race. The kings, animated by the traditions of imperialism which they learned, aspired to a more absolute and arbitrary control; the leudes, cherishing their primitive German manners, aimed to maintain the independent spirit of the old aristocracy. Many of the latter, it is true, were drawn and bound to the king by his concessions of lands, by grants of dukedoms and counties, and of the dignities and favors which he might shower upon them, as his referendaries, equeries, cup-bearers, and intendants.² This was a main source of his influence; but even in this relation there were grounds of jealousy and antagonism. The kings would naturally desire to render their grants temporary and revocable, while the leudes would as naturally desire to render them positive and perpetual. The vague obligations of fidelity on one side, and of protection on the other, were frail ties amid the turbulent impulses and passions of those times. Both the kings and the leudes were boisterous men, transferred almost abruptly from a primitive condition to all the wealth and appliances of civilization, abandoned without restraint to the brutal instincts of their animality, and yet furnished with all the means of satisfying its

in Latin *beneficia*, the same term which, under the emperors, had been applied to the grants of land made to soldiers on the condition of military service. (Compare Lampridius in Alex. Severo, and Vopiscus in Prob., with Code Theodos., xi., 20, 1, 6.) Beneficia were also conceded to various civic functionaries instead of wages or salaries (Code Theodos., xi., 20, 5). A *señ* and a *benefice*, therefore, were similar; but the services of the Roman beneficiary were due to the state, those of the feudal law to the lord (Lehuërou, t. i., l. iii., c. 8).

¹ The Frankish warriors, but particularly the leaders, were called *leudes*, from the Teutonic word *leude*, *lunde*, *leute*, people, as some think (Thierry, *Lettres sur l'Hist. de Franc.*, p. 130). In the Scandinavian dialects, *lide* means

a warrior (Olaus Wormius, *Dict. Runic.*, cited by Lehuërou, t. i., p. 351); and in the Kymric also *lwydd* means an army or war-band (De Curson, *Hist. des Peup. Bret.*, t. ii., Append.). It was not a title of dignity, as every free fighter among the Franks was a leud, but in process of time the term seems to have been restricted to the most prominent and powerful warriors alone.

² These appear to have been designated by the term *antrustiones*, from the Teutonic word *truu*, expressing trust and fidelity. They were the trustees, or faithful of the king. In the Salic law, xliii., 4, and xliv., 2, the term is in *truste dominica*, and in the Ripuarian law, t. xi., in *truste regia*. The Gallo-Romans admitted to the clans were called *convivæ regia*.

greeds. The old society was in decay, the gentleness and elegance of its manners were lost, and, if it imposed upon the barbarians the remnants of its arts and its ideas, it communicated to them also its wants and its corruptions. Roman frauds and perfidies were mingled, in what Hallam calls "a baleful confluence," with the ferocity and violence of the Franks.¹

"Those wild men's vices they received,
And gave them back their own;"

and thus the old struggle of Romanism and Germanism was renewed in another and lower aspect. Nothing was any where fixed; every thing was in confusion and flux; the Church itself was demoralized by the conquerors whom it had adopted; and races, classes, societies, individuals, battled each other in a kind of blind impatience and rage.

With these explanations I resume a rapid narrative of events. Division of
Chlodwig's
kingdom
among his four
sons, A.D. 511. Chlodwig, on his demise, left his estates and his treasures to four sons: to Theuderik, aged eighteen, who had been born before his marriage with Chlotilda; and to Chlodomir, Hildebert, and Chlothar, aged respectively seventeen, fourteen, and twelve. They were divided in "equal lances," as Gregory says,² although it is difficult to discern the kind of equality meant, or even the principle of the partition. Theuderik, who fixed his residence at Metz, obtained, besides the possessions of the Franks beyond the Rhine, the whole country situate between the left bank of that stream and the Meuse; and, on this side the Meuse, the cities and territories of Champagne. At the same time he acquired, south of the Loire, in Aquitain, Clermont, and the province of Auvergne, with its usual annexes of Velai and Gévaudan, together with the important cities of Rhodéz, Cahors, and Alby.³ Chlodomir, whose capital was Orleans, was endowed with the cities and territories of Auxerre, Touraine, Maine, Anjou, Nantes, Vannes, and Rennes, between the Seine and the mid-Loire; and, at the south, with those between the Garonne and the Pyrenees. Hildebert, in addition to Paris, his capital, received the five neighboring cities

¹ Middle Ages, vol. i., n. 4, p. 112.

² Greg. Turon., l. iii., c. 1, *æquali lance*.

³ I use the modern names in these difficult cases of geographical detail to

facilitate the comprehension of the reader. As yet, probably, all these localities retained their Latin or Celtic designations.

of Melun, Meaux, Compiègne, Beauvais, Etampes, with Bourges, Poitou, Santoigne, the Bordelais, and the Agenois, making a narrow semilunar circumscription along the Atlantic from the mouth of the Garonne to a point west of Paris; while Chlothar, who chose Soissons for his seat, took the whole region to the north of that city, between the Somme and the Scheldt, besides a part of the Limousin and Perigord in the south.¹ It will be seen that these kingdoms interlaced and clasped each other with an almost whimsical perplexity, and that no political motives could have dictated the partition. As a possible explanation of the arrangement, however, it may be conjectured that the portions of Theuderik which bordered the seats of the Saxons, Burgunds, Goths, and others unfriendly to the Franks, were assigned him because he was already a warrior, capable of defending the frontiers of the Franks, as well as of extending their dominions.

The sons of Chlodwig prosecuted his aggressive policy; the lands already acquired were not secure; their barbaric tributaries were restless and aggressive; and around them, on all sides, swarmed other barbarians, who envied their power and coveted their wealth.

The first year of his reign Theuderik was compelled to repulse an inroad of the Danes, who, driving their light skiffs up the Meuse, ravaged the country on either side.² Not long afterward he intervened in a fratricidal quarrel between the brother-kings of Thuringia, which, in the end, after various perfidies and murders, led to his acquisition of nearly their whole territory.³ Chlothar assisted him in the work, and abducted and married, as a part of the spoil, the beautiful sister of the Thuringian kings, named Radegunda, whose sad experience of his cruel and licentious manners drove her to forsake the throne, and to pass the rest of her life in a convent which she erected at Poitiers.⁴

¹ These positions are given only as approximative. See the map which I have borrowed and altered from Hugo (France Historique et Monumentale, t. ii., Paris, 1837).

² Greg. Turon., l. iii., c. 7.

³ It lay between the Elbe, the Un-

strut, and the Neckar. The final reduction was deferred till about 528.

⁴ She is the fair St. Radegunda of the *Acta Sanctorum* (Ord. Benedict. Sacc., i., p. 819) and of the poet Fortunatus, whose lively accounts of their intercourse (*Fortunati Opera*, ll. i.-ix.) Thierry has digested into one of his

A few years later, Chlodimir, Hildebert, and Chlothar were instigated by the implacable family vengeance of their mother, then living in a monastery, to avenge her relatives who had been slain some forty years before by Gundebald, himself six years in the grave. They fiercely assailed the country of the Burgunds. Sighismund, their king, after concealing himself for a while in the convent of Agauna (St. Maurice), was brutally murdered, with his whole family. The crime was resented by a younger brother of the king, named Gundemar, who made war upon the Franks, killed Chlodimir in battle, and drove off the Franks, although in vain; for they afterward returned, beat the Burgunds at Vesperonce, and reduced their whole country to subjection.¹ By this, not only were the ancient wrongs of Chlotilda avenged, but some fourteen rich bishoprics were added to the Church, and the most fertile province of Gaul to the Frankish state.

On the death of Chlodimir, his brothers Chlothar and Hildebert, in order to secure his heritage, caused two of his young children to be assassinated in a way which it makes the blood run cold to read of, and banished a third to a monastery.² They then divided the kingdom of Orleans among themselves, and joined in an expedition against the Goths, who still held some parts of the Narbonnese and Aquitain. Amalarik, their king, had married a daughter of Chlodwig; but, being an Arian, while she was a Catholic, he maltreated her, as it is said, striking her till the blood flowed, and causing his people to pelt her with mud, which offenses provoked the retorts of her brothers.³ They drove Amalarik from his capital of Narbonne; forced him to seek refuge in Spain, where he was murdered; ravaged the most fertile parts of his possessions, and carried off his treasures, together with their sister, who died on the return toward Paris.⁴ A few years later (A.D. 534), the Franks, though completely baffled in an expe-

The brothers
assail and re-
duce Burgun-
dia, A.D. 528-
534.

The Wisigoths
driven into
Spain, A.D.
531-532.

finest sketches, full of animation and of local color (*Recits. des Temps Méroving.*, t. ii., p. 399, *et seqq.*).

¹ Greg. Turon., iii., 5, 6; Marii, Avent. Chron., p. 15.

² The incidents are given by Greg-

ory. The third child, named Chlodald, afterward built a convent at Nogent, near Paris, which took his name. It is now St. Cloud.

³ Greg. Turon., l. iii., cc. 1-10.

⁴ Isidor. Hispal., Chron.

dition against Spain, contrived to wrest from the Wisigoths nearly all their estates in Gaul.

In the wars against the Burgunds Theuderik took no part, and his warriors, panting for blood and treasure, were incensed at his inactivity. They threatened to enlist with his brothers, when he said to them, "Hold; do not follow them, but go with me into my province of Auvergne, where you will find plenty of gold and silver, and carry off as many cattle, slaves, and vestments as you may desire." The Arvernians, still rich and powerful, suffered the yoke of Theuderik with impatience—they had once, indeed, tried to cast it off in favor of his brother Hildebert, and this uneasiness he made the pretext of his resentments. He turned the wild tribes of Germany among them with an unlimited license to rob and slay. Nothing was suffered to escape their rapacity; trees, harvests, cabins, monasteries, churches disappeared before them, and the only refuges for the inhabitants were found in the strong-holds of the mountains. Even these almost inaccessible retreats were assailed, and the savage solitudes of Mount Doré and the Cantal, the broken volcanic piles, the gloomy pine-forests which look out upon the valleys of the Allier and Dordogne, and which the indefatigable valor of the Romans had never essayed to penetrate, were made more desolate by the destructive ferocity of the men of the North.¹ The old Gallic fortresses of Tiern, at the foot of the mountain which separates Auvergne from Forez, the monastery of Issoire, the basilica of Brioude, were leveled to the earth, and "nothing was left to the people," says the chronicler, "save the earth, which could not be carried away. One saw troops of children, fine young men, and girls of gracious mien trailed after the army, with their hands tied behind their backs, and destined to be sold as slaves at auction."² The horrors of the war left the deepest traces in the memory of the inhabitants, so that the contemporary writers often fixed their dates from the terrible disasters known as the *clades Arverna*.³ A revolt of the Franks somewhere in the North, who asserted the royal claims of one Munderik, either a bastard of Chlodwig's or the son of one of the kings whom he had

¹ Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. ii., p. 24.

² Greg. Turon., iii., cc. 11, 12.

³ *Vita Sancti Quintiani*.

slain, recalled Theuderik from this appalling work of devastation. It was not easily suppressed by force, but it was by perfidy. Theuderik coaxed Munderik to an interview, and then had him murdered. Not long thereafter the ruthless warrior himself died (A.D. 533). Yet, savage and sanguinary as his career had been, it was he that had caused the compilation of the laws of the Ripuarians, the Alemans, and the Boiowares (Bavarians), "choosing sage men, instructed in the customs of the kingdom, to write them out, and to change the usages which were still pagan, if not too deeply rooted, into conformity with Christian principles."¹

How he acquired authority over the Alemans and the Bavarians is not known. Perhaps in the subjugation of Thuringia he had taken occasion to extend his sway over other nations; but from this time forth we find not only these, but the Saxons more to the north, regarded as the associates or tributaries of the Eastern or Ripuarian Franks.² From the Elbe to the Meuse, and from the Northern Ocean to the sources of the Rhine, a region comprising a great part of ancient Germany, the ascendancy of the Franks was practically acknowledged, and a kingdom was formed which was destined to overshadow all the other Mérovingan states.³ The various tribes which composed its Germanic accretions, remote and exempt from the influences of the Roman civilization, retained their fierce customs and their rude superstitions, and continued to be governed by their hereditary dukes; but their wild masses marched under the standards of the Franks, and conceded to those formidable conquerors a certain degree of political supremacy.⁴

Theudebert, who succeeded Theuderik, was, like him, an active and audacious warrior. As a youth he had taken part in the expedition against the Danes, and he was engaged in a foray against the Wisigoths at the time of his father's death. As soon as he was raised on the shield his ambition and valor coveted new fields

Extension of the eastern kingdom of the Franks.
Accession of Theudebert. Invasion of Italy, A.D. 544-547.

¹ Preamble to Salic law, cited by Martin, t. ii., p. 27.

² Greg., Turon., l. iv., cc. 9, 10.

³ It came to be called *Francia Ori-*

entale by the Latins; *Oster-rike*, or the Eastern Kingdom, by the Germans.

⁴ Comp. Sismondi (Hist. des Franç.,

t. i., c. 6).

of triumph. They were opened to him by the vicissitudes of Italy. Theodoric, the great king of the Ostrogoths, was dead; his daughter, the young and beautiful Amalaswintha, and her son Alarik, had also perished, while his degenerate nephew Theodat held with a feeble hand the reins of a government which he had managed with such large and consummate skill.¹ Justinian, the Emperor of the East, deeming the conjuncture a favorable one for the execution of an enterprise which the Eastern monarchs often meditated, had undertaken the recovery of Italy. Aided by the influences of the Church, which saw with regret the fairest parts of the peninsula given up to an Arian rule, he commissioned the renowned general Belisarius to open the hostilities. Both parties, however, the Greek Imperialists and the barbaric Royalists, thought it prudent to strengthen their prospects in the war by soliciting the aid of the Frankish monarchs. Vitiges, succeeding Theodat in the command of the Ostrogoths, offered to abandon to them, as the reward of their assistance, the district of Provence and all the remaining possessions of the Goths in Gaul. Justinian, on the other hand, sent an imposing embassy to them, and heaped them with costly and magnificent presents, while they, with characteristic perfidy, accepted the gifts of both, and promised their aid to both. Theudebert alone, however, kept his word, and crossed the mountains at the head of a hundred thousand men (A.D. 539). He advanced toward Pavia, where the Greeks and Goths were met, about to encounter, and, with an unexpected impartiality, attacked the astonished Goths, whom he drove to Ravenna, and then, while the Greeks were yet rejoicing over his performance, fell upon them with merciless fury, and dispersed them through Tuscany.² His success encouraged him in the design of conquering the whole of Italy. Wherever his fierce warriors passed, they left the marks of their passage in blood and ruin. The palaces, the magazines, and the granaries were demolished on all sides, and the means of subsistence recklessly scattered, till famine and the exhalations of the marshes under the heat of the sun brought on a pestilence of dysentery, which forced them

¹ Procop. (Bell. Goth., l. i., cc. 2, Agathias (Hist. apud Scriptores Rer. 3, 4, 5, 12).

² Procop. (Bell. Goth., l. ii., c. 25);

Francicar., t. ii., p. 63).

to forego their work of destruction. Only one third of the original number survived to recross the Alps.

Nevertheless, in spite of his resentment at this signal treachery, Justinian was driven to renew his proffers of alliance with the Franks (A.D. 540). He pledged to them, as the price of their fidelity to his cause, besides the usual subsidies, the relinquishment of every lingering claim, real or pretended, which the empire might assert to the sovereignty of the Gauls.¹ The Franks accepted the terms, and "from that time," say the Byzantine authorities, "the German chiefs presided at the games of the circus, and struck money no longer, as usual, with the effigy of the emperors, but with their own image and superscription."² Theudebert, who was the principal agent of these transactions, if he ratified the provisions of the treaty, did not fulfill them in person, but satisfied himself with sending a few tributaries to the aid of his ally. But his first example proved to be more powerful than his later, and large swarms of Germans took advantage of the troubles in Italy to overrun the country, and plunder and slay at will. For twelve years, under various leaders, but chiefly under two brothers of the Alemans, Lutherr and Bukhelin, they continued to harass the unhappy object of all barbaric resentments, till the sword of Narses finally exterminated them, and put an end also, after ninety years of existence, to the kingdom of the Ostrogoths (A.D. 553).

In the interim, Theudebert had been gored to death by an aurochs, leaving his kingdom to a weakling son, named Theudebald, and a good report among the Romans and the ecclesiastics; for, in spite of his adulteries and his violence, he had endeavored to govern in the Roman fashion, was called by the courtiers with whom he had surrounded his person the Restorer of Antiquity, and won the gratitude of the Church by his liberal favors.³ But the policy or necessity which led him to attempt to impose taxes upon the Franks abated the attachment of his leudes, who, as soon as he was in his coffin, in an outburst of fury, stoned to death his chief min-

¹ Gibbon speaks of this as "a generous concession, which absolved the provincials from their allegiance," but after fifty years of undisputed sway the Franks might safely have dispensed with it.

Compare Hallam's remarks (*Middle Ages*, vol. i., supp. note 3, p. 109).

² Procop. (*Bell. Goth.*, i. ii., c. 25).

³ Greg. Turon., i. iii., cc. 33-36.

The empire surrenders all claims to the Gauls.

ister, Protadius.¹ Nevertheless, they accepted his son Theudebald as their king, because, as he was but fourteen years of age, they might themselves manage the kingdom in his name. He survived, however, but six years, when his uncle, Chlothar, seized his estates, married his widow, making her his seventh wife then living, and by presents and promises bought off the opposition of the chiefs (555). The remaining brother, Hildebert, not disposed to submit to this swift cupidity, fomented a revolt among his Saxon and Thuringian tributaries, who refused to acknowledge his authority. Reluctant on his own

Revolt of the Saxons, A.D. 556-558. part, Chlothar was yet forced by the overbearing insolence of his leudes to march against them. After a few unimportant successes he was signally defeated,² and thus began a struggle between the Franks and the Saxons destined to last for more than two hundred years.

At the same time, the greater part of Aquitain was discontented with his rule. His son Chramn, whom he had

Revolt of Aquitain. Murder of Chramn. invested with a species of subregal dignity at Clermont, in Auvergne, was inclined to take part in the faction, while Hildebert was glad to encourage the spread of the ill feeling. Very soon Chramn, a heady and ambitious young fellow, vicious in his propensities, and of turbulent humor, gathered about him a squad of low, cunning, and debauched Gallo-Romans, who egged him on to open insurrection. The Aquitains eagerly joined in his projects; and while Chlothar was yet engaged with the Saxons, an army was formed, which he conducted as far north as Rheims, ravaging his father's territories, and seducing the people from their allegiance. Unfortunately, the death of Hildebert,³ by whom he was helped, put a sudden stop to his inroads, and compelled him to beg the paternal clemency for what he had done. Chlothar forgave him, and sent him back to Auvergne, where he showed the sincerity of his gratitude by

¹ Greg. Turon., l. iii., cc. 33-36.

² Id., l. iv., cc. 9-15.

³ Hildebert was a weak prince, but in favor with the ecclesiastical writers, because he was a great persecutor of idolatry. It would seem that even as late as the middle of the sixth century both the Gallic and Roman superstitions lingered in Gaul. Beugnot (*Hist. de la Destruct. du Paganisme*, t. ii., l. xii.,

c. 6). He was also the founder of a great hospital for the diseased poor at Lyons, now the oldest Hôtel Dieu existing in France. Through his energy, moreover, the Pope Pelagius was brought to a decision of the famous theological quarrel concerning the "Three Chapters," which prevented many of the Gallic clergy from abandoning the Papacy (Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.*, t. vii.).

organizing immediately another rebellion. So wanton a renewal of his offense provoked the severest reprisals on the part of Chlothar, who assailed the disobedient son with all his forces, and gradually drove him out of the province. He found a refuge with the Count Canao, or Conober, of Nantes, in Brittany, lately become, by the death of his four brothers, the king of that country. But Chlothar pursued him even into the solitudes of that wild and desolate region, defeating Conober, who essayed to take his part, and executing upon Chramn a horrible vengeance. He caused him to be shut up in a cabin, with his wife and children, and then had it burned to the ground. The act appears to have cost him some remorse, for Gregory tells us that he repaired to the tomb of St. Martin of Tours, where he besought the saint to intercede for him with God. "He made a full confession of the acts of negligence of which he had perhaps been guilty, praying with many groans that the blessed confessor would procure him the mercy of the Lord, and by his intercession succeed in obliterating the memory of all that he had done irrationally."¹

Chlothar, by the death of Hildebert, became the sole monarch of the Franks, although it was only a feeble hold he had of his subjects, and his power, such as it was, did not long continue. A year after the murder of Chramn, he was seized with a fever, and died, exclaiming in the tortures of his disease, "Hua! hua! what for sort of God is it, who can treat the greatest kings in this fashion?" His reign of fifty years, marked throughout, as the reigns of his brothers had been, and as the reigns of his descendants will continue to be, by fierce broils, dissensions, massacres, and incests, was compensated, in the degenerate opinion of the times only, by his liberal gratuities to the churches. But in those tumultuous fifty years the conquests of the Mérovingans had reached their widest extension. With the partial subjection of Brittany, the whole of Roman Gaul, excepting Septimania, still held by the Wisigoths, professed obedience to their sceptre, while in ancient Germany, from the Rhine to the Weser, the powerful duchies of the Alemans, the Thuringians, the Bavarians, the Frisons, and the Saxons were regarded not entirely as subject, and yet as tributary provinces.

¹ Greg. Turon.; l. iv., cc. 16-21.

CHAPTER XIII.

GAUL DURING THE CIVIL WARS OF AUSTRASIA, NEUSTRIA, AND BURGUNDIA.
(FROM A.D. 561 TO 638.)

CHLOTHER, following the usage of the Franks and the example of Chlodwig, devised his estates to his four sons, Haribert, Gonthramn, Sighebert, and Hilperik.

Division of the monarchy among the sons of Chlothar.

Haribert obtained the kingdom of Paris, Gonthramn that of Orleans, Sighebert that of Metz, and Hilperik that of Soissons. The demarkations were not precisely the same as they had been under the sons of Chlodwig; but it is needless to note the differences, as certain natural causes and circumstances were rapidly confirming a territorial division of much greater importance.

The northeastern part of Gaul, along the Rhine, together with a slice of ancient Germany, was already distinguished, as we have seen, by the name of the Eastern Kingdom, or Oster-rike, Latinized into Austrasia. It embraced the region first occupied by the Ripuarian Franks, and where they still lived the most compactly and in the greatest number, beside the outlying districts beyond the Rhine, which were wholly German in language, manners, and institutions. This was, in the estimation of the Franks, the kingdom by eminence, while the rest of the north of Gaul was simply not it—*ne-oster-rike*, or Neustria. A line drawn from the mouth of the Scheldt to Cambrai, and thence across the Marne at Chateau-Thierry to the Aube at Bar-sur-Aube, would have separated the one from the other, Neustria comprising all the northwest of Gaul, between the Loire and the ocean, with the exception of Brittany. This had been the first possession of the Salian Franks in Gaul, where they had come in early contact with the Gallo-Romans, and by intercourse with whom their manners and ideas had been largely modified. To such an extent had they been absorbed and influenced by the Roman elements of the population, that the Austrasians scarcely considered them Franks,

Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundia.

while they, in their turn, regarded the Austrasians as the merest untutored barbarians.¹ But there was still a third division of Gaul—Burgundia (to which a part of the kingdom of Orleans had been added), occupying, geographically, the east of the country, between the Loire and the Alps, from Provence on the south, to the hill-ranges of the Vosges on the north, and, morally, a middle or mixed ground. On the side of Austrasia the Germanic influences prevailed, but in the residue the Roman.²

On the death of Haribert (567) a new distribution was made. Neustria fell to Hilperik, Burgundia to Gonthramn, and Austrasia to Sighebert. Each one of them also took a third of the fine districts of Aquitain, while Hilperik and Gonthramn shared Novempopulania, and Gonthramn and Sighebert the old Province. Paris, as already a nascent metropolis, was jointly possessed, under the sworn condition that neither of the kings should enter it without the consent of the two others, on pain of losing his whole share in the heritage of Haribert. No distribution could have been more oddly at war with the characters of the respective monarchs. Hilperik was a restless, irascible, luxurious, grasping, and half-savage warrior, although he made pretensions to a knowledge of letters and theology, and whose greed, on one side, soon embroiled him with his brothers, while his conceit, on the other, got him the ill will of the bishops.³ Gonthramn was more pacifically inclined; his habitual manners were those of a priest; he loved order and cherished religion; yet he was weak and vacillating, liable to sudden outbursts of cruel rage, and disgracefully incontinent. Sighebert, who disdained the vices of his brothers, was eloquent, skillful, and dignified, and he sedulously cultivated Roman manners and tastes, but was none the less a vindictive and remorseless warrior, jealous of his rights, and de-

¹ These designations, Austrasia and Neustria, appear first in a charter granted by Hildebert to the monastery of St. Vincent, of Paris, in 558. The Austrasians are there called Franks, and the others Neustrians, showing a marked distinction already. *Ego Childebertus rex Francorum et Neustrasiorum* (Recueil des Hist. de Franc., t. iv., p. 622). By the writers of the tenth

century Austrasia was still called *Francia Teutonica*, and Neustria, *Francia Romana*, German being spoken in the one, and Roman in the other (Luitprand, l. i., c. 2; Otho of Freysingens, l. iv., c. 22, cited by Guizot, *Essais*, p. 50).

² On these divisions see Fauriel, t. ii., pp. 174–176.

³ See Thierry (Recit., t. i., p. 262).

voted to the aggrandizement of the royal power. Thus, different in character, rivals from position, and perpetually at feud with some or other of their powerful nobles, their history becomes a long, truculent, tumultuous, bloody, and dreary tragedy, in which there are few lights and many glooms. The events of it, moving forward in the midst of innumerable episodes of intrigue and crime, attain, however, a certain dramatic unity and interest in the great struggle of the kings and the aristocracy, which finds its culmination or catastrophe in the disastrous overthrow of the royal line of Chlodwig and the signal triumph of the leudes.

Scarcely had Sighebert received the homage of his people at Metz before he was called upon to repulse an invasion of Thuringia by a horde of Avars—remnants of the old Huns—who are supposed to have been directed by the emperors of the East toward Germany and the West.¹ He defeated them in a pitched battle (562), but four years afterward they returned, and, aided by infernal and magic arts, as it was said, captured Sighebert, who only by means of magnificent presents to their khakan, or khan of khans, was able to redeem his life and the freedom of his domains.² In the interval of his absence Hilperik invaded Rheims and other of his possessions, which acts he requited by the seizure of Soissons and of Hildebert, the son of Hilperik. A mediation on the part of the other brothers put an end to the war, when Soissons was delivered back, and Hildebert released, on the condition of a formal oath that he would never again molest the dominions of his uncle.³ But the truce was a hollow one, and the conflict had deposited the seeds of bitterness, which a domestic incident, "the first," says Fauriel, "deserving of notice in the annals of these kings," nurtured into a rancorous and chronic enmity.

The King of the Austrasians, disgusted by the low amours of his brothers, who often selected their consorts from the ranks of their servants, projected for himself an alliance with the royal and distinguished house of Athanagild, monarch of the Wisigoths of Spain. A numerous em-

¹ Greg. Turon., iv., 23; De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, t. ii., p. 355.

² Greg. Turon., iv., c. 29; Fredegher, Epit., c. 61.

³ Ibid., iv., 23.

¹ Marriage of Sighebert and Brunhilda, A.D. 566.

bassy, dispatched to the court of Toletum (Toledo) with rich presents, secured him the hand of Brunahilda, the youngest daughter of the king. Young, graceful, and accomplished, the courtly poet of the age, Fortunatus, exhausted his fancy in the invention of tropes befitting her beauty and her virtues.¹ "A virgin," he says, "more radiant than the ethereal lamp—a second Venus—to whom the Naiads, the nymphs of the streams, would bow; in whose face the lilies and the roses blend, while the sapphire, the diamond, the emerald, and the jasper must confess themselves conquered by the new pearl of Spain."² Even the cold and impassive Gregory grows animated in the praise of her charms, describing her as a maiden of graceful and elegant manners, noble character, excellent sense, and winning conversation.³ Transferred to Metz, she abjured her Arian heresies, and was married to Sighebert (566) in the midst of nuptial ceremonies which for brilliancy and display had never been equaled at any barbaric court. All the great leudes of Germany took part in the festivals; all the counts and dukes of Gaul: the king brought forth his richest cups of gold and silver, the result of many a pillage; wine flowed in streams; the poet recited his choicest verses, and the halls of the palace resounded with the acclamations, the songs, and the laughter of the motley guests.⁴

Hilperik, the King of Neustria, piqued by the glory which

Hilperik mar-
ries Galwin-
tha.

his brother had won by this marriage, or, perhaps, conceiving it for a moment more honorable than his

¹ Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus, born about 530 at Treviso, in Italy, took up his permanent residence in Gaul some thirty years later. He sojourned, as a kind of court-poet, first with Sighebert, and then with Hilperik; but afterward, taking holy orders, he attached himself to the monastery of Poitiers, where, in alternations of piety and good-living, he passed the time pleasantly with St. Radegunda (the unfortunate wife of Chlothar) and Sister Agnes. He was made bishop of that city in 599, and died ten years later. His works, which have come down to us, are chiefly small pieces of verse on frivolous subjects; hymns, several of which the Church has adopted;

a rhymed life of St. Martin, a life of Radegunda, and epistles, mostly addressed to the bishops. Their literary merits, which are well stated by Ampère (*Hist. Litt.*, t. ii., c. 13), are such as might be expected in the very last of the decadent Latin poets; but they are invaluable as historical monuments, furnishing many details, not to be found elsewhere, of the life and manners, the architecture and the events of the times.

² Fortunat., *Carm.*, vi., 2, 3.

³ Greg. Turon., iv., 27.

⁴ See Thierry (*Recit.*, t. i., p. 268), who constructs his admirable narrative from the hints of Gregory, Fortunatus, and the life of St. Fridolin.

own debased and promiscuous ties, endeavored to imitate the example by demanding from the King of the Goths the hand of his eldest daughter, Galswintha. The fame of his debaucheries having penetrated Spain, a year was consumed in the negotiations before the parents could be brought to assent to such a disposal of their child; nor did they assent at last until the promise of a thorough reformation on the part of the king, and of a present to the bride, as a morning-gift, of several cities which had once belonged to the Wisigothic domains, removed their fears, while it tempted their ambition.¹ Galswintha herself, a gentle and timid maiden, who appears so transiently in these bloody and turbulent times, like the figure of Gretchen amid the hideous riots of the Walpurgis night of Faust, experienced from the first a vivid repugnance to the union. Her womanly delicacy was not only offended, but a vague and sombre presentiment of evil filled her mind with painful apprehensions. When the time for departure came, her tender parting with her mother, who anxiously accompanied her a long way into Gaul, loth to quit a daughter whose future she seemed to descry, wrung tears from the stalwart warriors of the escort. But, arrived at Rouen, where Hilperik then sojourned, she put a cheerful face on her destiny, won the love of her proud followers by her gracious bearing, and was married in the midst of rejoicings which more than rivaled those which had greeted the coming of her sister. All the servitors of the king—a novel procedure then—swore eternal fidelity to her person, and on the morning after the wedding she received, in customary gift, the five *civitates* of Limoges, Bordeaux, Cahors, Béarn, and Bigorre.² Hilperik, delighted with a reputable connection, dismissed the crowd of his concubines from the court. Yet there was one who lingered, who, bowing with apparent humility to the decree which banished her from the palace, sought permission to remain about its precincts, engaged in some of the me-

¹ By a custom universal among the German tribes, the wife the morning after the nuptials was endowed with a present called the *morgengabe*, which might consist of money, valuable articles, cattle, or houses and lands. Comp. Tacit., Germ., c. 18, with the various barbaric laws. The same custom pre-

vailed among the Kymric tribes, by whom the gift was denominated *cowyll*, or the price of virginity—*pretium nuptiale* (De Curson, Hist. Peup. Bret., t. ii., p. 15).

² Greg. Turon., ll. iv., ix.; Fortunat., Carm., l. vi., 7.

nial offices. Her name was Fredegunda; and, though she was a person of mean extraction, yet of dazzling beauty, and the most fascinating and artful manners.¹ Employed as a servant in the family of Hilperik's first wife, Andowera, her wiles had supplanted that queen in his affections, and ultimately, by a most ingenious but heartless stratagem, procured a separation.²

Hilperik's love for a woman whose charms, like those of Galswinda, consisted chiefly in her virtues and her goodness, soon cooled; but, as she had brought with her much wealth, which in his eyes was a solid attraction, he could not think of parting with her at the probable cost. He therefore resumed secretly his relations with Fredegunda, who had lost no opportunity of casting herself in his way, and who, in the pride of success, flaunted her triumphs in the face of the queen. Wounded both as a sovereign and a wife, the latter demanded of Hilperik to be restored to her mother. He resisted, and promised repentance; she endured patiently, for a time, his deceitful protestations; she even began to flatter herself with the hope of a sincere return of his love, when one night she was found smothered in her sleep.³ The marriage of Hilperik with Fredegunda a few days afterward revealed at once the authors and the motive of the crime.

This treacherous and ghastly murder produced a profound sensation every where, but nowhere more profound than at the court of King Sighebert. The sister of the victim not only mourned her as a near and dear relative, but was driven by natural impulses, as well as by the law of family vengeance, which was the immemorial law of the Germans, to pursue the guilty perpetrators of the deed to the death. Brunahilda's passionate nature, inflamed to the intensest indignation, kindled the sparks of vengeance in the soul of her husband. Publishing his war-ban instantly, he summoned his lieges to a fearful reprisal. Gonthramn, of Burgundy, sharing in the general sympathy, forwarded his

The fate of Galswinda.
Sighebert undertakes to revenge her death, A.D. 567.

¹ Gesta Reg. Franc., cc. 31, 35.

² She persuaded the ignorant and innocent queen to act as godmother to one of her own children, which, by the laws of the Church, incapacitated her

for the marital relation. Retiring then to a monastery, Fredegunda took her place.

³ Greg. Turon., iv., 28.

troops to assist in assailing the kingdom of his brother; but, more disposed to peace than war, and knowing the desolation that must come of a broil between two powerful rulers, whose ancient animosity as kings was now envenomed by personal hatred, he sought to act as a mediator rather than as a partisan. Persuading the kings, when they were about to fall upon each other, to submit their differences to a *Mall* of all the leudes and bishops of the several kingdoms, he succeeded in bringing about a temporary peace.¹ The *Mall* was assembled; it investigated the case according to the forms of the Frankish law, and, rebuking Hilperik for his crime, decreed that he should restore to Brunahilda, as a compensation or *weregild*, the civitates which had been the dowry of her sister, and be thereafter reconciled to his brother (569).² The crafty Hilperik, seemingly crest-fallen and humiliated, consented to every thing, and, after striking hands with Sighebert, retired moodily to his estates.

Gonthramn had shown himself eager for this pacification, doubtless because his own kingdom was then surprised by a double scourge—the ravages of a pestilence, which heaped the churches with corpses, and left the fields covered with unburied dead, and the invasions of the Langobards, a German people, who, after desolating Italy for several years, were now sweeping through the gorges of the Alps upon his beautiful domains along the Rhine (571). To the former he could only oppose the ineffectual prayers of his priests and the expedients of quacks, whose efforts probably aggravated the disease. His people were swept away by thousands, and their harvests left ungathered.³ Nor was Amitus, his general, or patrician, as he was called after the Roman usage, any more successful in putting a stop to the incursions of the Langobards. He was beaten and slain by them; and the next year they returned, with many auxiliary Saxons, to renew their slaughter and pillage. It required thereafter five years of determined warfare on the part of the new patrician, Ennius Mummolus—the greatest warrior and, perhaps, the only tactician of the age—to get rid of those savage invaders.⁴

¹ Greg. Turon., l. iv., c. 28.

² Greg. Turon., l. iv., c. 31.

³ Thierry, *Recits.*, t. i., p. 298 *et seqq.*

⁴ Greg. Turon., l. iv., cc. 41–46.
It was an incident of these encounters—

As the Mérovingan kings, in their lust of war and dominion, watched every opportunity to harass and despoil each other, so Sighebert took advantage of the troubles in Burgundy, on a pretense that the cession of Provence by Vitiges and Justinian had been made in favor of Austrasia, to assert against Gonthramn a claim to Arles and other cities. The affair came to blows, and the embroilment of the brothers furnished Hilperik with the chance that he had long sought. For four years he had nursed his rancor against those who had despoiled him of the cities of the morning-gift; and he no sooner saw Sighebert involved with Gonthramn than he blew the ashes from the sparks of civil strife and kindled the fires anew. Dispatching his son Chlodwig, at the head of a numerous troop, to besiege and seize the Austrasian cities of Aquitaine—especially Poitiers and Tours—a fierce and sanguinary contest was thereby begun between Neustria and Austrasia, which for three years did not exhaust its fury. On both sides, from the Rhine to the Garonne, fields were wasted, houses burned, churches ransacked, convents plundered, nuns violated, children slain, and every other atrocity committed which marks the desultory and reckless warfare of angry barbarians. Victory fell alternately to the one side or the other, as Gonthramn, whose swift vacillations of policy are inscrutable to us, lent his powerful assistance to the one or the other; but the preponderance of success lay on the side of Sighebert. Twice he compelled Hilperik to sue for forgiveness and peace; but the latter, treacherous as he was grasping, as often renewed the battle. At length, exasperated by these repeated insults and mockeries of peace, Sighebert called from beyond the Rhine his wild pagan tributaries—Thurings, Alemans, Boiwares, and Saxons—whose ferocious aspects and unrelenting butcheries carried terror as well as desolation wherev-

stranger than than it became afterward—that two bishops, the brothers Salona and Sagittarius, the one of Embrun and the other of Gap, taking the worldly casque and cuirass instead of the celestial crosier, as Gregory says, fought in the ranks, slaying many people. He proceeds to say that they were most unruly churchmen, and that there was no

crime—theft, murder, adultery, and sacrilege—of which they were not guilty. The Church reprimanded and deposed them; they appealed to the Pope, as whose instance Gonthramn had them restored. Their conduct then was even more outrageous than it had been before, and both perished by violent deaths.

er they passed. By these he overran Neustria, and drove Hilperik to a last refuge in the original cradle of his royal race, the city of Tournai. At the same time his lieutenant, Gonthramn Bose—Gonthramn the Bad—a true type of the times, turbulent and perfidious, roused the native populations of Aquitain to expel and vanquish the army of Theudebert (Hilperik's son), who was killed in the conflict. Sighebert was, in fact, every where victorious: many of the leudes of Neustria had surrendered, appointing a day when they would abandon Hilperik, and lift him on the shield as their king; Brunahilda, arriving from Metz at Paris, with her children and her treasures, had arranged herself in her royal robes, in the prospect of an assured triumph; while Hilperik and his family, "suspended between life and death," awaited in forlorn and gloomy silence the dark tide of events.

In this emergency, the wicked genius of Fredegunda, who The murder of Sighebert, A. D. 570. begins to assume in the contemporary narratives the character of some northern sorceress or Frankish Medea, beautiful and atrocious, surrounded by spells, poisons, bloody superstitions, and young assassins, fanaticized by her "philtres and her fatal charms," came to his relief.¹ "Remembering her arts," she caused two youths, of the many such that she had in her service, to visit her. She steeped their brains in some unknown drink, and, furnishing each of them with the peculiar knife of the Franks, called the *skramasax*, said, "These are for Sighebert; kill him! If you escape, boundless favors await both you and your families; and if you fall, infinite alms shall purchase the safety of your souls at the tribunal of the saints." They departed; made their way by stealth to the spot at Vitriæum (Vitry) where Sighebert was about to be raised on the shield, and then, approaching him as if to ask a favor, plunged their weapons into his breast. In the bloody uproar that ensued they were cut into many pieces, but the objects of Fredegunda were accomplished. A great revolution had been wrought in a single moment;² Hilperik was free; Brunahilda defeated and captured. The Austrasian troops then dispersed in a panic, the traitorous Neustrians returned to their

¹ Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. ii., p. 75.

² Comp. Greg. Turon., l. iv., cc. 28-56; Fred., *Epit.*, cc. 70, 71.

allegiance, and Neustria resumed her supremacy among the kingdoms.¹

Thus a desperate stroke of Fredegunda changed the positions of both persons and things; yet the fundamental grounds of dissension and the rivalry of the kingdoms remained the same, while the example of violence and crime in high places only inflamed and whet the spirit of discord which rent society. In the death of Sighebert the Austrasian serpent had been "scotched, not killed;" for in the tumults that followed the assassination, his son Hildebert, five years of age, let down from a window in a sack, was carried by a faithful leud to Metz, where the nobles proclaimed him king, under the tutelage of one of their own number, an intendant of the royal palace named Gogo.² They did not mean by this movement to strengthen the force of the royalty, but to erect a regency of their own in the name of an infant monarch. It was a movement especially menacing to the autocracy of Hilperik, who, seeing that no time was to be lost, put Brunahilda under a strict guard at Rouen, exiled her daughters to Meaux, and sent his Duke Rokholen, together with his son Merowig, into Aquitaine with a two-fold object. The first was to demand the surrender of Gonthramn Bose, to whom he imputed the death of his son Theudebert, and who had taken asylum in the sanctuary of St. Martin of Tours; and the second to secure the subjection of the disputed cities of the *Morgen-gabe*. Both missions miscarried. The Bishop of Tours was then Georgius Florentius Gregorius, whose Ecclesiastical History of the Franks is almost our only guide in these obscure and turbid times.³ Firm of will,

¹ In modern times this method of solving difficulties would be called a *coup d'état*.

² The position was first offered to one Chrodin, "a valiant man, fearing God, and of great patience," but he declined the honor on the ground that the extreme impatience of all discipline of his friends, the leudes, would prevent him from maintaining any kind of order. Fredegher refers this election to the time of Sighebert, but, as he was never a minor king, it must have taken place on the advent of Haribert II. (Sismondi, Hist., t. i., p. 200). Of these intend-

ants or Mayors of the Palace, afterward so famous, I shall speak farther on.

³ This is the place, perhaps, to say a word of Gregory of Tours, whose authority is so often cited in these pages. He was born in Auvergne, A.D. 539, of a distinguished Episcopal family, and, after having acquired the best ecclesiastical and literary education which the age could provide, was chosen, in 573, Bishop of Tours by the people and clergy of that diocese, with the confirmation of King Sighebert. He discharged the duties of his office with firmness, prudence, and piety—a noble model

and devoted to the prerogatives of the Church, he resisted the threats of Rokholen, although they were backed by the angrier threats of the king, with a manly fidelity. The duke, baffled and discomfited, retired in a rage to Poitiers, where he died of a surfeit, which Gregory considered a heavenly interposition.

Meanwhile Merowig, quitting the other branch of the army, repaired to Rouen, whither he was drawn by a wish to see his mother, he said, but in reality by the remembered charms of Brunahilda, whom he had before met at Paris, and to whom in a little while he was married. Pretextat, the venerable and kindly, but weak-headed bishop of the city—godfather to this son of the king—was induced by his affection to perform the uncanonical ceremony. The report of a double failure filled Hilperik and his queen with uncontrollable rage. "Swifter than speech" he flew to Rouen to surprise the hasty lovers, but they had already taken covert within the walls of the church. In vain, then, he endeavored to dislodge them by threats; in vain he resorted to the most ingenious artifices; they refused to quit their sanctuary, and did not come out until the king had sworn, under the most solemn formalities, that he would attempt neither their injury nor their separation. For a few days he kept his word, playing with admirable art the part of the reconciled and forgiving father, till

of a priest at a period when the pontiffs of the Church were rapidly degenerating into self-seekers, hypocrites, *roués*, and fighters, though not exempt from the credulity and superstition of the times. But he is chiefly interesting, or, rather, invaluable to us as an author, and the last, we may say, of the Latin historians, as Fortunatus was the last of the poets. Besides Lives of the Saints, commentaries, Essays on Miracles, and Treatises of the Glories of the Martyrs and Confessors, he wrote the annals of his country during the epoch in which he lived, closing A.D. 591. The latter, rude and jejune in style, without method or arrangement, full of miraculous incidents and superstitious tales, jumbling together ecclesiastical and civil events in strange confusion, or, as he himself confesses, "*mixtæ confusæque tam virtutes sanctorum, quam strages gentium, mem-*

oramus," is yet marked by great simplicity and apparent truthfulness. He is an Herodotus, as Ampère says, rather flatteringly, who writes, not under the beautiful peristyle of an antique civilization, but amid its crumbling ruins. Nothing is more remarkable in his book than the thorough impassiveness with which he records the most atrocious and appalling crimes, and the absence of every moral criticism or judgment of events. Once or twice he utters a faint cry of rebuke or sorrow, but, for the most part, he seems to resign himself utterly "to the fatality which is crushing the world around him." In the end, however, this very reticence becomes a long sigh, making itself heard in the midst of violent tumults and clashing swords. See Ampère (Hist. Litt., t. ii., c. 11) and Thierry (Recits. Méroving., t. ii., réc. 4).

an opportunity enabled him to drag his son by force from the arms of his bride to the city of Soissons. Brunahilda was left behind either a prisoner or a solitary fugitive.

This marriage was an event which added fuel to the ardent and fell malignity of Fredegunda. The revenge of Fredegunda. A step-mother, having children of her own, for whose advancement she labored incessantly, she had conceived more than a step-mother's proverbial aversion for the earlier offspring of her husband. Merowig now became the particular object of her wrath. During the absence of Hilperik at Rouen, certain Austrasian leudes, who had recently deserted to him, had been induced by one Godvinus or Godewin to make a treacherous attack upon Soissons. Fredegunda and the young Prince Chlodwig were compelled to fly; and it was only with difficulty that Hilperik, by his timely arrival, was able to quell the sedition. He punished the insurgents with the confiscation of their benefices; but Fredegunda, with fertile ingenuity of hatred, contrived to direct the suspicion of the king upon Merowig as a party to the revolt.¹ The unfortunate young man was thereupon arrested, shorn of his locks, the pledge and symbol of Mérovingan royalty, forcibly ordained a priest, and in his clerical habit sent under escort to the monastery of Aninsula, near the city of Mans. On his way, however, he was rescued by a stratagem of some faithful friends, who hurried him in disguise to the basilica of St. Martin of Tours, where he became another embarrassment to the pious and gentle Bishop Gregory.

Hilperik had about that time organized a second expedition for the conquest of the provinces of the south, and com-
The monarch and the priest. mitted it to the command of his son Chlodwig, and of a powerful chief of Toulouse named Desiderius. The latter, in his eagerness to add the whole region between the Loire and the Pyrenees either to his own or to his liege lord's dominions, was led to trespass upon the territories of Gonthramn, which provoked the hostility of that monarch. Gonthramn's general was still the old invincible Mummolus, who fell upon the forces of Desiderius and put them to a shameful rout. Hearing of the defeat, Hilperik hastened to Tours, and poured the vials of his resentment upon the head of his ill-fated son Merowig, and of

¹ Greg. Turon., l. v., cc. 2, 3, 14; Fredegher, Epit.

his priestly protector Gregory. "Chase away that vile apostate," he cried, "or I will visit your whole country with fire and sword!" The bishop calmly replied that the right of holy asylum, respected in the days of Wisigothic heresy, should not be violated in more Christian times. The king expostulated, threatened, stormed, but the priest remained inflexible, and, fierce as the monarch was, who had often committed the most atrocious crimes with impunity, his superstitious dread of the saint restrained his violence. He ravaged all the region round about, but did not venture to assail the sacred walls.¹

At length Merowig, unwilling to expose his generous patron to farther outrages, sallied secretly from his retreat, accompanied by the reckless Gonthramn Bose, and made his way, through a thousand dangers and hair-breadth escapes, to the capital of Austrasia. He was received by Brunahilda, who had already reached Metz,² with transports of joy; but the regent leudes, jealous of any increase of her influence in the court, ordered him at once beyond the frontiers. He was forced to obey, and then, helpless and outcast, was pursued by his father's agents for many months, as a quarry pursued by hounds. Concealed by the compassionate kindness of the common people, laborers and slaves, he might have eluded capture forever if his own ambition had not betrayed him into a snare set by the artful Fredegunda. She had persuaded certain of the inhabitants of Therouane to feign disgust at the tyranny of Hilperik, and to apply to Merowig to allow himself to be proclaimed their king. The credulous youth, confiding in the plausible story, delivered himself into their hands, and very soon afterward was either killed by them, or killed himself in despair.³ Nor was the rancor of the queen appeased by this sacrifice; a great many of his friends and companions were made to share his fate; and the good Bishop Pretextat, who had married the pair, after a painful and humiliating trial, was banished to the island of Jersey, then, as since, a retreat for the victims of offended power. The treasures of Merowig passed into the coffers of his relentless stepmother.

¹ Greg. Turon., v., 15.

c. 33, asserts that she was set free, at the instance of one of her sons.

² Gregory says nothing of the fate of Brunahilda after the separation at Rouen, but the *Gesta Regum Franc.*,

³ Greg. Turon., v., 19; Fredegher, 78.

Episodes like this of Merowig are the staple and characteristic incidents of the time; the conduct of both public and private affairs was marked by the same arbitrary cruelty; the insatiable selfishness of the king and the vindictive passions of his wife knew neither restraints nor satiety. Whole towns or districts were often pillaged or burned to appease his fits of rage. But the violence of his proceedings goaded the people into a natural reaction; and Gregory, convinced that the heavens would interpose to rebuke his wickedness, saw one night, in a dream, the angel of retribution hovering over the house of Hilperik, exclaiming, "Woe! woe! woe! for God will smite thee and thy children, and ye shall reign no more forever." As if in fulfillment of the vision, a deluge of evils soon broke over the infatuated monarch and his kingdom. In the west the restless clans of Bretons, shirking their alliances and refusing tribute, came in successive swarms to desolate and pillage the fields;¹ in the east the childless King of Burgundy had adopted his nephew Hildebert II., and combined with him to summon Hilperik to surrender all the territory he had acquired (578);² while in the south, especially in the Limousin, the people rose in insurrection because of the severe exactions of the fisc (579).³ The landed imposts organized in Gaul by the Roman administration were still assessed upon the Gallo-Roman proprietors; always an insupportable weight, they were rendered still more burdensome by their extension to new objects; every kind of agricultural labor and implement—fields, woods, cattle, slaves, and vineyards, were taxed;⁴ and, though the richer families, ruined and destitute, might fly to other parts to escape them, the poor had no recourse but open rebellion (580).⁵ Hilperik, whose decrees usually ended with the truculent formula "if any one disobeys, let his eyes be torn out,"⁶ enforced their execution in the same spirit. What deepened the prevailing discontent was that the year in which his administrative rigors fell with the most severity upon the country was a year of disastrous natural calamities. Inundations, hail-storms, earthquakes, and a fearful

¹ Greg. Turon., v., 17, 26.

² Ibid., c. 18.

³ Ibid., cc. 30, 31; Fred., Epit., c.

⁴ Greg. Turon., l. v., c. 29. (See Thierry, *Récits.*, t. ii., p. 229 *et seqq.*)

⁵ Ibid., et l. vi., c. 28.

⁶ Ibid., l. vi., c. 46.

pestilence ravaged the land and decimated the people.¹ The mortality raged chiefly among children and young persons: "We lose our sweet and dear little ones, whom we have warmed in our bosoms," wails the bishop, "and can only dry our tears, saying, like Job, the Lord gave and the Lord has taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."² Hilperik for a while, like another Nero, to whom the narrator compares him, beheld these sufferings with indifference. He built or repaired the circuses, and amused himself and his courtiers with games after the manner of his imperial prototypes; he wrote Latin verses, upon which Gregory revenges himself by denouncing them as abominably lame in the feet;³ and he entertained his leisure in the addition of four new letters to the alphabet, that the rough Teutonic gutturals might be expressed in the softer language of the Romans.⁴ He suggested, moreover, improvements of the Trinitarian theology; to the inexpressible disgust of the priests.⁵

At length the plague, which had slowly crept to Paris and Soissons, invaded the royal residence of Briac; Hilperik was himself assailed; and, though he recovered, the loathsome malady seized his children by Fredegunda, and brought them to the grave. Their mother, who, like the tigress, seemed to be insensible to every feeling save that of maternal tenderness, was shocked by this touch of the cold hand into a momentary sentiment of compassion and remorse. In her distress some gleams of conscience and humanity flashed upon her guilty soul; she recalled the evils she had caused to be done, the blood she had shed, and the miseries she had inflicted. "Behold," she cried to her husband, "how Providence rebukes us! the tears of the poor, the groans of the widows, the sighs of the orphans have slain our children, and there is none to inherit our accursed gains. Come, let us cast

¹ Greg. Turon., v., 34. The description of the disease in Gregory would seem to designate it as the small-pox — fulsome pustules, high fever, pains in the head, and contagious. But Gibbon remarks the occurrence of the same calamities in all parts of the Roman empire. (Decline and Fall, vol. iv., c. 43, in fine.)

² l. v., c. 35.

³ *Nullis pedibus subsistere possunt.*

⁴ The oldest MSS. of Gregory represent these letters to have been the Greek Ω, Ψ, Ζ, Δ, but later MSS. vary from these; and the monk Aimon (Chron., l. iii., c. 40) after the Ω substitutes Χ, Θ, Φ.

⁵ Ibid., v., 45.

into the fire these hated registers of the impost, and be content with what sufficed the treasury in the reign of thy father Chlothar."¹ What must have been the sufferings and sorrows of the poor unsheltered people when the general calamities could extort from this proud and pitiless woman such confessions!

Hilperik listened to the advice of his wife, repealed the odious fiscal decrees, and gave liberally to the poor and to the churches; but the repentance of both of them faded like the morning dew. As soon as her gloomy despondency was over, Fredegunda assumed her ambition and her cruelty. Remembering that she had still a step-son (Chlodwig), whose name recent rumors had connected with conspiracies against her own dignity and the royal succession, her wicked wit at once projected his destruction.² She caused him to be sent to Brennacum, where the pestilence still raged, in the hope that he might take the contagion; but that scheme failing, she next accused him of having compassed the death of her children by sorcery. In support of the charge she tortured a hag, with whose daughter Chlodwig had been intimate, to confess its truth. Unable to resist such evidence, the king handed his son over to the clemency of the queen, by whose instruments he was inveigled into an ambush and slain. His mother, Audowera, still in retreat at the convent of Rouen, was soon after assassinated, his sister subjected to outrages more horrible than the death in which they ended, and his servants and friends were forced to save themselves by a precipitate flight.³

Hilperik, who appears to have been juggled out of the ordinary feelings of man by the cunning persuasions of this fiendish woman, saw all these crimes perpetrated without inquiring into their justice or cause. It is possible, however, that he was too profoundly absorbed in his wars and intrigues to allow himself to be disturbed by mere

Hilperik makes war on Gon-
thramn. His
death, A. D. 561
-564.

¹ Greg. Turon., v., 35. Thierry (Récits., t. ii., p. 243) finds in this address of Fredegunda one of those poetic and passionate chants to which the German woman resorted when strongly moved by any vivid feeling; and he is very clearly convinced that it is not an invention of Gregory.

² The story went that one Leudaste,

a Gallo-Roman of ability, who had raised himself by subtle compliances from a menial position to a countship, and Rikulf, a sub-deacon, with others, had entered into a plot to disgrace her and procure the accession of Chlodwig. (See Thierry, Récits., 5^{ème}.)

³ Greg. Turon., l. v., c. 40.

domestic broils. He was then waging a fierce conflict, in conjunction with Hildebert and the grandees of Austrasia, against his brother Gonthramn of Burgundy. The rich possessions of the latter in the south tempted his insatiable cupidity, while the leudes of Austrasia, always ready for any predatory expedition, were doubly eager to avenge themselves upon a king who had so often curbed their spirit of aristocratic aggression. Three years of battles, sieges, and ravages (581-584), in which Marseilles, Avignon, Bourges, and other cities were sacked, and the fairest fields of Berri and Touraine desolated, ended in his final defeat.¹ Brunahilda, too, supported by the lower free-men and the Gallo-Roman inhabitants, succeeded in breaking his union with Austrasia.² Hildebert himself wandered away to Italy to take part in the struggle waging between the Emperor Maurice and the Lombards.³ Thus, Hilperik reaped no permanent advantage from the ruin he had occasioned. The artful woman, however, who, like a dread fate, seemed to hold the threads of all destinies in her hand, had not been inactive in her way. A son, whom she had given to Hilperik in 582, dying of dysentery in the second year of his age, she accused Mummolus, the prefect of her house, of having contrived his death by witchcraft. She tortured women into confessions of their complicity, and caused the unhappy prefect to be executed in the midst of the most frightful torments. Drunk with blood, she recoiled from no atrocity; and at last the husband who permitted her violence became her victim. While hunting on his farm at Chelles, near Paris, he was suddenly set upon by an unknown man and killed; and, though the perpetrator of the murder remained unknown, the oral rumors of the day and the written rumors of a later age referred the atrocity to an untimely discovery of the relations of Fredegunda with her favorite Landerik.⁴ No one, however, mourned the departure of Hilperik; his body even was left for a while unburied; and his deeds would have been unworthy of record or remembrance if they had not but too well illustrated the spirit of his times.

¹ Greg. Turon., vi., 8-12.

² Ibid., vi., 31.

³ Ibid., cc. 41, 42; Paul. Diacon.,

l. iii., c. 17. On these wars see Gibbon (Decline and Fall, vol. v., c. 45).

⁴ Gesta Regum Franc., c. 85.

On the death of her husband, Fredegunda perceived the difficulties in which she was likely to be involved, and after putting her son (born four months previously) in security, besought the protection of Gonthramn.

THE PROTECTOR-
RATH OF GON-
THRAMN, A.D.
554-558.

That monarch had been injured in the most wanton manner by Hilperik, and he was fully alive to the reckless and sanguinary character of the widow; but he was also remarkable for his complacent good-nature, and not a little proud of the reputation which he had acquired as a peace-maker. He saw, moreover, that the death of his brother would prove the signal for all the foes of Neustria to rush upon it and tear it into pieces; many cities, indeed, were already in insurrection, or warring upon each other; and it may be, besides, that he was not insensible to the hope of being enabled to annex Neustria to his own Burgundy.¹ He listened, therefore, to the various motives addressed to his ambition or his vanity, backed as they were by the persuasions of the bishops, and others anxious to see some kind of authority maintained, and accepted the task of restoring order. Hildebert, under advice of the Austrasian leudes, protested against this; he demanded the restitution of all that Hilperik had usurped; and he especially asked the surrender of that fivefold murderer Fredegunda. But Gonthramn was firm in his cause, and set to work the best he could to repair the wrongs done by the late administration. He restored what had been stolen, banished Fredegunda to one of the royal farms, and put some show of order into the civil chaos. Yet his position was so hazardous that he could only go about with an armed guard; and once he supplicated the people, during a church service, not to kill him for three years, at least until some of his race might be of age to assume the government.²

His systematic opposition to the aggressions and independence of the leudes brought a conspiracy, with which they had been for some time undermining the soil, to a head. It had extended into every part of Gaul, and the most powerful nobles, Mummolus, Gonthramn Bose, the Duke Desiderius, Bishop Egidius of Rheims, and many others, were engaged in the plot. In order to give an appearance of legitimacy to their cause, and to catch the Gallo-Romans and Neustrian

The conspiracy
of Gondwald,
A.D. 554, 555.

¹ Greg. Turon., l. vii., cc. 2-6.

² Id., ib., l. vii., cc. 6-8.

Franks thereby, they produced a discarded bastard of Chlothar I., and set him up as an heir to the throne. His name was Gondowald, and his history had been curious. Born in Gaul, most likely of a mistress of Chlothar I., he was well educated, and wore the long hair of the royal line; but his father and his uncles subsequently disowning him, his hair was shorn, and he was exiled to Cologne. He then made his living for a time by painting the walls of churches and palaces in fresco, an art still practiced, though in decay, and afterward repaired to Italy, where, under Narses, he collected a fortune in some way. Establishing himself at Constantinople next, he was well received and cherished by the imperial court for purposes of its own. Gonthramn the Bad met him there, and allured him into Gaul on the pretense that he was much wanted by the magnates of Austrasia (582). Arrived at Marseilles, with considerable treasures, which had been presented to him by the emperor, either Tiberius or Maurice, he found public affairs not in a state favorable to the open proclamation of himself, and took refuge for two years in a neighboring island. Thence, after the death of Hilperik, he was drawn by the conspirators, lifted upon the shield at Brives, in the Limousin (now Brives-la-Galliarde), and supplied with a numerous army. His cause rapidly recruited friends; many of the Aquitanian cities opened their gates to him, and nearly all the southern nobles, with some bishops, flocked to his standard.¹ Even Hildebert and Brunahilda had been beguiled into lending a secret approval to his schemes.

The latter fact having been detected by Gonthramn through

Gonthramn discovers and defeats the conspirators.

some envoys, whose safeguard (two consecrated sticks or wands) he violated, he hastened to expose the imminent danger to his unconscious nephew.

At an interview between them, held at Chalons, he proved that the design of the movement was nothing less than the overthrow of the Mérovingan rule, and a perfect reconciliation of its two representatives was in consequence effected. It was agreed that an Austro-Burgundian army should be dispatched at once into Aquitain and Provence. The news of the coalition detaching many Gallo-Romans and others from the cause of the rebels, they were compelled to concentrate their forces

¹ Greg. Turon., l. vi., cc. 24-28.

in the strong-hold of Convenæ (now St. Bertrand de Comminges), at the foot of the Pyrenees. This was a well-fortified Roman town, on the summit of an escarped rock, both impregnable in itself and commanding the valleys of the Upper Garonne. When the armies of the kings arrived before it, they assaulted it for two weeks without producing upon it any effect. The besieged, by hurling down vast fragments of rock and pots of inflamed grease, seemed likely to be able to hold possession of it for an indefinite length of time. Stratagem, however, accomplished what force could not. Leudeghisel, the constable (*comes stabuli*) of the Burgundians got an interview with Mummolus and other rebel chiefs, and purchased their treason with promises of reward and pardon. The poor Gondowald was shamelessly betrayed into quitting his retreat on the pretext that the kings desired to compromise with him, and as he descended the cliffs was crushed to death by a huge stone. The town was then surrendered, and the people passed under the sword. But the traitors did not reap the reward they expected for their treachery. Reckless of his word, Gonthramn had Mummolus and the drunken Bishop Sagittarius executed on the spot, while he reserved others for more protracted punishments.¹

The miscarriage of Gondowald's scheme, and the dreadful fate of his followers, discouraged the rebellion for a time only; the disaffection of the leudes was secretly spreading in all the kingdoms. Hildebert, of Austrasia, who was the most exposed amid his savage and truculent Germans, was forced to practice the most inhuman severities to keep it down, and the friends of his victims doubtless remembered it in after days against his mother. In Neustria the progress of the discontent was stealthy, but sure. It had been taken in hand by one who was not easily thwarted. Fredegunda, the captive queen, mortified by the semi-imprisonment in which she was held, piqued by the superior success of her detested rival, Brunahilda, and wounded, so far as such a woman could be wounded, by the suspicions which Gonthramn began to express as to the legitimacy of her last child, passed her sombre leisure in perfecting plans of retaliation. Among her dependents were many youths, chiefly clerics, whom she easily

The machinations and murders of Fredegunda, A.D. 556.

¹ Greg. Turon., l. vii., cc. 85-89.

fired with her own hellish passions, and made the instruments of her will. Like the old and withered Sibyl Theomaka, whom St. Samson met in the glooms of the German forests, incapable of good, she was yet equal to the execution of every evil.¹ In 584 she sent an emissary to take the life of Brunahilda, who, failing, had his hands and feet cut off. The next year two others, provided with peculiar and poisonous weapons, which she had caused to be fabricated, were commissioned on the same errand, and failed.² At the same time, the good Bishop Prætextat, restored to his functions after several years of exile, was stabbed as he served at the altar; a powerful Frank lord, who undertook to investigate the crime, was poisoned by a drink which he incautiously took from her hand in the very act of charging her with the guilt; and a neighboring bishop, whose duty it was to bring the affair before a council, was mysteriously foiled in the pursuit.³ The impunity of Fredegunda was found in the chaotic state of society, and in the numerous base and cunning adherents whom she controlled by her wealth, but chiefly in the relations she maintained with the dissatisfied leudes of Austrasia, with the barons of Burgundy, with the chiefs of the Breton clans, and even with the offended King of the Wisigoths. All the elements of disorder gathered about her as if by magnetic attraction. Gonthramn and Hildebert were impotent to arrest her sinister and bloody career, being themselves involved in a thousand perplexities and straits. They visited upon the conspirators, when they could, a rigor of punishment which turned justice itself into murder, but in vain. At a solemn treaty, concluded at Andelot,⁴ they composed all their own causes of difference, and in the hope of conciliating their stubborn adversaries, made concessions of benefices and restorations of rights, accompanied by guarantees of future security, which were equally ineffectual. Even the series of foreign wars in which they engaged against the Wisigoths, the Bretons, and the Basques,⁵ failed to disperse or to exhaust the

¹ Theomaka, who fights with God. See Mabillon (*Acta Sanctorum*, t. i., p. 173, cited by Ampère, *Hist. Litt.*, t. i., p. 375) for the legend.

² Greg. Turon., l. viii., c. 29.

³ Greg. Turon., viii., 30-31.

⁴ It is given at length by Gregory, l. ix., c. 20.

⁵ These foreign expeditions seem to me otherwise objectless and fruitless, and need not detain the narrative.

bellicose energies of those stalwart warriors. The quarrel between them was become chronic, and was not so to be composed.

Such was the situation when Gonthramn died in 593, without an heir, leaving the fate of his race to the hands of two infant nephews and their mothers, the rival queens.¹ Hildebert II., aged twenty-one, the son of Brunahilda, took immediate possession of Burgundy, and, instead of offering to share it with Chlothar II., aged nine, the son of Fredegunda, prepared to make war upon him, thus complicating the difficulties. He himself, however, died in 596, and the next year was followed by Fredegunda. The chroniclers speak of a battle fought at a place called Latafao in 596, in which Fredegunda carried off the victory, but she did not live to reap the benefits. That remorseless she-wolf, after all her crimes, died peaceably in her bed, and was buried with honor, by the side of her husband, in the basilica of St. Vincent, now St. Germain des Près, at Paris.² The tomb of the worthy pair is said to be visible still in the metropolis of the French.

As a consequence of these deaths, Austrasia and Burgundy, with their adjuncts in Aquitaine, were divided between Theudebert and Theuderik, the sons of Hildebert II., under the regency of their grandmother Brunahilda, while Neustria was retained by Chlothar II., the son of Hilperik and Fredegunda. But, as all were minors, the aristocracy committed them to the control of intendants, called Mayors of the Palace,³ who governed in their name, but in reality in the interests of the leudes. The aged Brunahilda, however, still remained as an obstacle to their schemes of aggrandizement and license. It devolved upon her to maintain the rights of her race and the dignity of the royal office. She was well prepared for the conflict. Twenty-three years of actual government (since the death of Sighebert in 575) had both

THE REGENCY
OF BRUNAHIL-
DA, A.D. 593
-613.

¹ At this point we lose the aid of Gregory, whose work ends with the year 591. Fredegher, a Burgundian monk, who wrote an epitome of Eusebius, St. Jerome, Idatius, and Gregory, to which he added a chronicle of his own times (say from 591 to 641), becomes our chief authority. Some anonymous continuator brings his chron-

icle down to the advent of Karl the Great (Charlemagne) in 768. Fredegher is dry, obscure, and confused, causing us to lament the loss of even Gregory.

² Fredegher, c. 17; Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, t. i., p. 289).

³ On the nature and origin of this office, see next chapter.

taught her the nature of the task and inured her to its perils. She was, moreover, not only known, but feared and hated by her enemies. Her energy they had witnessed signally on one occasion when, their combined forces being about to fall upon those of her friend, the Duke Loup, she arrayed herself in armor, and, rushing between the combatants, stayed their swords by her uplifted hands and eloquent words. The intensity of her resentments they had learned upon more than one occasion, when it became necessary to vindicate justice or to sever a knot of difficulties by the axe of the executioner. She was not, however, though stern, trenchant, and relentless in the cause of her ambition and policy, a mere dabbler in blood, like Fredegunda. She aimed at great political ends, which could not be mistaken. A Goth by birth, she was yet a thorough Roman by education, training, and desire. The Constitution¹ which she caused her son to promulge at the annual Marzfeld of the Franks the year before his death indicated at once her deeply-seated Roman tendencies and her utter aversion to the Germanic system. It decreed that the royal successions should follow in the direct line; it supplanted almost entirely the penal methods of the Salic and Riparian laws (the weregild) by death penalties; and it struck at the root of the German social bond by abolishing the mutual responsibility of relatives for the crimes of each other. Her whole practical endeavor, besides, had aimed at the restraint of the great proprietors, who strove with equal energy to usurp their benefices, to seize the benefices of others, and to extend in various ways their civic as well as military jurisdictions. The very violence of their opposition intrenched her the more in the hearts of the small free proprietors, of the mass of the Romanized Franks, and of the greater part of the bishops and priests.

By making her residence at Metz, in the centre of Austrasian influence, she evinced her courage and her determination. An order for the execution of Wintrio, Duke of Champagne and Mayor of the Palace, provoked at once the outbreak (599).² The Austrasians seized her in her

¹ Baluze, *Capit.*, t. i., p. 17. Dom 111) erroneously ascribes this constitution to the elder Haribert.

² Fredegar, cc. 18, 19.

palace, carried her beyond the frontiers, and left her, alone, exposed, and without money, to be conducted by a casual peasant to the court of Burgundy. Hostilities did not immediately break out between the brothers, as might have been expected from such an event, because they were already allied in a project for despoiling Neustria. Brunahilda, therefore, willingly delayed her revenge till they had defeated Chlothar II., and compelled him to cede to Austrasia all the country between the Seine, the Oise, and Austrasia; and to Burgundy all that between the Loire and the Seine, leaving the son of Fredegunda only twelve cantons to the north of the Somme (600).¹ A united expedition against the Basques (Wascons, Gascons) of the Pyrenees, who had invaded Novempopulania, also engaged their attention, and postponed her purposes (602). But as soon as they had subjected the invaders to tribute, and imposed upon them the government of the Duke Genialis, she resumed her projects against the leudes and Austrasia.

As a means of ensuring her success, her first step was to strengthen her power in Burgundy. The people, more and more Romanized and accustomed to obedience under Gonthramn, offered her little resistance; but the patrician Ægila opposed her plans; and the Mayor of the Palace, Berthoald, a gentle and upright man, was not found a suitable instrument. The former she caused to be put to death on some charge, and the latter was sent to engage in hostilities against Landerik, the Mayor of Neustria, in which he perished. Brunahilda then raised Protadius, a favorite and, as Fredegheer avers, a lover,² to the vacant mayoralty. He was, at any rate, a man after her own heart, able, resolute, fearless, and a thorough Roman; but in their joint efforts to carry their plans they overreached the mark, and by the weight of their impositions, as well as by the excessive rigidity with which these were enforced, alienated many of the Gallo-Roman party. When, therefore, Brunahilda urged Theuderik and the Burgundians into a war with Austrasia, partly to avenge the affronts she had recently received there, and partly to gratify her ambi-

¹ Fredegheer, cc. 20, 21.

² Sismondi lends an ear to this scandal of the monk, but, as Brunahilda

was now considerably over fifty years of age, it would seem to be preposterous. Fredegheer, cc. 20-26.

tion of uniting the whole Frank monarchy in the person of her chosen grandson, the Burgundian barons relucted. They raised the necessary troops and marched, but slew Protadius on the way, and forced the king to conclude a peace with his brother (603-605). Nothing daunted by this temporary reverse, Brunahilda raised Claudius, another Roman, to the mayoralty, caused the persons engaged in the murder of Protadius to be executed summarily, and even consented to treat with Chlothar II., in the hope of combining the forces of Neustria and Burgundia against Austrasia.¹

Unfortunately in the interval she was embroiled with domestic antagonists far more subtle and dangerous to her than either Burgundian barons or Austrasian leudes. The licentious courses of her son had incurred the frowns of the priests, especially of St. Desiderius of Vienna; and as she resented his interference by causing him to be deposed and exiled, and, after his recall, to be stoned to death (607), she lost the sympathies of the best class of her supporters.² A mightier than Desiderius also took up his complaint and his quarrel, the famous Irish missionary, St. Columban, who carried with him much of the strength of the Church.³ St. Columban was a Leinster man, a scion of the famous monastery of Banchor, whither a purer piety and the taste for learning had fled during the whirlwinds of the Saxon invasion, and had come into Gaul, with twelve brother monks, to preach a reform of the discipline and the morals of the monastic establishments (585). The zealous Benedict of Nursia had already organized those popular institutions to a rigid life of fasting, prayer, and labor; but the austerer temper of Columban demanded, with less labor, severer observances and a more fervid devotion, while he punished willful breaches of duty or discipline with stripes. His monasteries of Fontaine, Anagray, and Luxeuil, erected amid the gloomy solitudes of the Vosges, and, more lately, of St. Gall and Bobbio, in Germany and Italy, shared, with the Benedictine foundations, the profoundest awe of the people and the most lavish munificence

¹ Fredegher, cc. 27-29.

² Ibid., c. 32.

³ Ibid., c. 36. (See also Monach.

St. Gall., l. ii., apud Scriptores Rer. Franc., t. v., p. 122.)

of the princes. Intrepid and heroic as he was implacable, Columban visited the palace of Theuderik as a reformer rather than a courtier; he openly rebuked the incontinence of the king and the disorderly life he led in the circle of his mistresses; he refused the holy benediction to his children on the ground that they were the issue of a defiled bed; and at a royal festival he even allowed his holy anger to break in pieces the vessels of wine which he deemed polluted by the touch of an adulterer.¹

The haughty grandmother of the king was not of a temper to brook this insolence. Herself the friend and correspondent of the great Pope Gregory,² whose schemes for the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons of Britain she forwarded, she was disposed to exact a proper respect to herself and to her rank. She ordered him to be torn from his retreat, and conducted by a guard of archers to the sea-coast, where he might be easily embarked for Ireland. But the archers were intimidated by the venerable mien and sanctimonious demeanor of their captive, as well as by the superstitious manifestations of popular homage with which he was received on the way, and suffered him to tarry in the domains of King Chlothar, whence he afterward repaired to Austrasia. Columban was not wholly submissive and orthodox in his conceptions of the Roman faith, so that he was viewed with some degree of suspicion by his superiors among the clergy, and yet the wonderful energy and enthusiasm of his character gave him a strong hold of the religious imagination of the period. The wrongs he was supposed to have received detached the affections of the religious from the person of Brunahilda, and undermined her popularity with many of the devouter common folk. But there was another, and perhaps more powerful motive, which contributed to the falling away of the spirituals from her cause; the Church itself had received, to a large extent, a Germanic tincture and bent; not only had the men of the North made their way into the sacred offices since they had become sources of so much power and wealth, but the bishops

¹ Fredegher, Chron., c. 86; Vita Sancti Columban, apud Scriptores Rer. Francicar., t. iii., p. 476.

² Greg. Mag., Opera Omnia, vi.;

Epist. 5, Paris, 1705.

of Roman origin, reckoned by their position among the leudes or grandees of the new kingdoms, had gradually adopted the prejudices, the interests, and the ambitions of their class. In the terrible wrestle which was going forward between the aristocracy and the kings, they found themselves ever less inclined toward the receding fortunes of royalty, while they were more and more disposed to share the not remote nor uncertain triumphs of the order to which they belonged.¹

When the war was opened again between Theuderik and Theudebert, of which their rival claims to the districts of Alsace, Sundgau, and Thurgau were the pretext, the consequences of this disaffection were exhibited. The Burgundians were still able to command the neutrality, if not the aid, of the Neustrians, on the promise of restoring to them the duchy of Dentelin,² formerly taken away from them by the Austrasians. Theudebert was dreadfully beaten by the Burgundians, first on the plains of Toul, and then on the already famous battle-field of Tolbiac; he was pursued beyond the Rhine, seized, and imprisoned; his treasures were distributed, and his kingdom assumed by his successful brother;³ but, at the same time, the hatred of Theuderik and of the ascendancy of Brunahilda had rapidly fermented throughout his own dominions and in Neustria. Chlothar was encouraged by it to take possession of the duchy of Dentelin, which had been promised him, but not yet ceded. It was an aggression which Theuderik made haste to punish. While, however, he was preparing his force, he died of dysentery at Metz, which event changed at once the entire aspect of affairs. Brunahilda, now aged, and abandoned by many former friends, was left alone, with the four infant children of Theuderik, to carry on the struggle of her house.⁴

With an intrepidity and promptitude which showed that the fires of youthful energy still glowed in her bosom, she proclaimed the eldest son, Sighebert, the sole and legitimate heir of his father, and king of Burgundia and Austrasia. A more audacious defiance to the Ger-

Renewal of the war between Austrasia and Burgundy, A.D. 610-612.

The last struggle of Brunahilda. Her dreadful fate.

¹ Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. ii., l. iii., c. 2.

² Fredegger, c. 38.

³ Fredegger, *Chron.*, cc. 39, 40.

⁴ Between the Aisne and Oise, near Soissons.

mans, whose sacred and immemorial customs had decreed an equal division of every paternal heritage, could not have been contrived, and it at once gave the signal for a rally of all the Germanic leaders. The leudes of Austrasia, who, more than all others, detested Brunahilda, and who yet smarted under the wounds of two lost battles, took the initiative against her; under the lead of one Pippin, a grandee, whose estates were at Landen,¹ near what is now Liege, in the Netherlands, and of Arnulf, the Bishop of Metz, they conspired with Chlothar of Neustria to overturn her domination; and the barons of Burgundy were secretly induced to favor their enterprise. Chlothar advanced with his army toward Austrasia, where he was met by the Austrasians, who made a mere show of resistance, and then the greater part joined him, while the others fled. The Burgundian army of Brunahilda, gathered somewhere between the Marne and the Aisne, next advanced to the encounter; but the leaders of it played the same part; at the moment when the trumpet sounded the charge, they turned their backs, and left their mistress, the king, and the royal children to be pursued by the triumphant Neustrians. These were, of course, soon overtaken, although Brunahilda had made her way as far as the village of Orbe, in transjuran Burgundy. The children were slain, with the exception of one, whom Chlothar had held at the baptismal font, and whom his conscience would not allow him to injure, while Brunahilda was reserved for a more horrible revenge. For three days he subjected her to different tortures; he then caused her to be driven, on the back of a camel, through the camp, in the midst of frantic hootings and yells; and, finally, after reproaching her falsely with the murder of ten kings, some of whom had been put to death by Fredegunda and some by himself, he had her tied by the hands and feet to the tail of an untamed horse, whose rapid flight soon tore her body limb from limb.²

Character of Brunahilda. Thus perished one of the greatest of women, "daughter, mother, grandmother, great-grandmother

¹ Sometimes called Pippin the Elder. His daughter Begga married Ansighese, the son of Arnulf, and from them descended Pippin of Herstall, Karl Mar-

tel, Pippin the Short, and Karl the Great, or Charlemagne.

² Fred., Chron., c. 42; Aimoni Monach., l. ix., c. 1; Vita Sanct. Columb., c. 58.

of kings," who for fifty years had waged a stubborn, unrelenting warfare against the chaos and disorder of her times. Proud she was, no doubt; vindictive, and perhaps cruel, according to the spirit of the age; but, nevertheless, a noble, great, indomitable soul, endowed with the rarest capacities, influenced in her general conduct by the larger civic motives, and worthy of a place by the side of the Theodoriks and Charlemagnes. Like them, she could embrace great plans of human amelioration while the stormiest passions were heaving society around her; like them, she was interested in literature, in religion, in the improvements of industry, and in the establishment of social order; but like them, too, she committed the fatal error of recurring to an old system of things under circumstances too entirely new to admit of its application.¹ The Roman methods of government and society were effete already in the time of Theodorik of Italy, and they were much more so in the time of Brunahilda. She failed; and the ecclesiastics and the nobles covered her memory with infamy, although the common people long held her in respect, and for centuries many of the great remains of Roman civilization were regarded by popular tradition as the work of her hands.²

Chlothar II., as his grandfather, Chlothar I., had done just fifty-five years before, united the whole Frankish race under his single sway. He alone of all the long-haired descendants of Merowig remained, like a solitary tree that survives the tempests which sweep and desolate the forest. It was almost his only distinction. His personal qualities were mediocre and insignificant. Endowed with great benignity and patience, according to Fredegher, instructed in letters, fearing God, and bestowing generously upon the poor and the churches, he was yet passionately devoted to the chase of wild beasts, and too much disposed to listen to the suggestions of women and young girls.³ The exclusive sceptre he had won was practically a barren sceptre in his grasp; he had achieved it only by the help of the leudes, and they were

¹ As to Karl the Great, or Charlemagne's revival of the empire, something is to be said hereafter.

² Brunahilda's roads, Brunahilda's

castles, and Brunahilda's forts are still spoken of in parts of Belgium and France. Sismondi, t. i., p. 255.

³ Fred., Chron., c. 42.

determined to exact an ample recompense for their services in the future distribution of the civil and ecclesiastical power. A mayor of the palace was inaugurated in each kingdom, with an indefeasible right to the office, and a solemn ordinance, called the Perpetual Constitution, was enacted in a council composed of seventy-nine bishops and a multitude of other grandees, and held at Paris in 614, which confirmed the aristocratic ascendancy. It decreed that all the benefices and estates which had been taken away from the leudes under previous reigns should be restored and assured irrevocably to their possessors; that the imposts established by the sons of Chlothar I. should be abolished; that the election of the bishops should be reserved to the provincial councils, to the clergy and people of each diocese, with a simple right of confirmation in the king; that no successor to a bishop should be appointed during his life; that the clergy should be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the royal officers, and the cognizance of their offenses, both public and private, ascribed to ecclesiastical tribunals; that the judges should no longer be held amenable to the decrees of kings who themselves violated the law, and that they should condemn no one, not even a slave, until he had been heard; and that every willful violator of the public peace should be punishable with death.¹ These were provisions made partly in furtherance of social order, but they were principally designed to guarantee the independence of the nobles, both lay and clerical. One provision, in particular, gave an immense preponderance to the aristocracy, namely, that the counts and judges in each district should be selected from the large proprietors of the district. It placed the whole local administration in the hands of the large proprietors, and rendered the right of the king to intervene in case of domestic troubles an illegality or a nullity.²

Chlothar's reign was practically a nullity; but, weak as it was, the Austrasians demanded a king of their own, and re-

¹ Baluze, *Capitularia*, t. i., p. 21, apud Scriptor. Francic., t. iv., p. 118; *Fred.*, Chron., c. 44.

² Lehuërou refers to this Constitution as creating a new epoch in the history of the times. "The system of government which the Mérovingians had

wished to enforce was not only signally condemned, but hopelessly ruined. The dynasty itself was moved by the shock, and remained upon the throne only on the condition of allowing itself to be led and dominated by the leudes" (*Instit. Méroving.*, t. i., p. 483).

ceived Dagobert, the son of Chlothar, then a youth of fifteen; The reign of Dagobert, A.D. 629-638. Pippin, the mayor of the palace, and Arnulf,¹ the Bishop of Metz, being made his guardians and tutors.

He showed at the outset that he was a lad of some spirit, picked one or two quarrels with his father, which the leudes with difficulty adjusted, and, when his father died (628), asserted peremptorily his right to all the kingdoms, to the exclusion of a younger brother named Haribert. The nobles generally, of both Austrasia and Burgundia, sided with him; but Brodulf, an uncle, raised many of the Neustrians and of the provincials of the South in behalf of Haribert, and the result was that Dagobert consented to set apart for him Aquitain as a separate kingdom. He made Toulouse his capital, and married a daughter of Amandus, the Duke of Wasconia, or Gasconia, as the region between the Pyrenees and the Garonne, then in possession of the descendants of the old Basques, had come to be called. Dagobert, who was smitten with a strong love of arbitrary rule, made a tour of his dominions to administer justice, to reduce the leudes to order, and to impress an idea of his greatness upon the common people. Fredegher represents that his progress was accompanied by the profoundest marks of submission on the part of the great, and, in fact, that he struck terror into all their hearts, making himself the idol of the poor and oppressed;² but that view of his character is scarcely consistent with other facts that he narrates. As soon as he could, Dagobert broke away from the tutelage of Pippin, and took up his residence in Neustria, where he abandoned himself to an unexampled pomp and luxury. Like Solomon, whose example is alleged in justification of his course, he took three queens, and such a houseful of concubines that the chronicler says his book could not contain their names. Like Solomon, too, he compensated these indulgences by the construction of sumptuous and magnificent edifices.³ A great builder and orna-

His profusion toward the churches.

menter of convents and churches, among the rest he founded the abbey of St. Denis, near Paris. Its walls, columns, and tombs were incrustated with masses of silver, and gold, and precious stones, wrought into exquisite forms by the genius of St. Eloi, the greatest gold-worker of the time, and the splendid

¹ Fred., Chron., c. 37.

² Ibid., cc. 58-60.

³ Ibid., c. 48.

and perpetual service of the altar was maintained by tolls drawn from distant cities, and by almost incredible endowments of farms, manors, salt-works, and market-rights.¹ St. Denis became, in after years, a Catholic Mecca, whither pilgrims flocked by thousands from all parts of Gaul and Europe, the poor to enjoy the alms, the sick to be healed of their diseases, the devout to pray or touch the relics, and the enterprising to participate in the profits of an annual fair which was held on the road between it and Paris. When Dagobert died, which was in 688, he was buried with great pomp in the abbatial church, which was thereafter consecrated to the sepulture of the kings.

These magnificent displays gave an immense renown to the kingdom of the Franks, which seemed to have replaced in the West the lost empire of the Romans. As by the death of Haribert, in 681, Aquitaine had been again united to the other kingdoms, the dominion of Dagobert extended from the Pyrenees to the Elbe, and from the Atlantic to Bohemia and Hungary, where it infringed upon two Slavonic races, the Avars and the Wends. Nearly all the other German monarchies had gone down or disappeared. The Vandals were suppressed in Africa, the Ostrogoths in Italy, and the Suevi in Lusitania. The Wisigoths of Spain were distracted and weakened by their incessant domestic revolutions. The Lombards of Italy, if they kept up a show of resistance to the exarchates of the eastern empire, were nevertheless degenerate, and under tribute to the Franks; while the seven kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons of Britain had scarcely emerged into historical note, and the Huns and Slaves of eastern Europe were no more than pastoral nations, without a polity, and almost without a home.² The latter often made war upon the outlying provinces of the Franks; they carried off some trophies in Thuringia and Germania; they arrested the caravans of the Frankish merchants on their way to Constantinople and the Orient; but such trespasses were speedily punished, and the

¹ The *Gesta Dagoberti*, cc. 22, 33, 37, 42, mentions among these the lands of Sadseghisel, Duke of Anjou and Poitou, embracing twenty-seven villages; the manor of Estrepigny, manors and cities in the territory of Orleans and

Meaux, six other manors, and a tribute of a hundred cows from the Duchy of Mans. The distant city of Marseilles sent six wagon-loads of oil every year for the supply of the church lamps.

² Sismondi, t. i., p. 262.

whole barbaric world respected and feared all the more the powerful monarchy of the West.

This period of the greatest external power and splendor of the nation was, however, the period of the greatest internal weakness and obscurity of the dynasty. Dagobert showed no little energy in his contests with the Gascons and Bretons, who were refractory under his rule, but the virility of his race was exhausted. No one of his descendants attained to an equal fame. Corrupt in blood, debased by premature indulgences, fathers before they were men, and decrepit at middle age, they dwindled into inane and pageant kings. Their name and the sacred traditions of their origin alone kept them afloat in the respect of the people. If they took part in the actual labors of government, it was by the sufferance of their nobles, who produced or degraded them as it might suit their own purposes. On state occasions, at the annual assembly of the chiefs, or when a foreign envoy was to be received, they were paraded before the public, but the rest of their lives was passed in inglorious indolence, moving from farm to farm on ox-carts, or whitening in the shade of convents. Their condition and fate is symbolized in the legend of the *Enervates of Jumièges*, those sons of the second Chlodwig who were hamstrung and abandoned on a boat to the currents of the Seine and the good pleasure of God. The stream carried them to the peninsula on which St. Philibert had built his abbey, where they were received by the monks, who long after exhibited their tombs.¹

During the century and a half of their reign, and since the original settlements of Chlodwig, the Mérovingans had done nothing toward producing a regular and permanent constitution of society. Animated, in spite of their Roman tendencies, by the wild and turbulent impulses of the barbarian, ambitious, greedy and reckless, prompt to give and take offense, they were embroiled in perpetual wars, which rendered it impossible to introduce any principles of discipline or order into the heterogeneous elements of the condition. Their ascendancy was maintained almost exclusively by the sword.

¹ The incidents are preserved in the sculptures of the abbey, but the legend is not older, I believe, than the tenth century.

Fluctuating between the ideas of Roman imperialism, and the German royalty, surrounded by a burly German aristocracy ever prone to assert its rights, and a cunning Roman aristocracy ever eager to insinuate the subtle devices of the ancient courts, bewildered between the conflicting principles of the civil codes and the barbaric codes, between Marzfelden and municipal assemblies, between ahrimen and curials, between clergy and laity, none of whose rights and privileges were well defined, they were equally impotent in the revival of the old system and in the introduction of a new. Division and reunion, decomposition and recomposition, was the perennial fact in the existence of their states; divisions, brought about, often suddenly, by the inveterate custom which subjected power to the same laws of inheritance that governed estates, and reunions, effected by violent methods—by murders, poisonings, revolts, and wars—so that they were aggregations of the people, not assimilations. Lawlessness and crime were every where the consequences, and the monarchs who struggled the most earnestly against the disorder, like Brunahilda, were the surest of being overwhelmed in its storms.

The ancient methods and influences were rapidly weakening, and the Mérovingans, who had foolishly engaged in their restoration, only shared in their decrepitude and decay. The same atony marked the dynasty and the old society. "The world is growing old," whines Fredegher; "our faculties are benumbed, and we can not think and speak as our fathers did." He laments his hopeless inferiority to the dull Gregory even, who himself bewails his degeneracy and want of skill as a writer.² All the intellectual lights of the past, in fact, had gone out, or were smouldering dimly in their sockets. After Gregory there were no historians, only arid chroniclers, whose records of public events have the form and spirit of almanacs. After Fortunatus there were no poets, only manufacturers of legends and lives of the saints, which appealed to credulity rather than to imagination; no science was cultivated; no great art practiced; the schools of antiquity were closed;

¹ Chron., Præf. The very phrase *que prudentis acumen in nobis tepescit*; he meant to say *hebescit*.

² Greg. Turon., Præf.

and even the rhetors were silent, for the people could not understand their language.¹ Some few patricians might preserve a traditional taste for Latin letters, or beguile their retirement with the lingering cadences of Latin poetry, but their influence was unfelt. Those who, by pedantic allusions to Cicero and Tullius, Tytyrus and Lysias-Gracchus, feigned an acquaintance with the ancient culture, betrayed a perfect ignorance of it in their very allusions; while others, again, despised and reproached the charms of eloquence and the subtleties of grammar as needless and injurious to the soul.²

The priests alone could read, and the people were steeped in ignorance. It would be an error to suppose, however, that the human mind was then fallow or dead; on the contrary, it was prodigiously active and fruitful, but active and fruitful in a new direction; the old pagan mind had been absorbed in a new Christian mind, as we may call it, though it was not a pure or elevated Christianity; the old modes of mental manifestation had given place to new modes of thought, and feeling, and fancy; new motives of action were working in the heart of man, new elements of hope and fear animated his belief and controlled his life. It was the age of churches and monasteries, when a mania for founding religious societies had seized upon the rich and powerful, who vied with each other in heaping the wealth extorted from overtaxed serfs or plundered provinces upon nuns, and monks, and bishops. More than half the churches of France, says Sismondi, owe their origin to this epoch.³ Every wealthy family avouched the fervor of its piety or purchased the pardon of its violences and crimes by the establishment of some retreat for devotion and prayer. For the expenses of its ceremonials they provided by gifts of estates, and for the number of its recluses by gifts of men.⁴ Built, by an intuitive yearning for repose and security rather than by a genial love of the picturesque, in the more beautiful spots of nature, on the banks of streams or in the depths of romantic woods, these establishments became, in those times of fierce uproar and commotion, the asylums of all the world-weary. The clangor of arms approached

¹ Greg. Turon., *Præf.*

² Ampère (*Hist. Litt.*, t. ii., c. 16).

³ *Hist. des Français*, t. i., c. 11.

⁴ Slaves were often bought and emancipated, in order to increase the numbers in the monasteries.

their secluded cloisters, where the voice of prayer and the psalm of praise alone broke the silence, only to be averted by the threatened frowns of the tutelary saint or by the miraculous displays of the holy occupants. Thither the criminal fled for sanctuary, and the poor and helpless for succor; there the mighty ones of the earth, after their stormy lives of blood and plunder, found a sheltering haven for their adversity or their age; and there, too, children repaired for instruction, not in the ancient circle of the sciences, but in the mysteries of theology and the wonderful achievements of the saints. Religion, as it had been nurtured by an active priesthood into a system of church ceremonies and traditions, furnished almost the exclusive nutriment and stimulus of the intellect. Not entirely destitute of the essential elements of piety and charity, it was yet far removed from that true conception of it which makes it to consist in the inward and spiritual union of the soul with God in the spontaneous love of truth and goodness. Shrouding the heavenly Father in an inapproachable awfulness, it sought his pardon and approval through the intercession of secondary beings and the mediation of outward observances. To the Virgin Mother and to angels, to martyrs and saints, it transferred the living homage of the heart. Painful self-negations and penances, pilgrimages to holy shrines, endowments of churches and gifts to the altar, composed the ideal of practical duty. A preternatural agency, the perpetual interposition of miraculous power, superseded the ordinary workings of the divine providence. Demons haunted, angels guarded the entire life of man; working and counterworking in their struggles for the precious human soul, they made their presence visible on many occasions, even the most trivial, and often took an absolute possession of the body, now dragging the poor possessed down to the jaws of hell, and now raising him to the very gates of heaven. But against the more diabolic powers, the Church and its prayers, and its ministers, even the relics of saints, were an ever sure protection. Kings and queens bowed in reverence and terror before the mysterious powers of a class which, in addition to earthly wealth and influence, might command the vague omnipotences of other worlds.

The new vein of sentiment opened by the diffusion over western Europe of this catholic conception and ideal of life, de-

manding, as every pervasive and popular sentiment does, to be expressed in narrative forms, found its principal satisfaction in marvelous stories of the doings of heroic and holy men. From the earliest epochs of Christianity the credulity of the faithful had delighted in the magnified and fictitious representations of the experiences and triumphs of saintly characters, of their temptations, their sufferings, their ecstasies, their struggles with demons, and their miracles. During the intellectual vigor of the Romans, we are told, "a sense of the invariable course of nature and of the scientific explanation of phenomena had been created among the superior minds, and, through them, indirectly among the remaining community, thus limiting to a certain extent the ground open to be occupied by religious legend." But with the decline of the pagan literature and philosophy, and particularly in the sixth and seventh centuries, "this scientific conception gradually passed out of sight, and left the mind free to a religious interpretation of nature not less simple and naïf than that which had prevailed under the Homeric paganism."¹ Certainly the mythopœic faculties were never more prodigiously stimulated. As the agitations of external life grew more tempestuous, as the priests themselves gave way to the temptations of violence, and became brawlers, gamblers, drunkards, adulterers, and fighters,² the examples of genuine religious earnestness, of the missionaries who wrestled with the wild beasts of the desert and the wilder beasts of human heathenism, of the monks and preachers whose humility, penitence, bravery, and benevolence rebuked rulers, redeemed captives, and consoled the sorrowful, grew more precious, and the fervid religious emotion of the times found its chief solace in exaggerating these incidents, and in the invention of legends, which, while they emanated from the current religious feeling, ministered to its growth.³

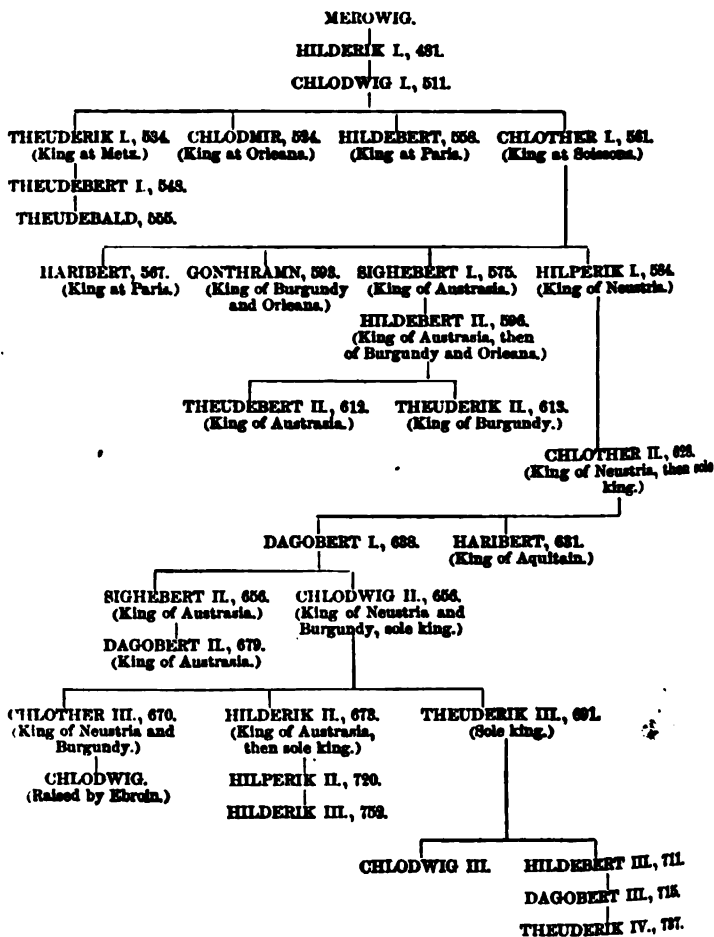
¹ I take these observations from Grote's sagacious comparison of the Grecian mythical vein with that of modern Europe (*Hist. Greece*, vol. i., c. 17, p. 472). Ampère (*Hist. Litt.*, vol. ii.) devotes several chapters to the legends, which are worth reading, though by no means exhaustive of the subject. Grote refers to a superior work by Maury

(*Essais sur la Légendes Pieuses du Moyen Age*), which I have not seen.

² See the instances collected by Lœbel in his edition of Gregory of Tours.

³ The Lives of the Saints in the collection of the Bollandists fill 53 folio volumes. As to the period of time they embrace, and the general character, see Guizot (*Hist. de Civ.*, t. i., leç. 17).

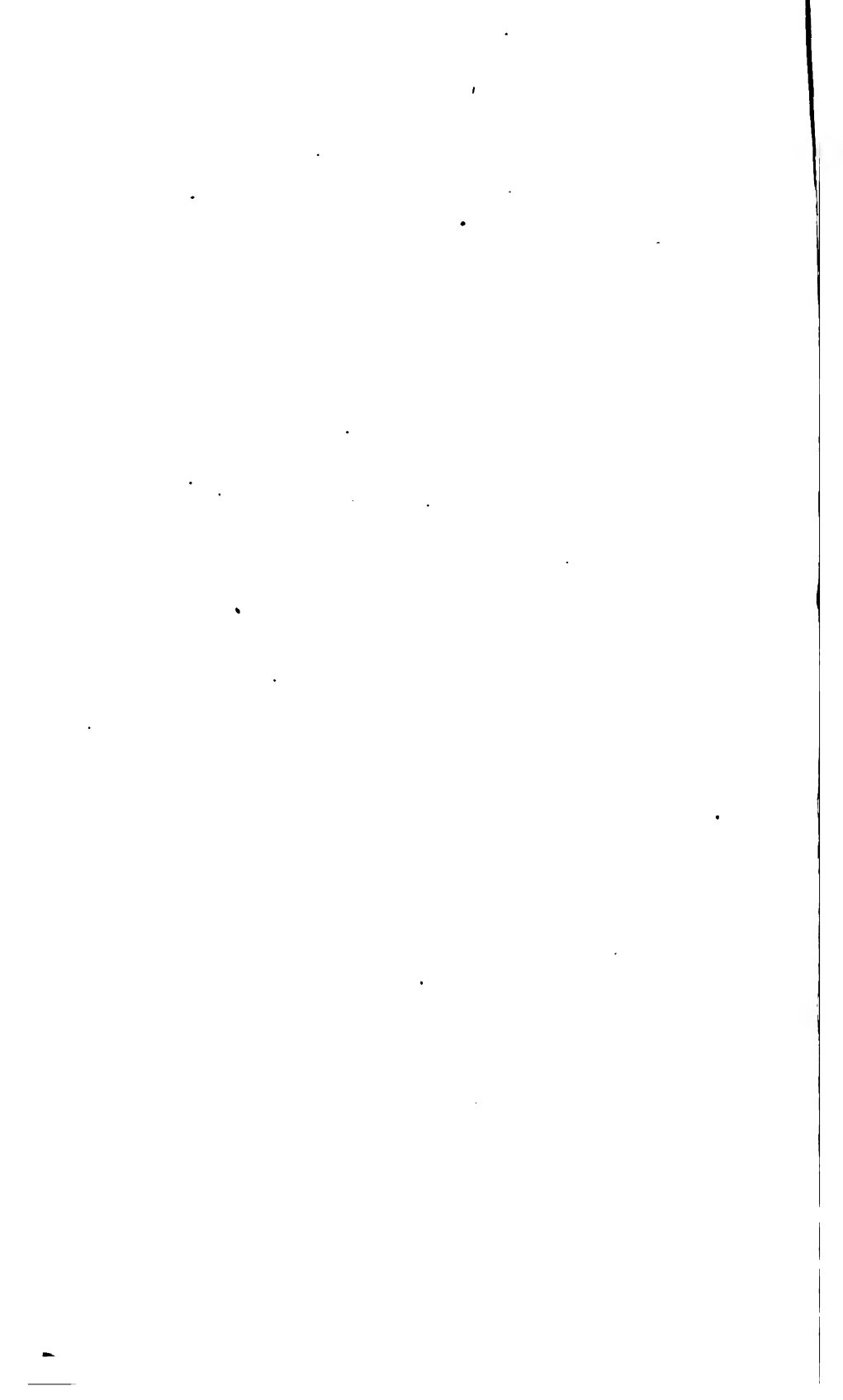
TABLE OF THE MEROVINGAN DYNASTY.



Twenty princes in all since Chlodwig I, having reigned 371 years. The dates refer to the year of their decease.

BOOK IV.

GERMAN GAUL



CHAPTER XIV.

GAUL DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MAYORS OF THE PALACE.
(FROM A.D. 638 TO A.D. 741.)

AFTER the demise of Dagobert, we read of little in the annals of Gaul for a long while but civil and domestic broils. Our modern historians endeavor to lend an interest and a meaning to these by interpreting them as a continuation of the old struggle between aristocracy and royalty. The royalty, however, was now completely enfeebled; the aristocratic principle prevailed; power had passed to the great proprietors, dukes, counts, leudes, bishops, and it is difficult to discern, as Guizot remarks, in the squabbles of the epoch, any general principle of division, any measure of government or public order, or any combination of forces for a distinct political object.¹ One general result alone stands out, and that was the transfer of the supreme political influence from the kings to a new order of men, called the Mayors of the Palace.

I have already had occasion to mention these frequently, but their origin was remote, and their rise into power slow, and it was not until the beginning of the seventh century that they made themselves particularly conspicuous.² Among the Germans of the time of Tacitus the relations of the chief to his *gesellen*, or chosen companions, were both political

The Mayors of the Palace; their rise and progress.

¹ Collection des Mémoires; Preface to La Vie de St. Leger. But the barrenness and obscurity of the chronicles is as much the occasion of this difficulty as the confusion of the times. See, also, Hist. de la Civilisation, t. ii., lec. 19.

² There is no strictly German name for these officers. Sismondi thinks they were popular magistrates appointed for the protection of the freemen, like the justiza of Aragon; he derives their name from *mord-dom*, judge of murder, but there is no authority for his conjectures. In the contemporary Latin authors they are variously term-

ed *major domus regia*, *major domus palatii*, *princeps domus*, *princeps palatii*, *præfectus aula*, *rector palatii*, *nutritor et bajulus regia*, *rector aulae imo totius regni*, *moderator palatii*, *dux palatii*, *custos palatii et tutor regni*, and *subregulus*; Pertz (Geschichte der Merowingischen Hausmeister, ed. 1819). May not the phrase *major-domus* be of Keltic origin, in all the remaining dialects of which we find precise equivalents, namely, *mar*, *maor*, *maw*, a servant or steward; and *dom*, *dam*, house; *maor-dom*, steward of the house? Mone (Celtische Forschungen).

and domestic. They counseled, made war, and decreed justice together, but they formed also parts of the same household.¹ The companions enjoyed various functions and dignities, among which was the intendancy or stewardship of the farms and residences of the chiefs.² He who stood highest in the chief's favor was naturally intrusted with the management of his family. After the conquest of Gaul, when the wealth, power, retinue, and external relations of the chiefs were enormously increased, the importance of these intendants was proportionally aggrandized, that of the royal stewards more than of all the rest, because kingship itself then assumed so much greater magnitude.³ The position of manager of the king's estates became one of large and complicated responsibilities, and the king selected for it some brave and tried friend, able at once to administer his economies and to maintain order and obedience among his numerous retainers. Thus, standing intermediate between the king and his leudes, through whom the orders emanating from the throne were transmitted to the nobles and their responses conveyed back to the throne, his duties were often embarrassing and divided.⁴ As the counselor of the king, the minister perhaps of his pleasures, and the tutor and guardian of the minor princes, he was bound to remain faithful to the royal fortunes; but also as one of the leudes, the natural head and representative of the numerous mareschals, seneschals, referendaries, etc., which thronged the royal court, his sympathies must have drawn him often to the cause of the aristocracy. So long, therefore, as the royalty held the ascendant, the mayors acted in the interest of the royalty; but when the nobles acquired the preponderance of power, the mayors veered to their side.⁵ In this event, the mayor became rather the guardian and overseer of the king than his minister. He watched for opportunities and contrived means to consolidate his own

¹ Tacit., Germ., cc. 13, 14.

² Id., *ibid.*

³ Lehuërou (*Inst. Méroving.*, t. i., l. ii., c. 4); also my chapter xii., p. 301.

⁴ Pertz (*Geschichte der Merowing.* Hausmeyer, *passim*).

⁵ Montesquieu (*Espirit des Lois*, t.

iii., l. xxxi., c. 8) says, "Before this time (Chlothar II.) the mayor was the mayor of the king; now he became the mayor of the kingdom: the king had chosen him; he was now chosen by the nation." A distinction which seems to be sustained by the authorities as well as by the analogy of events.

power or the power of his class at the expense of that of his monarch. At length, when the kings declined hopelessly in vigor, the mayors were masters of the field, supporting the kingship nominally, but themselves exercising its prerogatives in the interest of their class.

Dagobert left behind him two sons, Sighebert II., aged eight years, called the King of Austrasia, and Chlodwig II., aged scarcely five, who was called King of Neustria and Burgundia. The first was placed in tutelage to Pippin of Landen, the Mayor of Austrasia, and the second to Æga, the Mayor of Neustria. Both mayors were prudent and skillful counselors, but, unfortunately, lived only a year or two after the accession of their young chiefs.¹ Æga was succeeded in office by Echinoald, apparently through the choice of the mother of Dagobert, and Pippin by his own son Grimoald, while in Burgundy a new mayor, named Flaochat, was nominated by an assembly held at Orleans.² Thus we find the mayors of the three kingdoms at this time designated almost simultaneously in three different modes. But the advent of Grimoald was disputed by Otho, son of Uron, preceptor to Sighebert II., and that of Flaochat by Willibad, the Patrician of Burgundy. Grimoald succeeded, after considerable fighting, in suppressing his rival in 642, and then exercised the functions of mayor till 656, when, Sighebert II. dying, he banished the true heir, Dagobert II., to an Irish convent, and proclaimed his own son king. The nobles revolted at this audacious *coup d'état*, and seized and imprisoned both father and son.³ For a few months the monarchy remained in the hands of Chlodwig II., with Echinoald acting as the mayor of the three kingdoms. Little is known, however, of their reign. Chlodwig II., it appears, married an Anglo-Saxon captive, named Bathilda, who had been a slave, and became one of the most illustrious saints of the period. She devoted the wealth and influences of her elevated position to charitable ends—to the emancipation of slaves, to the redemption of captives, and to the endowment of churches and conventual establishments.⁴

¹ Pippin died in 639; Æga in 640. wig II. and put to death. Fred., cc. Fred., Chron., cc. 80, 85. 86-90.

² Fred., Chron., c. 90.

³ They were afterward sent to Chlod- ⁴ Vita Sanctæ Bathildis Reginæ Francorum, pp. 571-574.

The death of Chlodwig (656) devolved the kingdom again upon three minors, Chlothar III., Hilderik II., and Theuderik III., under the regency of Bathilda and the continued mayoralty of Echinoald. When Echinoald died (in 657 or 660), the Neustrians, with the consent of the queen, selected to succeed him one Ebroin, a man of low origin, but of prodigious force of character, who had fought his way up to the lower ranks, at least, of nobility. His government was mild and moderate so long as Bathilda occupied the palace, but when she retired to a convent (664) he began at once to exhibit his energy and talent.¹ Known to us only through the biographers of his enemies, he is painted as a venal, vindictive, and blood-thirsty tyrant, whose whole delight lay in despoiling and murdering the nobles and the bishops, in selling justice at the malls to the highest bidder, and in amassing wealth for himself in the name of the kings whom he successively set up as the pretext and cloak of his selfishness.² Yet it is easy to see, through all their vituperations, that Ebroin regarded himself in some sort as the organ of the smaller proprietors and the common people, in their opposition to the higher nobles.³ One of his first acts was to reverse the ancient decree of the Assembly of Paris (614), which prescribed that counts should be chosen from the counties in which they were expected to govern, so that he might send into each district officers representing his own or the royal authority.⁴ When Chlothar III., king in Neustria, died (670), he immediately installed the child Theuderik III. on the throne, without consulting the other chiefs, or calling a mall for the ratification of the choice.⁵ This high-handed usurpation stirred up the vehement hostility of the nobles. They remonstrated with Ebroin, but remonstrated in vain; and when, on the pretense of a desire to do homage to the new king, they began to move toward Paris, he peremptorily ordered them to remain on their estates. They saw the intrepid nature of the man with whom they had to deal, and

¹ Fred., Cont., cc. 94-96.

² Vit. St. Leodegarii, cc. 4-8, apud Bonquet, t. ii., p. 639 et seq.

³ Comp. Sismondi (Hist. des Fran-

cais, t. i., c. 11) and Martin (Hist. de Franc., t. ii., p. 207).

⁴ See ante, c. 13, p. 342.

⁵ Fred., Cont., c. 95.

at once took measures to unite all the leudes of the three kingdoms against his growing insolence and power.¹

The chief fomentor of the opposition was Leodegher, a man of illustrious birth and vast wealth, Bishop of Autun himself, nephew of Didon, Bishop of Poitiers, and related to the house of Pippin of Austrasia. Already at the head of the nobles of Burgundy, he proposed to those of Neustria and Austrasia that they should refuse to recognize the royalty of Theuderik III., proclaimed without their advice, and to acknowledge Hilderik II. (who had reigned some ten years in Austrasia) as their common sovereign.² This movement was so universal and rapid that Ebroin and Theuderik had scarcely time to defend themselves or to escape. They were both seized and deposed, and their treasures divided among the successful leaders of the plot.³ The king was confined in the monastery of St. Denis, and Ebroin in that of Luxeuil. No new mayor was named, although Leodegher took the principal part in the government of Neustria and Burgundy, and Wilfoald, the subsisting mayor, continued to act in Austrasia. Hilderik II., however, was now of an age to act for himself, and he soon began to show his old Mérovingan blood by giving way to all kinds of cruelties and debaucheries. Leodegher, who made himself offensive, either by rebuking the impetuous humors of the young king or by entering into a conspiracy against him, was accused of treason, and cast into the same prison at Luxeuil with his former foe, Ebroin (678).⁴ Hilderik's outrages were endured with extreme impatience, and when he proceeded, in an excess of wrath, to order a Neustrian lord to be tied to a post and beaten like a slave, the indignation of the nobles rose to the pitch of open revolt. Under the advice of the captive Leodegher, they seized him while he was engaged in hunting, and murdered him, together with his wife and one child.⁵ Leodegher and Ebroin, momentarily reconciled during their common captivity, were released, and even Theuderik III. was drawn from his prison,

Bishop Leodegher, or St. Leger, defeats Ebroin.

Is himself overthrown and imprisoned, A.D. 678.

¹ Fred., Cont., *ubi sup.*; Vit. St. Leodeg., c. 8, apud Bouquet, t. ii.

² Vit. Sancti Leodegarii Anon., c. 8; Ejusdem Vita, Auctore Ursino, c. 4.

³ Fred., Cont., c. 94.

⁴ Vit. St. Leodeg., cc. 6, 7.

⁵ Another child escaped to a convent, where, under the name of Daniel, he was concealed for forty-three years.

to be invested again, in the want of a more available scion of royalty, with the barren honors of the kingship.¹

Two such ambitious spirits as Leodegher and Ebroin, representing different classes and interests of society, Ebroin and Leodegher renew the war. could not long move harmoniously in the same sphere. Almost as soon as they were free they renewed their conflicts. Leodegher was warmly welcomed back by his parishioners of Autun as well as by the nobles with whom he was politically connected, and Ebroin quite as rapidly gathered his old partisans about him somewhere on the frontiers of Neustria. Setting up a new king, one Chlodwig III., whom he averred to be the son of Chlothar III., he declared war upon Theuderik III. and his adherents. His success was swift and decisive; no leader of the day equaled him in popularity, in force, or in the celerity of his movements; and he soon expelled the king's party from Neustria, laid siege to Autun, capturing its bishop, and established himself as mayor in both Neustria and Burgundy, with absolute power.² In the completeness of his triumph he cast off his poor phantom Chlodwig, and resumed Theuderik, as perhaps a more legitimate Méroving; and he caused the nobles who had opposed him to pay dearly for their temerity. Some were sent into exile, others lost their lives on the scaffold, and others again were glad to expiate their offenses by the surrender of their benefices and estates, which Ebroin bestowed, in small allotments, upon his soldiers and friends, in order to form a new and more numerous class of landed proprietors.³ No one was so cruelly dealt with as Bishop Leodegher, who, degraded from The fate of Leodegher. his sacred functions by a solemn council, had his eyes dug out and his tongue slit, and, after being allowed to live in that mutilated condition for some years, was beheaded. The piety with which, at the close of his stormy career as a chief of faction, he sought succor in God and endured the horrible tortures of his punishment, raised him in the esteem of his

¹ Fred., Cont., c. 96.

² In the mean time a faction in Austrasia had withdrawn Dagobert II. from his Irish convent and made him king; but his inexperience and misconduct soon ruined his party and precipitated

his fall. (*Gesta Reg. Franc.*, 46). See, also, Hadrian Valesii, *Epist. de Dagoberto*, apud Bouquet, t. ii., p. 727.

³ Vit. St. Leodeg., cc. 9, 10.

contemporaries, and on the calendar of the Church, to the highest honors of saintship and martyrhood.¹

Ebroin's unsparing pursuit of the *grandeas* drove many of them into Austrasia, where they found a refuge on the estates of the lordly house of Pippin—lordly both in the civil and ecclesiastical lines. The direct male descendants of the old warrior of Landen had been extinguished by the massacre of Grimoald and his son,² but the family was still extant in Martin (son of St. Chrodulf, Bishop of Metz, succeeding his father, St. Arnulf), and in Pippin of Herrstall (a grandson of the same St. Arnulf by the marriage of his son Anseghis with a daughter of the elder Pippin).³ These cousins were men of distinguished ability and courage, as well as of wealth and political influence, and had many reasons for affording an asylum to the fugitive *leudes* of Neustria. So numerous were these that, judging by their numbers, Martin and Pippin deceived themselves into the belief that the dissatisfaction with Ebroin had become almost universal in Neustria. Accordingly, they declared war upon him in order to chastise him for his offenses against the higher nobles, and to appropriate his power. But they reckoned without their host; when the armies of the two factions met at Locafao (Loixi, near Laon), the Austrasians were disgracefully routed: Martin was seized and slain, and Pippin driven off in precipitate flight (680).⁴ Ebroin, elated with his splendid victory, would have pushed his conquests into the heart of Austrasia, but he did not live to fulfill his purpose. A *leud*, whom he had intrusted with some fiscal office and detected in peculation, was so incensed by the exposure of his crime, that he fell upon Ebroin in an unguarded moment and put him to death. The great lords, relieved so opportunely of their intolerable enemy, raised a shout of joy over the event; and the priests, who ap-

Pippin of Landen opposes Ebroin, A.D. 680.

Murder of Ebroin, A.D. 681.

¹ Other saints, however, of the period took part with Ebroin, such as St. Ouen, St. Præjectus, St. Ægelbert, and St. Reole; so that we can scarcely consider the hostility of St. Leger to Ebroin as a religious one, nor can we put much faith in the representations of his char-

acter made by the biographers of St. Leger.

² *Ante*, p. 855.

³ *Vit. St. Sighebert*, c. 10, apud Bouquet, t. ii., p. 600.

⁴ *Fred., Chron. Cont.*, c. 97; *Chron. Moissiac*, ad Ann. 680; *Adonis*, *Vienne*, *Chron.*

pear to have had, many of them, private grudges against him, averred that a solitary of the Isle of Saint-Barbe (above Lyons) saw the devils carrying his wicked soul down to the infernal pit.¹

Pippin and his fellows had disposed of the last Austrasian king of the Mérovingan stock, Dagobert II., under THE MATERIALITY OF PIPPIN, A.D. 681-714 circumstances that are not reported to us,² and did not deem it necessary to replace the useless image. They governed themselves as a federation of chiefs, assigning the leadership to Duke Pippin, as doubtless the richest and most warlike among them, and as nominally, also, the Mayor of the Austrasian palace. Nor was the war with Neustria immediately renewed. The mayors who succeeded Ebroin there, first Waratto, and then Berther, administering affairs on his principles and in the name of his party, succeeded for a time in holding the Austrasians in check. When the vanity and lightness of Berther, however, gave occasion for disaffection at home, Pippin listened to the continued solicitations of the exiles, and sought to avenge the defeat of Loixi.³ He demanded of King Theuderik that he should receive once more the Neustrian refugees, and restore them the estates of which they had been despoiled. Theuderik replied in a contemptuous way. Pippin assembled the great of Neustria and communicated the response. They proclaimed him generalissimo, and made ready to march upon their offending neighbors. The respective armies met at Testri (*Testricium*), a little town between St. Quentin and Perronne, on an affluent of the Somme, called the Daumignon (*Dalmannio*). By superior strategy, Pippin was enabled to surprise Theuderik and Berther at a considerable disadvantage, and the Neustrians, in spite of their stubborn and bloody resistance, were cut to pieces. The person of the king was seized, the nobles disposed of as it suit-

The decisive battle of Testri, A. D. 687.

¹ The Life of St. Praejectus, of Auvergne, says, on the other hand, that "he suppressed with a strong hand all the wickedness and iniquity that was committed, chastised the misdeeds of proud and unjust men, and caused peace to reign over the earth; a man of great heart, though cruel toward the bishops."

² Nothing is found in the regular chroniclers concerning this Dagobert II., and what is told of him in the Lives of the Saints is very obscure (Sismondi, t. i., p. 296).

³ Fred., Cont., c. 99; Vita Pippini Ducis, ad Ann. 687, apud Bouquet, t. ii., p. 608.

ed the clemency or the cruelty of Pippin, and he himself was proclaimed the Mayor of Neustria and Burgundy.¹ Seldom has a battle had more important consequences for those who were parties to it; the preponderance of Austrasia over the other kingdoms was established by it, and the supreme power was fixed, not only in the hands of the mayors, whose antrustiones or faithful assumed the place of the former royal *truste*, but in the hands of mayors issuing from the great ducal house of Pippin of Herrstall.² Many of the exiles, who assisted in gaining the victory, it is to be inferred also took their old patrimonies and offices; but the Austrasian nobles did not forget themselves in the distribution, and a large number of the finest Burgundian and Neustrian properties fell into their hands. Pippin transferred the seat of government from the banks of the Seine to those of the Meuse; the barbaric laws that had fallen into desuetude under Ebroin and others were revived in all their vigor, and the neglected annual malls, to which all the members of "the noble nation of the Franks" were summoned on pain of a mulct if they staid away, were regularly called each spring, to dispense justice and deliberate of public affairs.³

The new government was a more or less complete restoration of the Germanic customs and methods; but the same spirit of local and aristocratic independence in which it had originated wrought an almost universal overturn. All the Frankish tributaries broke away from their allegiance. As early as the time of Clothar II. the Langobards had recovered their freedom; under Dagobert, the Saxons; under Sighebert II., the Thuringians; and now, during the late broils, the Alemans, the Bavarians, and the Frisons. Even in the centre of Austrasia many rich and powerful chiefs, enjoying estates quite as extensive and populous as the domains of Pippin, sharing the centrifugal tendency, were disposed to govern their little realms as independent properties, and not in any sense as the affixes or dependencies of the crown or any other authority. The king, or rather the mayor, granted charters and diplomas

¹ Annal. Mettens., ad Ann. 687-690.

² Vita Sancti Arnulphi, Episc. Mettensis, a Monacho Cœvo, apud Bouquet, t. ii.

³ Annales Mettenses. These annals were compiled by a partisan of the house of Pippin, and contain many details, though they are not always free from suspicion. See Bouquet.

after the old formulæ, but they were scarcely more than formal acts; while the dukes, counts, and bishops deputed themselves pretty much according to their own will. In the west and south of Gaul, where the Franks exercised their power from a distance, and had never been held in high respect, the dislocations were still more abrupt and violent. The King of Brittany no longer acknowledged the treaty which his father Judicael had made with Dagobert; in Aquitaine, the Duke of Toulouse, Eudo, reputed a grandson of Haribert, the brother of Dagobert,¹ who had reigned in Aquitaine for a while, had formed it into an almost independent kingdom, which threatened to swallow up Provence and other states to the south; and the cities of the greater part of Burgundy, disdaining the Austrasian government, submitted only each for itself to its particular duke, count, or bishop.²

Pippin saw the need of restraining this dispersive and chaotic impulse. Two years after the battle of Testri he summoned a mall, in order to debate "the interests of the Frankish empire," and to devise a way for the recovery of its tributaries. He found the task nearly impossible. Time and again he assailed the Frisons, the Saxons, the Bavarians, and the Alemans, but could bind them to no truce nor peace for any length of time. No less than ten times the Frisons resumed their arms, while the revolts of the others were so incessant that he was compelled to abandon all hope of recovering the southern or Roman part of Gaul, in order to direct his attention exclusively to the Germans. The aid which he received from the Christian missionaries rendered him more successful among them. Those intrepid propagandists pierced where his armies could not. St. Willibrod established an episcopal see at Utrecht; Bishop Wolfram, of Sens, devoted himself to the conversion of the Frisons; Bishop Rudbert, of Worms, to that of Bavaria; and others, Anglo-Saxon monks chiefly, to other parts of Germany.³ The Franks and the Popes of Rome had a common interest in this work of the

¹ See *ante*, c. xiii., p. 348. There is some doubt, however, as to the Mérovingian origin of these dukes of Aquitaine, and I shall have occasion to refer to the question again in the next chap-

ter, when we come to the wars of Pippin the Short in that country.

² Martin (*Hist. de France*, t. ii., pp. 226-232).

³ See the *Acta Sanctorum*, *passim*.

Pippin labors
to restore or-
der.

conversion of the Germans; the Franks to restrain irruptions, and the Popes to carry their spiritual sway over Europe. Barbarism was not now, as in the days of the emperors, assailed with the sword merely, but they sought to extinguish it in its sources. The new chiefs of Rome, who aspired to the control of the world, desired to erect their empire on the souls, not the bodies of mankind. Pippin eagerly supported their missionary enterprises; he found that, as the Germanic tribes were Christianized, they became less warlike and formidable neighbors, and he was, moreover, by descent as well as conviction, an earnest disciple of the Church.¹

The only year of peace that Pippin enjoyed in all his twenty-seven years of reign was in 713, during which he conducted no army, says the annalist,² "beyond the limits of his own principality." Nevertheless, it was disturbed by interior and domestic troubles. Pippin had been ambitious for his family as well as for himself and the state. His eldest son, Drogho, he had made Mayor of Burgundy; his second son, Grimoald, Mayor of Neustria; and this advancement of his kin had provoked the dangerous jealousies of the leudes, as well as painful strifes among themselves. The former, who had helped him in the overthrow of the Mérovingans, had no idea of submitting to the revival of a new royal race; while the latter were spurred by the hope of succeeding to the enormous power of the duke into fierce and inveterate quarrels. Pippin sowed the seeds of this trouble by his incontinence. After the manner of the Mérovingan kings, he had married two women, Plectrude and Alpaida, the last of them being, in the eyes of the Church, his concubine rather than his wife.³ Their children grew up in deadly enmity to each other, and the relatives of each cherished that implacable family feud which was still characteristic of the Germans. St. Landebert, Bishop of Maestricht, who counseled Pippin to put away Alpaida, was murdered by her brother; and afterward, when Pippin lay ill at Jopil, near Liege, Grimoald, the son of Plectrude,

¹ Vita Pippini Ducis, apud Bouquet, t. ii.; Annal. Mettens., ad Ann. 690-695; Fred., Chron. Cont., cc. 100-104.

² Annal. Mettens., ad Ann. 713.

³ Fred., Chron. Cont., c. 108; Chron. Moissiac, ad Ann. 708. In the latter she is called Alpaigde.

was assassinated, because he paid religious honors to the remains of St. Landebert (714).¹ The sands of the old fighter's life were fast waning then, but he was still strong enough to spring from his bed, to revenge himself upon the murderers of his son, to imprison Karl, his child by Alpaida, suspected of instigating the crime, to quench a conspiracy which had broken out under favor of these domestic disquiets, and to install Plectrude and the infant heir of Grimoald as his legitimate successors in the government. He died on the 18th of December, A.D. 714.

His decease let loose the tempests once more :

THE MAYORALTY
OF KARL, THE
HAMMER, A.D.
714-741.

"*Exire notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
Africus—*"

All the German tributaries, Frisons, Alemans, Bavarians, Saxons, became restless; the Romanesque populations between the Loire and the Pyrenees gathered around King Eudo of Aquitain; a new and formidable enemy, the Saracens, threatened the southern borders; and the Neustrians took advantage of the feeble reign of a minor and a woman to assert their old independence of Austrasia. Plectrude and the young Mayor Theodoald, assisted by the leudes of their house, undertook to reduce the latter to subjection first, but were disastrously defeated in the forest of Cuise, near Compiègne.² In reprisal, the Neustrians, under a mayor chosen by themselves, named Ragenfred, marched into the Austrasian territory, and laid it waste with fire and sword as far as the banks of the Meuse. They formed an alliance even with Radbod, the pagan chief of the Frisons, in order to menace Austrasia from the German side. Nothing seemed more hopeless than the cause of the eastern kingdom—in fact, of the whole of Gaul, when it was whispered that Karl, the bastard son of Pippin, had broken his prison-bounds and raised the standard of revolution.³ He was still a youth, discarded by his father, disgraced by the bishops, and deprived of his rights by the party of Plectrude; but he was a youth of indomitable will and energy, who feared nothing, and hoped every thing for himself

¹ Annal. Mettens., ad Ann. 714.

² Fred., Cont., c. 105; Chron. Mois-

³ Fred., Chron. Cont., c. 104; Annal. Mettens., ad Ann. 715.

siae, Paul. Diacon. (De Gestis Langobard., l. vi., c. 42).

and his cause. At once the defeated Austrasians, "seeing the old Pippin revived in him," rallied numerously to his banners. They assailed the combined forces of the Frisons and Neustrians; were repulsed in their first attack somewhere upon the Rhine; but in a second, at Amblava (Amblève, in the Limbourg), achieved a signal victory (A.D. 716). The Neustrians withdrew into their own country, and Karl reorganized his army with a view to an assault upon Plectrude and her partisans at Cologne, where they preserved the power and the treasures of his father.¹

Early in the following spring, however, before he had accomplished this object, he was called away by the approach of the Neustrians, who, adding to their usual forces the common people of the towns (*vulgaris plebs*), were resolved to make one last effort for their national emancipation. The two armies met at Vinci, near Cambrai (*Vinciacus*), and fought one of the most stubborn and terrible battles that had ever taken place between the parties; but the prowess and endurance of the stalwart Germans of Karl carried the day. Hilperik II.,² the nominal King of Neustria, with Ragenfred, his mayor, were routed, and pursued as far as the walls of Paris. It was an easy matter for "the invincible Karl," after such a success, to expel Plectrude from Cologne, to seize the estates of her son and family, and to get himself proclaimed Duke of the Franks, and legitimate successor of the old Mayor Pippin. A titular monarch, whom he elevated, under the name Chlothar IV., as a scion of the Merovingan race, though no one could trace the pedigree, did not interfere with the exercise of his almost absolute and royal power. Nevertheless, the Neustrians were not yet completely subdued; and, by joining themselves to Eudo of Aquitain, whose Romanic and Gascon populations detested the Austrasians, whom they regarded as savages, they made head against him for two years. At length he overthrew them in a dreadful pitched battle at Soissons (718),³ followed them beyond the Loire, and, by the

¹ Annal. Mottens., ad Ann. 716.

² This was the monk Daniel, whom Ragenfred had drawn from the convent and caused to be proclaimed king. According to the *Diplomata Chilperici Re-*

gis, apud Script. Franc., t. iv., p. 690, he was the son of Hilderik II. *Ante*, p. 357.

³ Fred., Cont., c. 107; Chron. Moissiac.

ravages which he committed, forced them into a treaty of peace. Eudo was still allowed to govern Aquitain as duke, Ragenfred was made a duke of Anjou, Hilperik II. was acknowledged as King of the Franks,¹ but Karl reserved to himself the mayoralty of all the states.

Karl's first year of power was passed in incessant efforts to subdue the revolted German tributaries. Almost every month he was forced into some expedition beyond the Rhine, either to avert some predatory foray, or to suppress an insurrection. The Alemans, the Bavarians, and the Frisons he succeeded in subjecting to a formal confession at least of the Frankish supremacy, but the turbulent and implacable Saxons baffled his most strenuous efforts. Their wild tribes had become, within a few years, a powerful and numerous nation; they had appropriated the lands of the Thuringians and Hassi, or Catti, and joined to themselves other confederations and tribes; and, stretching from the Rhine to the Elbe, offered their marshes and forests a free asylum to all the persecuted sectaries of Odhinn, to all the lovers of native and savage independence. Six times in succession the armies of Karl penetrated the wilderness they called their home, ravaging their fields and burning their cabins, but the Saxon war was still renewed.² He left it to the energetic labors of other conquerors, to Christian missionaries, to Wilfred and Willibrod, who had come from far Northumberland, to Kilian the Irish bishop, and to Winfred of Devon, destined to become the great St. Bonifacius of the Latins and the apostle of Germany, to break the way of civilization into those rude and darkened realms. Intrepid soldiers of the Cross, carrying their lives in their hands, they raised the standards of the Church where the arms of the warrior could not reach, and formed within the impregnable walls of the convents, which they built in the pathless woods, the earliest seminaries of industry, of culture, and of worship.³

These obstinate German struggles had the effect of preparing Karl and his warriors for the part they were about to play on a more splendid theatre.

¹ Karl's creature, Chlothar IV., had died in the mean time.

² Annal. Mettens., *passim*.

³ See the Acta Sanctorum, *passim*.

Beyond the eastern limits of the empire, within that zone of rock and sand, and beneath those serene and fervid skies, which had already given its two greatest religions to the world, a new and imposing faith had been proclaimed by an obscure Arabian named Mohammed. A youth of genius and piety, whose early life, passed in conducting caravans from Mecca to Damascus and Aleppo, had made him familiar with the condition of the heroic but prostrate tribes of the desert, his profound religious sensibilities were shocked by the chaos of idolatries which paralyzed and debased the intellect of his people. Weltering in all the corruptions of natural religion, of Sabaism, of Judaism, and the Græco-Syriac Christianity, they still yearned with the dim traditions which had promised them a prophet who should fulfill their hopes of glory and salvation. On the lively temper and fiery imagination of Mohammed these dreams of his nation wrought, till, in the caves of Mount Hira, whither he often retired to pass the night in alternations of deep thought and ecstatic prayer, the angel of Allah announced to him a supernatural mission. God is one, God is infinite, God is almighty, was the single thought which pealed through the depths of his being, like a voice from heaven, and with that thought, shearing away, as with a sword, the wretched wrappings of all subsisting creeds, he strode forth as the Prophet of God. No sentiment of awful holiness, as with the Jew, shaded to his perception the fierce blaze of the divine almightiness; no tender feeling of infinite mercy, as with the Christian, responded to the soul's longing for sympathy and love; and even the common ethical elements of humanity and the consciousness of moral liberty¹ were withered in the intense splendor of his idea of God. It was the sun of the East, shining down hot and unclouded upon the burning deserts.

Accepted with aversion and reluctance at first, the creed of Mohammed gradually overcame the prejudices of his fellows; it impregnated a widening circle of believers, whose enthusiasm kindled rapidly into zeal; the ambition of conquest was joined to the ambition of conversion; the power of the sword assisted the power of the Word; fraud, and cruelty, and revenge were mingled with the deeper relig-

Rapid diffusion
of his faith, A.
D. 632-710.

¹ Neander (Hist. Christ. Relig., vol. iii., p. 85).

ious passions, until the despised doctrine of Islam became the peculiar religion of a nation and the rallying cry of a race. Within about sixty years after the death of the great Prophet (632), the new religious rule of the Arabs had been extended eastward as far as Cabul in Central Asia, and westward to the Atlantic coasts of Africa.¹ The tottering empire of the Persians, after an existence of four hundred years, had received a last blow from its stern followers; the eastern Roman empire trembled under their assaults even to its beautiful capital on the Bosphorus; the crescent glittered above the temples of all the great cities of Asia Minor where the cross had once shone; and the dusky tribes of Algiers and Morocco were glad to capitulate to a valor superior to their own, and to imbibe a fanaticism fiercer than their own. Europe alone opened a field for new labors of conquest and proselytism; nor did Europe long escape the yearning eyes of hope and faith. While the power of the Ommiades was yet at its height, Musa-ben-Nozair, Governor of Africa under the calif Walid I., looked across "the narrow waters" of the inner sea to the lofty rocks of Calpe. An advanced outpost of the Wisigoths, Ceuta, under Count Julian, for a moment barred his advances (709). It was only for a moment; for his adventurous lieutenant, Tarik-ben-Zaid, the next year impressed the first Saracen footprints on the sides of the commanding mountain² which seemed to open the prospect to the whole peninsula. Others of the faithful, immediately intrenching themselves in the rugged citadel which the enterprise of Tarik had mastered, flashed their cimeters in the eyes of the consternated Wisigoths. Those hardy warriors were no longer what they had been under Alarik, and Ataulf, and Eurik, when the legions of Rome recoiled before them, and the world trembled at their approach. Success and the climate, civil wars and domestic broils, sloth, and luxury, and vice, had unmanned their bodies and their souls. "Secluded from the world by the Pyrenean Mountains, they had slumbered in a long peace; the walls of the cities had mouldered into dust;

¹ On the origin, progress, and character of the faith of Mohammed, I know of nothing more succinct and satisfactory than Gibbon's chapters (vol. v., c. 50, and vol. vi., c. 51). The Life of

Mohammed, by our countryman Irving, may be consulted with profit.

² Since named Gibel-Tarik (Mountain of Tarik), and corrupted into Gibraltar.

the youth had abandoned the exercise of arms; and the presumption of their ancient renown exposed them to the first assault of the invaders."¹ King Roderik, admonished of the magnitude of his danger, summoned his dukes, his counts, and his soldiers to repulse the furious assailant. Nearly a hundred thousand men answered to his war-ban; and then, arrayed in a diadem of pearls, and garments of silk embroidered with gold, and sitting in a chariot of ivory drawn by two white mules, he met the fiery Moslem on the plains of Xeres de la Frontera, in the neighborhood of Cadiz. The impetuous charges of the incomparable Arab horsemen soon dissipated his heavy infantry. Roderik fled; his diadem and robes were found on the banks of the Guadalquivir; and the body of "the last of the Goths" is supposed to have perished ignobly in the stream.² The Visigothic power in Spain was fatally smitten; the heroic exploits of Tarik—remanded to Africa through jealousy—were imitated and continued by his rival and successor Musa; and in a little while the meteor-flag of the Prophet floated over Cordova, Merida, Toledo, Seville, and other splendid cities of Spain (A.D. 711–715). Amid the rugged solitudes of the Asturias alone a remnant of the Goths preserved their Christian faith, where a life of privation and hardship restored their ancient vigor, and enabled them, in after times, to descend against their conquerors, and by many a desperate combat, the favorite themes of ballad and romance, to recover the fair and fertile possessions of their fathers.

The deeds of Musa had been performed "in the evening of his life," but, to borrow the words of Gibbon,³ "his breast was still fired with the ardor of youth, and the possession of Spain was considered only as the first step to the monarchy of Europe. With a powerful armament by sea and land, he was preparing to pass the Pyrenees, to extinguish in Gaul the declining kingdoms of the Franks and Lombards, and to preach the unity of God on the altar of the Vatican. Thence, subduing the barbarians of Germany, he proposed to

¹ Tradition ascribes their success to the treachery of Count Julian. Mariana (Res. Hispan., iv., 22, 23).

² The traditions keep Roderik alive, but put him through a severe penance.

Southey, in the notes to his poem of "Roderik, the last of the Goths," has collected many a curious passage on the subject from the ancient chronicles.

³ Decline and Fall, vol. vi., c. 51.

follow the course of the Danube from its source to the Euxine Sea, to overthrow the Greek or Roman empire of Constantino-ple, and, returning from Europe to Asia, to unite his new acquisitions with Antioch and the provinces of Syria." This vast enterprise, recalling the schemes of Mithridates and Cæsar, and which the ease and rapidity of the Arabian conquests stripped of all character of extravagance, was freely revolved by the successors of Musa. In pursuance of it, El Haur, the new lieutenant of the califs, assailed the fugitive Goths in their retreats in Septimania (715-718). El Zamah, who succeeded him, crossed the mountains, and, seizing Narbonne, expelled the inhabitants, and settled there a colony of Saracens (719). The following year they passed the Rhone, in order to extend their dominion over Provence, but, repelled by the dukes and the militia of the country, turned their forces toward Toulouse (721). Eudo, Duke of Aquitain, bravely defending his capital, brought on a decisive combat. His troops surpassed in numbers those of the Mussulmans; but "Do not fear the multitude," cried El Zamah, recurring to the fatalistic dogmas of his faith; "for, if God is with us, who can be against us?" On the other side, Eudo harangued his men, and appealed to their superstitions by a distribution of sponges which had been blessed by the Roman pontiff, Gregory II., and had served to wipe the table on which the priests administered the holy communion. "The shock of the armies," says the chronicler, "was like the meeting of two mountain torrents." El Zamah fell. The carnage among his retreating men then became so great that the Arabs named the passage from Toulouse to Circassone the Road of Martyrs (Balat al Chouda).

Supporting their terrible reverses with the characteristic res-ignation of their race and faith, the Arabs were still able to retain a hold of Narbonne and of other fortresses of the south, and, after a respite of four years, spent in recruiting their troops from Spain and Africa, to resume their projects of invasion and pillage in Gaul (725). Under the Wali Anbessa, they ascended the Rhone as far as the city of Lyons, devastating the towns and the fields or subjecting them to tribute, or, if repulsed, rapidly recovering a safe retreat in the strongholds of the mountains. By the enthusiastic disciples of the

Second Inva-
sion of Gaul,
A.D. 710-732.

Prophet every skirmish was regarded as a glorious furtherance of the holy war, and those who fell, as martyrs to a sacred cause, whose deaths must be avenged by their surviving comrades. When, then, at the close of his expeditions, Anbessa perished by the hands of the Infidels, all the fanaticism of the Mussulman heart was aroused into an eager desire for revenge.¹ His successor, Abd-el-Rahman, a tried and experienced general, energetic and heroic as he was just and prudent, whose brilliant exploits in Africa and Gaul had rendered him the idol of his troops, as he was the favorite of the calif, entered into elaborate preparations for the final conquest of Gaul. For two years the ports of Syria, Egypt, and Africa swarmed with departing soldiery, and Spain resounded with the calls and cries to arms (727-729).

Eudo, on whose domains the gathering tempest was likely to break the earliest, watched the portents with anxiety and dread. With the Franks of the north, his natural allies, he was not then on terms which warranted him to solicit their assistance. A small faction of Berbers, however, commanded by Othman-Ben-abou-Nessa, to whom had been confided a province of the Oriental Pyrenees, had rebelled against the government of the Wali, and to this he turned for succor. He hoped to raise up in them a barrier against the advance of the Arabs. Love, perhaps, had a part in instigating the alliance. Othman, enamored of the daughter of the duke, demanded her as a wife, and "the Christian prince and the Mussulman emir sealed their friendship by a marriage which scandalized equally the faithful of both religions."² Eudo, it would appear, had exaggerated the power of the apostate. His resistance scarcely proved an obstacle to the propulsive torrent of invasion which poured through the defiles of Roncesvalles, and inundated the plains of Pampeluna and Wasconia. Othman was submerged by the flood; his wife Lampegia, widowed almost as soon as wived, and too lovely for a subject, was saved to grace the harem of the calif; while the terrified Eudo could only await the onrushing waves behind the ramparts of Bor-

¹ These events are best described, I think, by Faurliel (*Hist. de la Gaule Mérid.*, t. iii.), whose narrative is often formed from Arabic manuscripts in the imperial library at Paris.

² It was this alliance which gave rise to the reports of the Frankish chroniclers that Eudo had treacherously invited Abd-el-Rahman into Gaul. Martin, ii., 267.

déaux. The remembrance of the victory of Toulouse doubtless animated his hopes; a deep resentment of the fate of his captive daughter whet his desire of vengeance; but neither public nor private motives could empower him to cope with the fanatical hordes of the Moslem. The Basques and Gallo-Romans were crushed, and God only knew, says Isidore, the numbers which perished on that fatal day.¹ The aged duke, broken in fortune, fame, and spirit, was compelled to fly, and seek the shelter of the arms of his inveterate enemies, the Franks. "Thus the Moslemah," wrote the Arabian chroniclers, "smote their foe; they passed the Garonne, laid waste the country, and took captives without end. Their army swept along like a desolating storm. Every thing yielded to their cimeters—those robbers of lives; and all the nations of the Franks trembled before their terrible array."

Extending their rapid excursions beyond the Loire, by way of Orleans, as far as Auxerre and Sens, the reports of their ravages reached the ears of Karl, who was then engaged in one of his periodical conflicts with the barbarians of the Rhine. The arrival of the fugitive and vanquished duke confirmed the worst reports. He received his ancient enemy with a cordiality only subdued by pity for his misfortunes. At once, but on condition of the future acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the Franks, Karl took up his battered and hopeless cause. "Then, during all the rest of the summer, the Roman clarions and the German horns sounded and groaned through all the cities of Neustria and Austrasia, through the rustic palaces of the Frankish leudes, and in the woody gaus of western Germany. The most impracticable marshes of the North Sea, and the savage depths of the Black Forest, gave forth their floods of half-naked combatants, who precipitated themselves toward the Loire in the train of the heavy iron-clad squadrons of the Mayor."²

Meanwhile, Abd-el-Rahman, laden with plunder and satiated with blood, had bent his steps toward the south-west, where he concentrated his troops on the banks

*Isido implorat
the aid of Karl.*
Battle of Tours,
A.D. 732.

¹ Isidor. Pacens. (Chron., ad Ann. 273), whose animated and completer narrative I have closely followed in this part of my sketch.

² Martin (Hist. de France, t. ii., p.

of the Charente. Enriched and victorious as he was, there was still an object in Gaul which provoked alike the cupidity and the zeal of his followers. This was the Basilica of St. Martin of Tours, the shrine of the Gallic Christians, where the richest treasures of the Church were collected, and in which the profoundest veneration of its members centred. He yearned for the pillage and the overthrow of this illustrious sanctuary, and, taking the road from Poitiers, he encountered the giants of the North in the same valley of the Vienne and Clain where, nearly three hundred years before, the Franks and the Wisigoths had disputed the supremacy of Gaul.¹ There, on those autumn fields, the Koran and the Bible—Islamism and Christianity—Asia and Europe²—stood face to face, ready to grapple in a deadly and decisive conflict. The shaggy warriors of Karl could scarcely have known that to them it was given to determine whether the destinies of civilization should be controlled by Mohammed or by Christ; but none the less firmly, as the light and turbaned cavalry of the Moslem wheeled in swift circles about the plain, did they form themselves in the solid wedges of battle. For several days the hosts of the East and the West—so different in their physiognomies, their arms, their costumes, their tactics, and their aims—surveyed each other with mingled feelings of astonishment, hatred, and terror. Trivial skirmishes from time to time kept alive the ardor of both hosts, till at length, at dawn on Saturday, the eleventh of October, the signal for a general onset was given.³ With one

¹ *Ante*, c. xi., p. 288. The place of this battle is not fixed with precision. The chronicle of Moissiac places it as in the text, near the Vienne and Clain. M. Chalmel, in his *History of Touraine*, says at Miré, on the road from Poitiers to Tours. The Arab historians assert that it was fought on the River *Al-Ouar*, which would seem to mean the Loire, on which Tours is situated. The skirmishing may have commenced near Poitiers, and ranged afterward as far as Tours, the distance being only about twenty-six leagues, and the armies having been eight days in sight of each other.

² Isidor., *Chron.*, designates the

army of Karl as Europeans, which is the first time, in these centuries, that the term is used, showing, on the part of Isidore, a dim consciousness of the significance of the encounter.

³ This date, and many of the incidents of the battle, I take from a narrative in Chalmel (*Hist. de la Touraine*), translated from the Arabic, and given him by a Spanish officer in 1823. As no similar MS. is to be found in the *Bibliothèque Royale*, and none is noticed by Condé, it is not supposed to be authentic. Nevertheless, it agrees substantially with the approved authorities, and, in our penury of original documents, is not to be discarded too lightly.

loud shout of Allah-Akbar (God is great), the Arab horsemen charged like a tempest upon their foe, but the deep columns of the Franks did not bend before the blast. "Like a wall of iron," says the chronicler, "like a rampart of ice, the men of the North stood unmoved by the frightful shock."¹ All day long the charges were renewed, and as often as they were renewed they broke in pieces on that moveless zone of pikes and swords. Blood flowed in streams. The great leaders animated their troops by prodigious displays of prowess; the ringing cry of Abd-el-Rahman was heard incessantly above the din of battle; and the ponderous hatchet of Karl fell incessantly upon the heads of his enemies like the hammer of Thor.²

The issue of this stupendous conflict was doubtful till the tenth hour of the day (about four o'clock), when a di-
Europe and Christianity victorious. vision of Basques and Aquitains, led by Duke Eudo, fell secretly upon the camp of the Arabs and massacred the guards.³ The tumult and cries of distress attracted a large body of Arabs from the ranks to protect the treasure amassed in their tents. This movement assumed an appearance of flight, and in an instant deranged the whole order of battle. Abd-el-Rahman strove in vain to correct the error and to re-form his lines. The confusion became universal; and then, for the first time, that "wall of iron" began to move, overwhelming, crushing, trampling to death the panic-stricken army of Islam. The brave Wali fell in the retreat, "pierced by lances innumerable,"⁴ while his followers were saved from a more exterminating carnage only by the coming on of night. Early the next morning, having slept upon their arms, the Franks prepared to resume the desperate wrestle. As they approached the tents of the Arabs, however, they heard no sounds of preparation, and they saw no movements which betokened the presence of living men. Suspicious of an ambush, Karl sent his spies to discover the meaning of the silence. They gradually picked their way over the bodies of countless dead⁵ to the outmost

¹ Isidor. Pacens., ad Ann. 732.

² Karl's name of Martel, or the Hammer, was derived from this battle, according to the legends, though it was not given to him till a century or two later.

³ The Frankish chroniclers say nothing

of this assault of Eudo, although it is distinctly stated in the Arabian authorities.

⁴ Condé, Hist. of the Dominion of the Arabs, c. 25.

⁵ The number killed in this action

tents, and found them empty. They entered others, and those, too, were void. All were empty. Under the shadows of the night the Moslemah had stealthily departed, leaving their booty and equipage, all but their horses and arms, a harvest for the conquerors. Europe was rescued, Christianity triumphant, Karl the hero forever of Christian civilization.¹

Karl did not pursue the retreating Moors, but, after collecting his plunder, returned into Austrasia. His renowned now filled the world, and he availed himself of the interest and terror excited by his name to consolidate his power in the three kingdoms. Even while his strong arm had been turning back the tide of Saracen invasion, the leudes of Burgundy were plotting a rebellion in his rear. A swift and terrible retribution overtook their treason. Marching his army into Burgundy and Provence, he seized Marseilles and Arles, degraded the nobles from their places of emolument and honor, and established the men of his own *truste* in their stead, garrisoning also the towns and the frontiers.² Nothing daunted by this example, Hunald, the son of Eudo, who had been invested with the dukedom of Aquitaine on the death of his father (735), flew to arms. The indefatigable Karl overran his dominions, taking possession of Bordeaux and Blayes, and compelling the young duke to a renewal of his father's oaths of fidelity. Recalled from the south to the north to chastise the refractoriness of the vassal Frisons, whose duke, Poppo, he slew, and whose cabins and idols he delivered to the flames, Karl had scarcely finished the work when he heard that the Arabs had once more crossed the Pyrenees, and were desolating the fields and cities of Provence.

is placed by Paul the Deacon (*De Gestis Langobard.*, l. vi., c. 46, apud *Script. Ital.*, t. i., p. 505) and Anastasius (in *Vit. Sanct. Greg. II.*, papæ, apud *Script. Ital.*, t. iii., p. 155) at 375,000 Saracens and 1500 Franks, but this is obviously a mere conjecture. Nothing is known of the numbers engaged or of the losses. The Arab writers refer to the battle only as "a most fatal combat." Condé (*Hist. of Arabs in Spain*, vol. i., c. 25, Bohn's ed., 1845).

¹ Many historians, Sismondi, Michélet, and Fauriel among the number, believe that the importance of this bat-

tle has been overestimated, but I can not agree with them, holding, with Hallam (*Middle Ages*, vol. i., p. 7, note), that it was one of those battles "of which a contrary event would have essentially varied the drama of the world in all its subsequent scenes, with Marathon, Arbela, the Metaurus, Châlons, and Leipzig." Professor Creasy, in his "XV. Decisive Battles," which appears to have been suggested by Hallam's remark, includes Tours, of course, in the number.

² *Fred.. Cont.*, c. 109; *Annal. Mettens.*, ad Ann. 734.

Karl confirms his supremacy in Burgundy, Aquitaine, and Provence, A.D. 738-739.

Many of the lords of the country welcomed their advances, preferring their domination to that of the Franks. The Arabs re-appear. They possessed already the whole of Septimania; treachery admitted them into Avignon; their valor won them Arles.¹ All their warlike energy, indeed, had been put forth to revenge the bloody field of Toura. Able leaders, renowned alike for their military skill and for the fervor of their religious zeal — Abd-el-Melek first, then the emir Okba, and under him Amor-ibn-El-Hayan — pushed their conquests through the valleys of the Rhone as far north as the rocky gates of Lyons.² Karl's brother Hildebrand, and his lieutenants, whom he dispatched to stay their progress, essayed it in vain. His own presence alone could arrest their proselyting and predatory fury. In the course of two separate campaigns (737 and 739-740),³ in the latter of which he had the aid of Luitprand, King of the Lombards, who feared that the Moors, already masters of the sea, might move from Provence into Italy, he carried Avignon by assault, seized Arles and Marseilles, besieged Narbonne, beat the Saracen army on the Berre, razed Agde, Beziers, and other strong fortifications, leveled Maguelonne, the harbor of the Saracen vessels, to the water's edge, destroyed the walls and ramparts of Nîmes (leaving the traces of his fire to be seen at this day on the sides and arches of the celebrated arena), and, in short, broke the power of the Arabs north of the Pyrenees forever.⁴

For all these wars Karl needed ample resources of men and money. His exchequer as a prince was not equal to his life-long and universal defense of Western civilization. Karl offends the Churchmen by appropriating their lands. The rapacious bands of warriors whom he led did not always find their booty a sufficient recompense for their hardships. Their principal enemies, too, were German marauders, who possessed little, or the Arab invaders, who possessed nothing but what they plundered. Moreover, the fields of adventure over which they trod had been too often reaped before to yield them now luxuriant harvests.

¹ Chron. Moissiac.

Saxon war and in suppressing a conspiracy in Neustria.

² Fauriel (Hist. Gaul. Mérid., t. iii., c. 23).

⁴ Fauriel (Hist. de la Gaul. Mérid.,

³ The interval of 738 was spent in a t. iii., cc. 23-25).

In this penury of ordinary means, therefore, Karl had recourse to the vast, tempting, and often misused wealth of the Church. It was, in fact, his only recourse. During the relaxation of authority under the Mérovingans, the lands and benefices of all kinds granted to the leudes on the condition of military service had gradually been converted into a simple and permanent property. "But since, in the German idea, military service was not a gratuitous duty, but a voluntary act, which was to be paid for in lands or in power, there were no means of making war when there were no lands or power to distribute. For this reason, Dagobert and many of his successors had been constrained to resume from the clergy various territorial possessions which had been granted them since Chlodwig, in order to transform them into military benefices. Pipin of Herrstall won the favor of churchmen by promising to restore these resumptiones, but it is doubtful whether he was able to keep his word. As to Karl, however, he found himself under a more urgent necessity than his father. He was reduced to the alternative of not making war at all, or of making it at the expense of the clergy. He did not hesitate. He seized the lands of a multitude of abbeys, churches, and bishops, and bestowed them upon his men of war. Sometimes, without separating the ecclesiastical dignities from the properties to which they were attached, he gave both, on the condition of military service, to personages who accepted the ecclesiastical name and tonsure, but were in every other respect simple warriors."¹ Against this procedure the hierarchy had a double reason for protesting: first, that it stripped them of valuable and, as they considered it, sacred estates; and, second, that it introduced into the offices and government of the Church a herd of rude and warlike men, who were alike unfitted by character and capacity for their positions.² In the degradation and worldliness of the priesthood at that time, it is probable the former motive had the greater influence in exciting their invectives against Karl.³ His prodigious and signal services to the Church and to humanity

¹ Faurl (Hist. de la Gaule Mérid., Episc. Remens., Diac., c. 19); Bonifacii (Epist. ad Zachariam Papam., t. iii., p. 106).

² Codex de Gestis Episc. Trevirens., apud Bouquet, t. iv.).

t. i., p. 649; Hincmar (Epist. vi., ad

³ Bonifacii Epist. xii., ibid.

were apparently forgotten in the bitterness of the rancor stirred up by his imputed sacrileges.¹ He was denounced as a tyrant, and suspected to be a pagan. But he was neither a tyrant nor a pagan. His confiscation of the ecclesiastical estates was necessary, as we have seen, to the defense of the country, and were amply repaid by the benefits he conferred upon the clergy themselves. Nor can we doubt the sincerity of a Christian belief, according to the estimate of those ages, which won him the gratitude of Boniface and the confidence of the Popes of Rome.

Winfred, or St. Bonifacius, was an Anglo-Saxon, native of The labors of Winfred, A.D. 718-753. Devonshire, who, ordained a priest in the thirtieth year of his age, was fired with a passionate enthusiasm for the adventurous life of a missionary. His first undertaking in Friesland having failed, he visited Rome to obtain the sanction of the head of the Church to a general enterprise for propagating the Gospel in Germany (718). The Pope, Gregory II., sympathizing in his zeal for the conversion of the savage tribes of the North, after exacting from him an oath of allegiance to the see of Rome, bestowed upon him ample powers for his purposes. He recommended him warmly to all bishops and rulers, and especially to Karl-Martel, whom he urged to a generous assistance of the missionary. Karl cheerfully received him into his *mund*, and furthered his plans by enthusiastic commendations of his person and his labors to the Frankish dukes and bishops. The service was effective; for, "without the protection of the Prince of the Franks," Winfred wrote, "I could neither rule the people, nor defend the priests, the monks, and the handmaids of God, nor prevent pagan and idolatrous rites in Germany."² The apostle labored with almost superhuman energy in Thuringia, in Friesland, in Hesse, and in Saxony, and a pope afterward ascribed the Christian subjugation of a hundred thousand barbarians to the aid which Karl had lent the holy Boniface.³ Grateful Rome raised the humble priest to the dignity of bishop, whose metropolitan see was fixed at Mentz, whence he carried on a vigorous war against the surrounding barbarism, demolishing the temples and the

¹ Adon., Chron.

² Sirmond (Concilia., t. ii., p.

³ Bonifac., Epist. iii., apud Bouquet, t. iv., p. 92).

sacred groves, till he fell at last, in a ripe old age, the victim of the pagan ferocity which he had so long combated. The most influential religious sees of the age in Germany were planted by his hands: in Bavaria, those of Salzburg, Freisingen, and Ratisbon; in Thuringia, Erfurt; in Hesse, Buraburg; and in Franconia, Würzburg; besides the churches of Utrecht, Spire, Cologne, Augsburg, Constance, Worms, Tongres, Coire, and Eichstadt. His immense renown and energetic will enabled him to rule the minds of the clergy, the people, and the kings; he held councils, and he condemned heretics; he reformed the abuses of the monasteries, and he rebuked the vices of the priesthood; he persuaded mighty monarchs to abandon the throne for the convent; and he remonstrated with the Popes, even while professing a filial obedience to their sway, against the pernicious practices allowed in the Church, and against all disorderly or unwarranted assumptions of power.¹ Posterity recognizes that to him, more than any other man, Christianity owed one of her most brilliant and useful conquests.² As the coadjutor of such a man, then, Karl might well endure the reproaches of the petty shavelings of his own Gallo-Frankish territories.

This common interest in the conversion of Germany drew Karl into more intimate relations with the rising power of the Papacy. Great changes had been wrought in the political condition of Italy since the overthrow of the Ostrogothic kingdom of Theodorik (A.D. 553). A new people, called the Langobards or Lombards—a latest wave of the vast Germanic influx—were in possession of the whole north of the peninsula. By a hundred and fifty years of war and policy, they had established themselves triumphantly from Pavia, their capital, to Venice on the Adriatic, and from the Rætian Alps to the lower borders of Tuscany. Even in the extreme south their victorious ensigns waved over the independent duchies of Beneventum and Spoleto. What they had won the Empire of the East had lost. Its once splendid

¹ This account of Boniface I have abridged mainly from Milman (*Hist. of Latin Christ.*, vol. ii., c. 5).

² The position and works of Boni-

face are of great importance in German religious history, as the reader will see by consulting Bunsen (*Signs of the Times*, p. 61 *et seq.*, Harper, N. Y., 1856).

dominion was contracted to the narrow though opulent and populous strip of Central Italy, which stretched from the marshes of Ferrara to the lower ranges of the Apennines.¹ Within this territory a lieutenant of the emperor, the Exarch of Ravenna, was invested, in the decline of the imperial power, with whatever remained of its military, civil, and ecclesiastical authority.² Venice, Naples, and Rome, as subordinate provinces, acknowledged his supremacy. Rome acknowledged it; but Rome found within her walls a superior, to whom she turned with a warmer affection and a more certain confidence. Her aspiring bishop, adding an enormous wealth to his enormous spiritual prerogatives, exercised an extensive temporal rule, and endured with impatient humility alike the encroachments of the Lombards and the sovereignty of the emperors. These three several powers, representative, in a general way, of theocracy, of imperialism, and of monarchy,³ divided the soil of the peninsula between them, and tormented its society with their endless quarrels. But they divided and tormented it under unequal conditions. The decrepit emperors of the East, assailed on the south by the Arabs, on the north by the Schlaves, and assimilating more and more in the character of their government to the despots of the worn-out Oriental civilizations, maintained their hold of the West by fits of spasmodic violence rather than by acts of regular administration. Every year the Lombards wrested from them some new soil. Yet the Lombards themselves, like the other northern races which allowed themselves to be fascinated by the charms of Italian conquest, had fallen into the languor that succeeds the first flushes of intoxication. Of all the possessors of the ancient heritage of the Romans, the Pope alone might boast, though destitute of arms, that he was growing in territory, vigor, courage, and dominion.

Possessed of immense estates, or patrimonies as they were called — the gifts of successive princes or the proceeds of tithes, first-fruits, and the various liberalities

¹ See the more precise geography in Kœppen (*Historic. Geog. of the Middle Ages*, c. iv., § 3, p. 39, ed. 1854).

² Gibbon (*Dec. and Fall*, vol. v., c. 45).

³ See Farini (*Revolutions d'Italie*, t. i., part i., Paris, 1858).

of the faithful, and endowed, in common with other bishops, with large judicial and magisterial functions—the Popes of Rome were, at an early day, powerful lords and considerable personages apart from their spiritual position.¹ Ever since the removal of the seat of government to Byzantium, in the time of Constantine, they had been growing in temporal significance and power. As great proprietors, as municipal magistrates of the capital of the West, as the spiritual confessors and advisers of princes, they were placed in a peculiarly advantageous and tempting position to further their own aggrandizement. To that end, circumstances co-operated with their ambition. Through all the calamities of the first barbaric invasions, they were often the only defense of the people, who looked to them as political leaders and protectors as well as religious guides. In their double capacity, they became the repositories of a double confidence. They took up the reins of power where they had been dropped by the eastern monarchs, and governed Rome in the decay and suspension of all other government. This was particularly the case during the exigencies of the Lombard invasions. In the ever-increasing weakness of the empire, and the defenseless state in which all the Italian provinces were left under the miserable rule of the exarchs, the Popes both sheltered the people against the disasters of barbaric violence and the oppressive abuses of the imperial lieutenants. Just as the emperors and the exarchs declined in power and respect, they rose in power and respect; just as the emperors and exarchs caused themselves to be despised for their religious vagaries, the Popes made themselves popular by their resistances to them; just as the emperors and exarchs ceased to discharge the duties of kings and lords, the Popes took them in hand. While they defended the cities, they administered them; they appointed the governors of the provinces and the tribunes of the army; they manned the walls and provisioned the garrisons; and they treated in person often of all the affairs of peace and war. It was almost inevitable that

¹ On this, see Gosselin (*Power of the Popes*, *Introduct.*), who constructs an ingenious apology for the popes. Hallam (*Middle Ages*, vol. i., c. 7) is less generous, and has, indeed, been ac-

cused of an unfair severity; but I am unable to discover that he has perverted the facts of history in any important respect.

they should become the political, as they were the spiritual, heads of Italy. Yet, as late as the beginning of the eighth century, they had made no serious attempt to emancipate themselves from the direct dominion of the emperors. Even Gregory the Great, who did so much for the papacy, had bowed submissively to the ecclesiastical edicts of Maurice. Asserting and enjoying an almost universal spiritual sway, and exercising a local temporal jurisdiction of unusual magnitude, these great spiritual potentates were still the humble subjects of the emperor, consecrated by his permission, obedient to his mandates, "exposed to penalties for contumacy, and, in one case, arrested, exiled, and with difficulty saved from capital punishment."¹

The pontificates of the Gregorys II. and III.,² which coincide with the reign of Karl-Martel, were the epoch in which the complete temporal independence of the papacy was initiated. As a consequence of it, the religious relations of the East and West were totally rent asunder, the Italian provinces were severed from the Byzantine rule, and, what more nearly concerns the purposes of this history, the Frankish dukes began that intervention in the politics of the peninsula which laid the foundation of Charlemagne's stupendous fabric of Western empire. Leo the Isaurian, in his war upon images, whether actuated by a desire to purify the worship of Christendom from the degrading superstitions into which it had fallen, or by the lower motive of opposition to all Christian art, made an arbitrary and ferocious assault upon the universal convictions of the religious world. The Christian ritual had been so largely paganized, the Christian mind so deeply tinctured with an idolatry scarcely raised above fetichism, that his sudden proscription of the common religious usage provoked a wider and intenser religious feud, fiercer personal collisions, and bloodier tumults than the most vital heresy on points of doctrine could have done. It touched a more general and inveterate feeling; it reached all classes; it invaded the private sanctuary as well as the church; and, in the degenerate imagination of the time, it seemed like

¹ Milman (Hist. Lat. Christ., vol. ii., c. 6).

² For the history of this Iconoclastic controversy, see Gibbon (vol. vi., c. 49)

and Milman (Hist. Lat. Christ., vol. ii., cc. 7, 8), especially the latter, whose remarks are both interesting and instructive.

an attempt to desolate the temples of God, and to vacate religion of its efficacy and significance. In this furious contest Gregory II. became the exponent and leader of the popular religious feeling. In earnest but ignorant and dogmatic epistles he remonstrated against the sacrilegious design of the emperor. The imperial agents were denounced and excommunicated. He believed himself menaced with secret assassination. Many cities and provinces of Italy, feeling that they were abandoned by the emperor, elected independent chiefs to provide for their liberty; and the people of Rome, as of other places, rose in revolt, and pledged themselves by solemn oaths to live and die in defense of their pontiff. Without definitively renouncing his allegiance to the emperor, the Pope, nevertheless, began then to act as a provisional sovereign of the districts placed under his care.¹ Of course, the Lombards narrowly watched the progress of the quarrel, professing attachment and proffering aid to the Holy See; but the Pope, knowing their malice, and suspecting their faith, had turned his eyes, in the event of an emergency, to a more trustworthy helper. He opened negotiations with "the most excellent Karl, King of the Franks,"² to propitiate his grace in the day of need.³

Karl was yet friendly to the Lombards, and did not intervene with active measures. On the death of Gregory II. (A.D. 731), his successor, Gregory III., continued his policy and his hopes. Against the image-breaking zeal of the emperor he was no less strenuous, and even more refractory. Incensed by the opposition, Leo sent a powerful armament against Italy, with orders to plunder Rome and arrest the Pope. His project was only defeated by the loss of the fleet off Ravenna. Meanwhile the Lombards had changed their show of friendship for Rome to open hostility. The pontifical city was besieged, and then, deserted by the emperors and menaced by the barbarians, the Pope threw himself for protection on the arms of the mighty Frank (A.D. 739).⁴

¹ See this subject discussed by Gosselin (*Power of the Pope*, vol. i., p. 249).

² This expression is used by Anastasius in *Vit. Steph.* iii.

³ Codex Carolinus (*Epist.* i., apud Bouquet, t. v., p. 485 *et seq.*)

⁴ Gregory's two letters to Karl are found in Labbe (*Concil.*, t. vi., p. 1472), in Duchesne (*Recueil des Historiens de France*, t. iii., Paris, 1641), in

Karl reconciled the Pope and Luitprand, the King of the Lombards, for a time, although the next year their contest was renewed.¹ A solemn embassy, consisting of the Bishop Anastasius and the Presbyter Sergius, waited upon the Mayor to urge the petition of the Pope in a more effectual manner. It carried with it secret instructions which Gregory had scrupled to commit to writing, accompanied by the mystic keys of the sepulchre of St. Peter, the filings of his chains, as gifts, and an offer of the title of Roman Patrician and Consul. Gregory's letters, filled with vehement entreaties, darkly hinted at a restoration of the Empire of the West, while the sacred symbols may be supposed to have indicated that he transferred his allegiance and the right of protecting the imperial city to the great leader of the Franks. Other authorities² add that the Senate and people of Rome joined in the bold project of throwing off the dominion of the emperor, and of submitting themselves to the guardianship and clemency of Karl. The Mayor was pleased to return a courteous answer to the mission, and to welcome the proposed relations of the Franks and the Popes. But those relations were only opened; and, before the transaction could be concluded, the parties most interested in it—Leo, Gregory, and Karl—died, by a singular coincidence of destiny, during the same year (A.D. 741).³

Karl quit life on the 21st of October, at Kiersy-sur-l'Oise, in the fiftieth year of his age. Twenty-seven years of incessant toil had undermined even his vigorous constitution. A few days before his death, calling his autrustions about him, he regulated, with their consent, the division of his principality among his three sons; for when Theuderik IV., the latest of the Mérovingan kings, had died (about A.D. 737), he had given him no successor. That farce seemed to be played out. A new dynasty was begun in him; a new destiny opened upon Gaul. Yet of his private life and conduct we know nothing. His brave, strong, noble soul had left the deepest traces in history; he had labored earnestly to recover the order of society,

Cenni (*Monumenta Dominationis Pontificæ*. Rome, 1760); also in Bouquet.

¹ Anastasius (*De Vit. Greg. III.*); Fred., *Cont.*, c. 110.

² Chron. Moissiac, ad Ann. 741.

³ Fred., *Cont.*, c. 110; *Annal. Mettens.*, Paul. Diacon., l. vi.; Anastasius, *Bibliotec. (Vit. Greg. III.)*.

and to spread the influence of civilization, such as it was; but there were none save costive chroniclers—and the most of these unfriendly—to tell us of his deeds or of his character. Incurring the animosity of the priests in his lifetime, it pursued him beyond the portals of the grave. A hundred years and more after he was cold, the clergy of Gaul, assembled in a national council at Kiersy (A.D. 858), wrote to Ludwig the German, in a letter otherwise full of lies, that St. Eucher of Orleans, transported to the world of spirits, saw the body of the great Intendant burning in the deepest hell, and that St. Boniface and Fulrad, Abbot of St. Denis, to whom the vision was told, opened his tomb, and found it all black within, as if charred by fire.¹

¹ Epist. Patrum Synodi Carisciacensis, Ann. 858, apud Script. Franc., t. iii., p. 659.

CHAPTER XV.

GAUL DURING THE ADMINISTRATION AND REIGN OF PIPPIN THE SHORT.
(FROM A.D. 741 TO A.D. 768.)

WITH the advent of the Karlingans our history broadens into a somewhat clearer light and a more universal interest. From the petty squabbles of ambitious families or factions, it advances to great revolutionary events, which changed the fate of dynasties, and left the deepest impress upon the condition of the world. Important as they were, however, much in regard to them still remains obscure: the bald facts of change are told us, but the interior causes and motives of them are left undisclosed, and the historian must continue to pick his way painfully through conjectures, embarrassments, and doubts.¹

In pursuance of the German custom, Karl divided his power and wealth among his sons, giving to Karloman, the Division of the
principality of
Karl. eldest, Austrasia, with its dependencies of Alemania and Thuringia; to Pippin, who was about twenty-seven years of age, Neustria, Burgundia, and Provence; and to Gripho, about fifteen, a son by another mother, a sort of appanage, composed of several estates, within the domains of his brothers.² It is to be remarked that Aquitain and Bavaria were not included in the distribution, and it is probable that, although the Franks laid claim to the sovereignty of those countries, they had not yet been able to reduce them to more than nominal subjection.

Both rulers were immediately impressed, by unmistakable ATTEMPTS AT
THE RESTORA-
TION OF OR-
DER, A.D. 741
TO 749. signs, with the necessity of maintaining the order of their dominions. As soon as the terrible Karl had disappeared his various enemies raised their heads. Duke Hunald of Aquitain proclaimed his independence by im-

¹ On this subject, see the remarks of Sismondi (*Hist. des Franç.*, t. i., pp. 844, 845.

² Karl had three other sons (illegiti-

mate), Remi, Jerome, and Bernard, whose descendants figure in the time of Ludwig the Pious.

prisoning the Abbot of St. Germain-des-Prés, an envoy of the mayor's; Odillo, the Duke of Bavaria, a proud and restless spirit, was endeavoring to combine the Alemans, Saxons, and Schlaves into a common insurrection; the old Neustrian party began to move once more; the Church was agitated by disorders and corruptions; and within the bosom of the family a serious feud arose between the brothers and Gripho, whom they affected to consider a bastard, because his mother, though regularly married, was a stranger.¹ The Neustrians were easily quieted, for the brothers, secure in the possession of power, deemed it prudent to gratify the royal propensities of those subjects by a revival of the phantom kingship. They raised to the dignity one Hilderik III., a supposed son of the crowned captive, Daniel-Hilperik, making themselves his mayors, and leaving him to vegetate, after the usual Mérovingan fashion, on a farm or in a convent. Gripho was a greater embarrassment to them; for, a discontented spirit himself, he found means of exciting the discontent of others. The mayors designed seizing him, and compelling him to renounce his heritage; but his mother, anticipating their purpose, had already fled with him, in the hope of finding a refuge in Bavaria.² Overtaken on the way at the fortress of Laon, both were exiled, the one to the nunnery at Chelles, and the other to the castle of Neufchatel.³ This succeeded in silencing Gripho for a time, although the outrage, when whispered abroad, enlisted sympathy and the support of certain leudes of his father in his favor. Pippin and Karloman next directed their attention to the recovery of their tributaries, having first, however, commissioned Boniface and other bishops to inquire into the sad and deplorable state of the Church.

For eighty years or more, the ecclesiastical affairs of Gaul had fallen into the most shameless disorders; the

*Reform of the
Church, A.D.
744.*

metropolitan sees were without regular archbishops; few or no synods had been held; no accord or ready communication subsisted among the members of the hierarchy, who, in-

¹ She was a Bavarian princess, Sonahilda by name, and a niece of the reigning duke.

² Hiltruda, a sister of Pippin and

Karloman, fled with her, and was married to Odillo, Duke of Bavaria.

³ Einhard (*Annals*, ad Ann. 741).

deed, had rendered themselves quite independent of all spiritual control; and a greater part of the bishoprics and cures were in the possession of grasping laics or of immoral clerks, who spent the revenues in debauchery and wassail.¹ There were priests who bore arms, who got drunk, who oppressed the poor, who despoiled widows, or who maintained with the proceeds of the sacred offices one, two, three, and sometimes several concubines. "In the time of Karl Martel," says Hincmar, "the Christian religion, in the German, Belgic, and Gallic provinces, was almost totally extinguished."² Securing the consent of the Pope, therefore, Boniface summoned an assembly of prelates for the correction of abuses and the revival of discipline. It met in Germany, and it decreed that the assemblies of the Church should thereafter be held annually; that false bishops should be expelled from their sees; that adulterous and simoniacal priests should be punished; that clerks should no longer hunt, or bear arms, or pour out the blood of their fellow-Christians; and, finally, that goods and estates formerly sequestered from the churches should be restored.³ We are not informed how these canons were enforced; but, in touching the subject of the restitution of ecclesiastical properties, a tender and difficult point was broached. Karl Martel having been implicated in the original secularization of them, it was a delicate matter for his sons to undertake to condemn or rectify the proceeding. Moreover, they felt themselves the same necessity for the conversion of these properties which had impelled their father to distribute them in the outset. At the Marz-feld of Leptines, accordingly, held the next year, the subject was resumed, and it was decided that the detainer of an ecclesiastical estate, subject to military service, should pay a part of the revenues (12 solidi for each house, *casata*) to the churches that owned them; that every warrior enjoying such benefice might hold it for life as a *precarium*, but at his death it should be returned to the Church, unless the necessities of the prince should otherwise ordain; and that every benefice, by the privation of which

¹ Bonifacii (Epist. ad Zachariam papam, 152, apud Bouquet, Script. Ber., t. iv., p. 94).

² Bonifac., Epist. ad Zachariam, 51; Greg. II. (Epist. ad Episc., apud Sirmond, Concil. Gall., t. i., p. 513).

³ Hincmar (Epist. vi., ad Episc. Diocesis Remensis, c. 19).

a church had been reduced to poverty, should be instantly restored.¹ This was a compromise which virtually legitimated the secularization, though it provided for a gradual reform. At the same council the expurgation of the priesthood was pursued; and Boniface, in his zeal for purity or orthodoxy, dismissed usurping, and consecrated regular bishops in their place, as if he had been the acknowledged primate of Gaul. One soldier-bishop we hear of, named Milo, who occupied the sees of Trèves and Rheims, refused to surrender his post, maintained himself by the strong hand for ten years, and was only dislodged by his accidental death on the tusks of a wild boar.² In process of time, it may be here observed, these religious convocations supplied the place partly, and superseded partly, the old and warlike March-fields and May-fields of the Germans. Those national assemblies had been neglected under the later Mérovingans; the great proprietors were absorbed in the care of their estates, and the few freemen had sunk gradually into dependents; so that we almost lose the traces of their existence.³ In reviving them Pippin and Karloman completely changed their character;⁴ they admitted prelates to the deliberations, and soon the questions discussed related less to the movements of the army and the dispensation of justice than to ecclesiastical dogmas and discipline. As the priests, moreover, introduced the use of the Latin language into their long discourses, the rude men of war ceased to take part in the proceedings from very ignorance or weariness.⁵ It was another important though perhaps unintentional success for the Church.

Pippin and Karloman had proceeded rigorously the while to the reduction of their refractory tributaries. Passing through Burgundy and Provence, which they garrisoned,⁶ they fell upon Aquitain, burning the suburbs of Bourges, carrying the fortress of Loches by assault, and committing many ravages, apparently with no other purpose than

¹ Sirmond (Concil. Gall., t. i., p. 540).

² Hincmar (Opera, t. ii., p. 731, ad Episc. de Jure Metropolitan.).

³ Sismondi (Hist. des Franç., t. i., p. 347).

⁴ They were now usually called in

May, because forage was more plenty at that season than in March, showing that the German leaders were more generally horsemen than they had been.

⁵ Sismondi (ibid.).

⁶ Fred., Cont., 3.

Expeditions
against the
tributaries,
A.D. 742-
746.

to impress terror.¹ Before they encountered Duke Hunald in person, however, the Alemans, or Suabians, had taken up arms at the instigation of Odillo, who, it was thought, was in league with Hunald. Returning rapidly to the banks of the Danube, they crushed the revolt (742). Early the next spring the Bavarians rose; the dukes defeated them on the Lech, ravaging their country; but, before the army disbanded, they learned that Hunald had passed the Loire, and burned the city of Chartres to the ground.² Irritated by this bloody revenge of the indomitable chief of the south, the mayors turned to inflict summary chastisement upon him, when reports were brought of a sudden outbreak among the Saxons (744). By a general understanding, it would appear, these revolts always occurred when the Franks were engaged in some other place. Karlo-man marched at once upon the Saxons with all his force, took their chief, Theuderik, captive, occupied many of their cantons, and compelled a multitude of the inhabitants—the first time we remark this kind of propagandism—to submit to Christian baptism.³ As soon as the work was completed, which was not till the following season, he joined Pippin in an onslaught which he contemplated against Aquitain. Every thing had been prepared for an exterminating war. Hunald, instead of meeting the bolt, however, discharged it by a hasty surrender; he demanded peace, delivered hostages, and took an oath of fealty to the Franks. It is characteristic of the times that, when Hunald had signed the truce, he, "by false oaths," lured his brother Atto, the Count of Poitiers, for not assisting him in the contest, to his court, where he dug out both his eyes, and cast him into prison to perish in a few days.⁴ This barbarism was followed by a singular access of piety, in which he deposed his crown in favor of his son Waifer, separated himself from his wife, took the monastic vows, and abandoned the duties of his princely station for the penitence and repose of the cloister. For twenty-five years thereafter, shut up in a convent of the island of Rhé, he wore the coarse attire and endured the heavy penances of the most undistinguished Benedictine.⁵

¹ Fred., Chron. Cont., 3.

² Fred., Cont., 3, c. 114; Annal.

³ Annal. Mettens., ad Ann. 743, apud Bouquet.

Mettens.

⁴ Annal. Mettens., ad Ann. 744.

⁵ Annal. Mettens., and Vita St.

Hunald was but one of many princes who, about the same period, changed the crown for the cowl, quitting the pomps and activities of the world for the pale seclusion of the cloister. To those rude spirits there would seem to have been no medium of choice between the wild fracas of battle, the tumultuous agitations of barbaric life, and the grave-like stillness, the mystic ecstasies of the desert.¹ The fitful fever of excitement in which they lived invested those cool solitudes with strange fascinations. In all parts of Western Christendom we see kings as lowly penitents, beseeching admission into their sanctified inclosures. Venerable Bede refers to eight or ten of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs who, during this century, made themselves monks.² Karloman, the prince of the Franks, himself became inspired with the same austere devotion. Though his reign had opened with brilliancy—though he had just finished a successful, if disgracefully-treacherous, campaign against the Suabians (476), he yet resigned his powers and his glories into the hands of his brother, and, “touched with a divine love and the desire of a celestial kingdom,” made his way toward Rome.³ Accompanied by many of his grantees, and carrying numerous rich presents with him, which he laid upon the tomb of St. Peter, he received the clerical habit from the hands of Pope Zacharias, and took the vows of a monk in the convent of Monte Cassino⁴ (747). Two years later, Rachis, the king of the Lombards, joined the royal recluse in his saintly orisons and watches.

Pippin was thus left alone in the government, or, rather, he assumed the government alone, refusing to share the estates or his authority with the sons of Karloman. These, on the contrary, he banished to a monastery. Toward Gripho, after languishing for six years in prison, he was more generous. That unfortunate prince was released and endowed with a considerable domain. But the rancor of his heart was not appeased by these shows of returning friendliness. Embit-

Bertharii et Athelani, apud Bouquet, Script. Franc., t. iv., p. 444. By this conduct Hunald is supposed to have designed clearing the way for his son.

¹ Martin (Hist. de Franc., t. ii., p. 303).

² Bede (Ecclesiast. Hist., ll. ii.-v.).

³ Chron. Moissiacensis.

⁴ He had previously built a convent on Mount Soracte, which he occupied for a while, and then quit for Cassino.

tered by long brooding over his wrongs, the inadequate and tardy concession inflamed his spite, and he used his liberty to foment trouble. A large number of refractory leudes—some, perhaps, incensed by a feeling of the injustice he had suffered—attached themselves to his cause, and followed him beyond the Rhine, where he stirred up the Saxons to war. Pippin, in consequence, assisted by the Schlaves of Bohemia and of the banks of the Oder, penetrated Upper Saxony, and visited it with fearful havoc. Gripho escaped into Bavaria, and there, the Duke Odillo having just died, he usurped the government from the heir Tasillo, son of his sister Hiltruda, and, with the aid of Landfrid, Duke of the Alemans, and other nobles who conspired with him, proclaimed himself duke. Pippin pursued him, and again beat him, compelling him to lay down his power and to accept terms of peace. Gripho, by a remarkable moderation on the part of Pippin, was allowed the Duchy of Mans and twelve counties in Neustria as a possession. These he accepted, but soon abandoned to establish himself near Waifer, of Aquitain, from whom any enemy of the monarchy of the Franks was sure to find a cordial welcome.¹

Two years of tranquillity now surprised this ever-seething Gaul, and furnished Pippin leisure to mature a scheme which he must have been long revolving in his mind with some degree of doubt. Was it not time to bring that protracted comedy of the Mérovingan kingship to an end? For more than sixty years his family, fertile in great men, had by their valor defended, and by their wisdom governed, the Frankish nation. During that long interval they had been at the head of the armies, maintaining the integrity and unity of its possessions, repulsing invasions, subduing revolts, and forming alliances or receiving oaths from friendly or conquered princes. During that long interval they had stood upon the steps of the throne, exercising with a free hand the prerogatives of royalty, occupying the palaces as their own, decreeing peace or war, dispensing justice, conferring lands and dignities, establishing order, and even making and unmaking at will, or according to the policy of the hour, the very monarchs in whose names they acted. Those monarchs had insensibly declined or

PIPPIN ESTABLISHES A NEW ROYALTY, A.D. 750-755.

¹ Fred., Cont., 4.

been abandoned to an ignominious fatuity; their useful functions were vacated, and their only reason for being was that they had once represented a living order of things. No doubt the old Mérovingians had been the vital men of their day; but now their descendants were merely the dead images of that vitality. Society, both in its civic constitution and its religious spirit, had moved forward to a new realm of thought and feeling. Germanism, or that peculiar translation of domestic into civic relations which was the essence of feudality,¹ after a long struggle with the remains of Roman imperialism, had assumed a more or less compact and established form throughout Austrasia, and in the greater part of Neustria and Burgundy. Christianity, such as it had grown to be under episcopal nurture, had largely displaced both the ancient pagan superstitions and many of its own earlier influences. But the Karlingian mayors were the champions of this Germanism and of this Christianity, and it was inevitable that some one of them should endeavor, sooner or later, to invest his impersonation with the highest name as well as the highest sanction and authority. It was reserved for Pippin to declare this hour at hand—when the real king should be proclaimed the king also by right and title.

Before entering upon so important a step, his prudence, if not Pippin consults his religion, suggested the propriety of advising in with the Pope, A.D. 751. regard to it with the acknowledged head of Christendom. Accordingly, he dispatched an embassy, composed of Burchard, Bishop of Würzburg, and Fulrad, Abbot of St. Denis, his own chaplain, to the See of St. Peter, with the significant question whether "it were better that one who wielded no authority in the land should retain the name of king, or that it should be transferred to him who really exercised the royal power."² Zacharias, the Pope, was no doubt prepared for the question and with the answer. He replied, after a formal consultation with the Roman nobles,³ that "he should be called king who had the proper wisdom and power for the office, and not

¹ See, on this, Lehuërou's remarkable dissertation (*Hist. des Institut. Caroling.*, t. ii., *passim*).

² Compare, on this transaction, Fred-eher, *Cont.*, c. 117; Einhard, *Annals*, ad Ann. 750, 751, *ibid.*; Vit. Karl.

Magn., c. i.; *Gesta Regum Francorum*, ad Ann. 751; *Annal. Laurissenses Minor.*, ad Ann. 753.

³ "Cum consilio nobilium Romanorum."

he who was king only in name," anticipating in this the famous saying of Napoleon, "*Les carrières aux talents*" (the tools to him that can handle them).¹ It was a sensible, even democratic response, answering farther than was then needful; but when the annalists add that "Zacharias, by his apostolic authority, ordered Pippin to be made king,"² the historian wonders by what right he thrust his sacerdotal arms a thousand miles across the Alps to interpose in the affairs of a foreign nation.³

Immediately a grand council of the leudes and bishops of Gaul was assembled at Soissons to consider or confirm the change of dynasty. Pippin was unanimously proclaimed, in the usual manner of the Franks, by being lifted on the shield, in the midst of acclamations and clashings of arms; but he was also crowned and anointed, together with his wife Bertrude (or Bertha), by St. Boniface, which added a religious sanction to his election.⁴ He would have considered himself unquestionably King of the Franks without this supplementary ceremony; but, as Chlodwig had been consecrated by St. Remi, as queens Brunahilda and Galswintha received the holy chrism on their marriages,⁵ as the royalty of the Mérovingans reposed on the deep foundations of an immemorial sanctity, Pippin, true to his ecclesiastical descent, confirmed his assumption of the crown by the impressive rites and the moral

¹ Carlyle's translation (French Revolution).

² Annal. Laurissenses, ad Ann. 749 (written during the first years of Charlemagne), and others, say, "*Jussit per auctoritatem apostolicam Pippinum regem fieri.*" See, also, Clausula Consecratione Pippinni, apud Bouquet, t. v., p. 9.

³ Bossuet (Defensio. Declarat., t. ii., cc. 34-35) and other Gallican divines strenuously contend that the decision of Zacharias was no interference in temporal affairs. His decision was not, but they omit to say any thing of his order to carry it into effect, which proves that he supposed himself authorized to interfere.

⁴ Thierry (Essais sur l'Histoire de France, t. i., p. 157) maintains that up to this period the inauguration of the

kings had been a purely civil ceremony. But this is a mistake. Gregory of Tours, it is true, says nothing of the holy oil in his account of the coronation of Chlodwig, but the Testament of St. Remi, preserved by Flodoard (Hist. Eccles. Rem., l. i., c. 18), is explicit. "Generi — regio, quod ad honorem sanctæ ecclesiæ, et defensionem pauperum, una cum fratribus meis et coepiscopis omnibus Germaniæ, Galliæ, atque Neustriæ, in regiæ majestatis culmen perpetuo regnaturum statuens elægi, baptizavi, a fonte sacro suscepi, donoque septiformis spiritus consignari, et per ejusdem sacri chrismatis unctionem ordinato in regem, parcens, statuo, ut si —; fiant dies ejus pauci, et principatum ejus accipiat alter."

⁵ Greg. Turon. (Hist. Eccles., l. iv., cc. 27, 28).

and religious associations which cluster about the rites of the Church. The lofty spiritual pretensions of the See of Rome were now quite universally acknowledged in the West; the new clergy of Germany and Gaul were its devoted followers; and Pippin probably thought that in receiving the unction of St. Boniface he not only incorporated himself among the members of that powerful and growing hierarchy, but sealed forever the alliance of his house with the Popes. As for Hilperik III.—last frail shadow of a long line of kings—he was shorn of the symbolic locks, which his fathers had worn for perhaps a thousand years, and buried forever in the darkness of the convent of Sithieu at St. Omer.¹

Pippin's title had changed, not his duties. The year of his elevation was a year of distracting toils; his Saxon neighbors, those obstinate and ferocious pagans, loved him no better for his connection with the Church, and revolted anew; while within his own realms there were large districts both indifferent to his royal pretensions and hostile to his race. Aquitain was one of these. Conquered by the Germans, it had never been fully occupied by them. The most of them had encamped in it, and such as had settled more permanently there were gradually melted among the original Gauls and Romans. In language, opinions, and manners they more and more diverged from the Franks. It was the same in Provence, where the German soldiers always appeared as foreigners and enemies. The Bretons also maintained closer and friendlier relations with their brother Kymri of the island of Great Britain than with the ruling race of Gaul.² Owing to these various diversities, consequently, the Franks never knew when they were masters of their nominal realm. As soon as one war was concluded in one place another broke out in another place, and no treaties nor truces could bind their vassals to fidelity. Pippin found a special reason for embroiling himself with Aquitain in the refuge which Waifer had extended to Gripho, his troublesome brother, and whose surrender as a fugitive he now demanded. Being refused he offered war; but, on his way to Aquitain, was diverted into Septimania,

Wars in Saxony,
Septimania, and
Brittany, A.D.
752-753.

¹ Einhard (Vit. Karl. Magn., iii.);
Fred., Cont., iii., *in fine*.

² Comp. Fauriel (Hist. de la Gaul.
Mér., t. iii., *passim*).

where the weakness of the Arabs consequent upon the bloody discords of the Mussulmans, both at Cordova and Damascus, opened the prospect of an easy conquest. With little fighting, and through the treachery of a Goth named Ansemond, who commanded at Beziers, Agde, Maguelonne, and Nismes, under an Arabian wali, he was enabled to seize those strong-holds, and to leave a part of his troops to besiege Narbonne, as the first step toward future success. Gripho, in the mean time, had been killed, passing the Alps on his way to Italy with some of his adherents in order to join Luitprand, king of the Lombards; so that Aquitaine was for the moment allowed to rest in peace.¹ Pippin was drawn away also by the Saxons (753), whom he was again compelled to punish, to subject to new tributes, and to force into a hearing of the Gospel.² The chronicler says that he then turned to the Bretons, seized the fortress of Vannes, and subdued the whole of Brittany; but there is reason to believe that he merely opened hostilities in that quarter without pushing them to a result.³

A more important interest absorbed his mind—the great quarrel of the Popes and the Lombards in Italy. Zacharias was dead, and a new pope, Stephen II., was in his chair; Luitprand was also dead, and a new king, Aistaulf, was on his throne; but the old feud still lived. One of the first acts of the king, accordingly, had been to enter the exarchate and seize Ravenna, and one of the first successes of the Pope had been to procure its release by remonstrances and entreaties, which ended in a hollow truce with the Lombards for forty years (752).⁴ In less than four months, however, on some unexplained pretext, Aistaulf was again in arms, menacing not merely the exarchate and Pentapolis, but the city of Rome. “Inflamed with rage and like a roaring lion,” says the annalist, “King Aistaulf never ceased to utter fearful threats against the Romans, declaring that he would put them all to the sword if they did not submit to his rule.” In vain the Pope appealed

The wars in Italy, A.D. 755-758.

¹ Fred., Cont., iv., c. 118; Chron. Moissiac., § 5.

² Ibid.

³ Fauriel (t. iii., pp. 240, 241).

⁴ Anastasius (Vita Steph. II., apud Bouquet, t. v.). This restoration, it

should be remarked, was not made to the Greek emperor, but to the Pope and the Roman republic. Nor is there any evidence that the emperor protested against the act.

to the emperor; in vain he sent his solemn embassies to the king; neither prayers, nor litanies, nor protestations could touch the obdurate heart of the Lombard, and the Holy See and its dominions were reduced to an extremity of peril. In this emergency Stephen's thoughts recurred to the Franks. He besought Pippin by letter for protection and succor, but as the answers were not speedy or decided enough, he next took the extraordinary resolution of passing the Alps and appealing to him in person (753).¹ Accompanied by the Abbot Chrodegang, Duke Autkar, and a numerous retinue of nobles and clergy, he paraded through Pavia, where he made another fruitless appeal to Aistaulf before turning toward Gaul. Pippin was in his palace at Dietenhofen (Thionville) when he heard that the Pope had reached Mons Jovis (Saint Bernard).² At once, and with alacrity, he dispatched the Abbot Fulrad and Duke Rothard to receive the holy father at Pontyon, near Châlons. As a more distinguished mark of his respect, his son Karl, a lad then about twelve years of age, and destined to make some noise in the world as Karl the Great (Charlemagne), was also sent forth with an imposing array of nobles to meet him a hundred miles from Pontyon, and to escort him to the royal palace. Pippin himself, with his wife and principal lords, was stationed near the palace, and as soon as he saw the pontiff he dismounted, prostrated himself before him, and then walked beside him; perhaps leading his palfrey.³ Instantly the ecclesiastics broke forth into loud psalms of thanksgiving, and followed the military cortège into the royal residence.

At a subsequent interview, Pippin engaged to comply with the wishes of the Pope; but, as the season was unfit for military operations, he delayed active measures till the next spring. Stephen condescended to sojourn during the interval at the monastery of St. Denis, where he fell dangerously ill, and only recovered by the miraculous intervention of Saints Peter, Paul, and Denis, the

Pippin promises to aid the Pope. Intervention of Karloman. A.D. 751.

¹ Anastasius (Vit. Steph. II., apud Bouquet, t. v.); Fred., Cont., iv., c. 119.

² November 15th, 753.

³ This is the story of Anastasius, but the Frankish chroniclers say that it was the Pope, on the morrow of his ar-

rival, who, with ashes on his head and sackcloth on his body, prostrated himself before Pippin, imploring his aid, and refusing to rise until it was promised. Both reports may be true. Chron. Moissiac.

patron saints of the papacy and of Gaul—a conjunction of holy influences regarded as of the happiest augury for the future union. At the Field of March, which Pippin convoked at Braine, the proposed Italian expedition was only reluctantly approved by the assembled leudes; and a decided opposition to it appeared in a new quarter. Aistulf, watching with trepidation the storm which lowered beyond the Alps, played off the monk of Monte Cassino against his spiritual superior. He persuaded Karloman to repair from his convent to Gaul, and to use his intercessions with his royal brother in defeat of the schemes of the Pope. His remonstrances, whatever they may have been, had no other effect than to bring about his own imprisonment in a convent at Vienne, where he died in a few days.¹ Pippin, styling himself “the defender of the Holy Roman Church by divine appointment,” sent ambassadors to Aistulf to demand the “restoration of the territories and towns”² he had seized, not to the Byzantine emperor, whose claims were utterly ignored or despised, but “to the blessed St. Peter, the holy Church of God, and the republic of the Romans.”³ Aistulf treated the mission with courtesy, yet with coldness, turning a deaf ear to its demands. War was the only alternative for Pippin, and he made preparations for it of no ordinary magnitude. Before he set out, Stephen renewed in person the solemnities of consecration, which had been already performed by Boniface. On the 28th of July, 754, Pippin, his queen, and their two sons, Karl and Karloman, to show that his family shared his personal elevation, were anointed with the holy oil, the king and his sons were invested with the title of Patricians of Rome, and the Franks enjoined, on pain of interdict and excommunication, never to presume, they nor their posterity in all succeeding ages, to choose a king from any other family (*de altera stirpe*) than that of Karl Martel.⁴

¹ Anastas. (Vit. Steph. II.); Einhard (Annal., ad Ann. 753).

² Pentapolis, Narni, Cesena (Chron. Moissiac.). “Ut reddat,” that he (Aistulf) should return the said territories, implying clearly that they had already been in possession of the Pope. The form of expression doubtless originated in the fact that in the revolt of

Italy against the emperors and their exarchs many provinces had placed themselves under the Pope’s protection. See *ante*, c. xiv., p. 382.

³ Chron. Moissiac., also Codex Carol., Epist. 7. “Reddere civitates et loca B. Petro sanctæque Dei ecclesiæ, et Reipublicæ Romanorum.”

⁴ Einhard (Vit. Karl. Magn., ad

Crossing the Alps at Mount Cenis, the advance-guard of the Franks encountered the troops of Aistaulf in the passes of the mountains, and put them to flight. The main body speedily pursued them to the walls of Pavia, where, after a brief siege, they compelled the Lombard to solicit peace. He promised Pippin to remit the cities of the exarchate to the Pope, to recognize the sovereignty of the Franks, and never more to molest the Apostolic See or the domains of the Roman republic. On these conditions Pippin raised the siege, and, causing the Pope to be installed again in Rome, returned into Austrasia.¹ His forces were scarcely withdrawn before the King of the Lombards, refusing to carry out his stipulations, recommenced hostilities against Rome. He is accused of committing dreadful havoc in the environs of the city, of profaning the churches, and demanding the surrender of the supreme pontiff.² Stephen sent a letter in great haste to Pippin, informing him of the infraction of the peace, and begging his aid once more. At the same time, he warned him earnestly of the hazards of refusal, "eternal condemnation if he did not complete the gift he had vowed to St. Peter." "The apostle," Pippin was told, "had his handwriting to the grant, which he would produce against him in the day of judgment." A second letter was no less supplicant and minatory. "Aistaulf was at the gates of Rome; he menaced the whole city with the sword; he had burned the suburbs, defiled the altars, violated nuns, polluted mothers;" and the Pope conjured Pippin for aid "by God and his holy mother, by the angels of heaven, by the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and by the last day." Stephen also vouchsafed that if Pippin hastened to the rescue, he might be sure of "victory over all the barbaric nations and eternal life."³

Ann. 754); Anastas. (Vit. Steph. II., Chron. Moissiac., and Clausula de Pippini Consecrat., apud Bouquet, t. v., p. 9). The continuator of the Chronicle of Fredegher, written by an intimate relative of Pippin, says nothing of this second coronation, nor of the astounding assumption of the Pope in pretending to ordain the future line of succession. This is a curious omission or oversight in the chronicler.

¹ It was scarcely grateful in the Pope, in a letter addressed to Pippin, to ascribe this easy victory "to the hands of the blessed St. Peter." Epist. Steph. Papæ ad Pipp., apud Bouquet, t. iv.

² Cod. Carol., Epist. 7. The piety of Aistaulf directed his plundering to the dead bodies of saints.

³ All these letters are to be found in Bouquet, t. v., p. 485 *et seq.*

At last, as if these appeals, promises, and threats were not sufficient, he evoked St. Peter himself from the celestial abodes to add the weight of his personal commands to the vehement exhortations of his successor. In a third letter, remarkable and curious alike, whether we regard it as the product of a transport of fear, of deliberate imposture, or of rhetorical artifice,¹ the Pope personated the apostle, and in his name conjured and begged the Franks not to delay their succor. "*Peter, called to the apostleship of Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, and in me, the whole modern Catholic and Apostolic Church, to you most excellent princes, Pippin, Karl, and Karloman, kings; as also to the bishops, abbots, dukes, and counts, and to the Frank warriors and people.*" Such was the address of the epistle, and the substance, that "I, Peter, apostle of God, to whom he hath deigned to intrust the charge of his flock and the keys of the kingdom of heaven, look upon the Franks as my adopted people; and, relying upon the love you bear me, I conjure and exhort you to deliver my city of Rome, my people, and that Church in which I repose according to the flesh, from the cruelties of the Lombards," etc. "My dear children, do not doubt that I now appear before you in person, conjuring you in these urgent terms, because, according to the promise of our Redeemer, it is to you, O Franks! that we look especially among all the nations of the earth." "The ever Virgin mother of God adjures you, admonishes you, and commands you—she, as well as the thrones, and dominions, and all the choir of heaven, all the holy martyrs and confessors, entreat and command you to have compassion on the misery of Rome." "If ye hasten, I, Peter, the apostle, will in turn protect you in the day of judgment—will prepare for you the most glorious mansions in heaven." The apostle also promised them prosperity and victory in this life in case of their obedience to his call; but threatened, in case of their disobedience, that their souls should be tormented in hell with the devil and his pestilent angels.

It would be interesting to know the effect of this audacious

¹ Gibbon (vol. v., c. 49, note) suggests that this personal introduction of St. Peter was but a rude imitation of a common practice of the ancient orators, and Gosselin (Power of the Popes, t. i.,

p. 222) treats it as a rhetorical expedient, quite proper under the circumstances; to me, however, it appears as a gross piece of mingled fanaticism and imposture.

Pippin's second expedition into Italy, A.D. 755. and impious letter, which assumed to place at the disposal of St. Peter the eternal retributions of the invisible, as well as the glories and shames of the visible world, and promised to ruthless and blood-stained soldiers the highest blessings of heaven on the simple condition of their active fidelity to the temporal interests of the Roman see—what effect it had on Pippin and his rude warriors; but the chroniclers report to us only the general result. Pippin's honor as a king and a soldier, if not his piety, dictated the holding of the Lombards to their engagement, and that motive alone must have led him into a second expedition to Italy without the appeals of the Pope. He resolved on war; but his leudes, in spite of the large overtures of the apostle, were disinclined to the undertaking, and were with difficulty induced to lend it their assistance.¹ Once begun, however, it was prosecuted with the characteristic energy of the Franks. Aistaulf was almost surprised in his capital; his troops recoiled before the vigorous assaults of the Austrasians; and again he asked the clemency and forgiveness of the Christian hero. By an offer of fresh hostages, the renewal of his oaths, the cession of farther territory, a surrender of one third of his treasures, and the promise of annual tributes to the Franks, he was once more released from the personal presence of his conquerors.² An embassy from the Byzantine emperor asserted, during the negotiation of the treaty, the claims of that sovereign to a restoration of the exarchate; but their petitions and demands failed of effect on "the steadfast heart of Pippin," who declared that he had fought alone in behalf of St. Peter, on whose Church he would bestow all the fruits of victory. Fulrad, his abbot, was commissioned to receive the keys of the twenty-two towns his arms had won, and to deposit them as a donation on the grave of the apostle at Rome. Thus the Pope was made the temporal head of that large district, comprising Ravenna, Rimini, Cesena, Senegaglia, Forli, Montefeltro, Serra, San Marino, Bobbio, Urbino, Cayli, Comachio, Narni, etc., which, with some few changes, has been held by his successors for a thousand and four years. The vicar of that lowly Savior who had not where to lay his head on earth, the representative of the martyred fisherman and tent-

¹ Einhard (Vit. Karl. Mag.).

² Anastas. (Vit. St. Steph. II.).

maker, was become the lord of many lands, and one of the mightiest sovereigns of the world.¹

Victorious in Italy, Pippin soon justified his title as defender of the Church by completing the expulsion of the Arabs from Gaul. His troops left in occupation of Septimania (752) had steadily prosecuted the siege of Narbonne, the principal city and garrison of the invaders. Three circumstances, however, protracted their success for several years: the death of Ansemond, the Wisigothic leader, who was killed in a sudden sally of the Saracens; the occurrence of a terrible famine that desolated that part of Gaul as well as Spain;² and the impregnable nature of the fortifications, to which the Arabs, superior to the Franks in nearly every art of civilization, had applied their best military skill. Not till after a blockade of seven years was the city surrendered, and then through the treason of the Christians and Goths who were inside the walls, and made secret terms with the beleaguers.³ They rose upon the Arabs, cut them in pieces, and opened the gates to the Franks. A reduction of Elne, Caucoliberia, and Carcassone followed hard upon that of Narbonne. Succors were sent from Spain to the suffering Mussulmans, but were intercepted by the hardy mountaineers of the Pyrenees, who crushed them to death in the narrow passes with rocks and stones.⁴ In a little while the entire Arab population was driven out of Septimania, after an occupation of forty years; and a large and important province (equivalent nearly to the whole of Languedoc), held during the time of the Mérovingans by the

¹ Pippin is said to have made a previous "donation" of these estates at the Synod of Quierzy, in 747 (Anastasius, in Vit. Hadrian., i.); but how could he grant what he did not yet possess? As to the second "donation," the fact is broadly stated by Anastasius, the librarian, whose work (*Liber Pontificalis*) was not published till more than a century later (about 870) (Gieseler, *Church Hist.*, vol. i., p. 545). There is not, that I am aware, any direct contemporary authority for it: Fredegher's continuator is silent. A "restoration" is often referred to in the epistles of the Popes, and confirmed by subsequent

deeds (Codex Carol., *Epist.* 7, 8, 9, 15, 40, etc., apud Bouquet, t. v., p. 485 et seqq.). It is also mentioned in the *Annales Mettenses*, the *Annales Laurisenses*, and by Einhard (*Annals*, ad Ann. 756). The pretended donation of Pippin would seem to be, therefore, a mere restoration of what was claimed by the Roman senate and people (of whom the Pope assumed to be the chief) as the successors to the emperors.

² I have lost the authority for this.

³ Chron. Moissiac., ad Ann. 759.

⁴ Condé (*Hist. Arab. Dom.*, vol. i., p. 2., c. 7).

Wisigoths, was secured to the possession of the Franks.¹ The Arabs, however, though expelled, left many traces of their long residence on the manners and customs of Southern Gaul.²

Waifer, the Duke of Aquitain, a gigantic and spirited warrior, who inherited all his father's bitter hatred of the Franks, must have watched their progress in Septimania with no little solicitude. Masters of the shores of the Mediterranean, of Burgundy, and of Neustria, their territories inclosed his dukedom on three sides, from which it might at any moment be assailed with all their forces. If he was a descendant of the Mérovingans, as the traditions relate,³ he had still less reason for loving the house of Pippin than his subjects had for loving the race. Pippin was both aware of the ill feeling and anxious to establish his preponderance in the country, and it was not hard for him to find pretexts of war against Waifer.⁴ Sending a formal embassy to the young duke, he demanded of him, 1st, that he should restore to the Church the property that had in any way been taken from it; 2d, grant the ecclesiastical lands the same immunities they had formerly enjoyed; 3d, refrain from sending his officers and tax-gatherers upon them for the future; 4th, pay the *were* of those Wisigoths, Frankish subjects, whom he had lately put to death; and, 5th, finally, deliver up all the Frankish fugitives who had sought shelter within his dominions. These demands were nothing less than a request to confess the complete sovereignty of the Franks, and Waifer peremptorily refused to comply with them. Pippin made ready for war, and, doubtless, on a scale adequate to the difficulties of the struggle in which he was about to engage. Aquitain was not equal in size to a fourth part of the domains of Pippin, but it was more populous and wealthy, broken by mountains, furrowed by streams, defended by many strong fortresses and

¹ Hist. Générale du Languedoc, l. viii., c. 55.

² Fauriel (Gaul. Mérid., t. iii., c. 28).

³ This rests upon the authority of a charter said to have been given by Charles the Bald, in 845, to the Abbey of Alacon, in upper Aragon. It was first published in 1687 by Cardinal

Aguirra, in his *Collectio Conciliorum Omnium Hispaniæ*, t. iii., pp. 181-188; but the authenticity is much disputed by the antiquarians. Vaissette (Hist. Générale du Languedoc) and Fauriel (Hist. la Gaul. Mérid., append. ii.) argue strongly in its favor.

⁴ Einhard, *Annal.*, ad Ann. 780.

fortified cities, and controlling, besides the native troops, numerous bodies of fugitive Franks and Wascon mercenaries. Pippin, collecting his warriors at Troyes on the Seine, marched, with that celerity which was characteristic of his race, through Auxerre into the Nivernais and Berry as far as the confines of Auvergne, ravaging the country all the way, and carrying off much plunder. Waifer was surprised by the suddenness of the attack, and dispatched envoys to the king to demand a suspension of hostilities till their difficulties might be arbitrated at a solemn mall, to be convoked the next year. In sign of his sincerity, he sent with the deputation as hostages his two cousins, Adalgher and Ither, sons of that unfortunate Atto whose eyes had been dug out by the penitent Hunald. Pippin accepted his overtures and returned home (760). But the next year, after the assemblage and dismissal of the Marz-feld, Pippin heard that Waifer had taken advantage of the truce to strengthen his forces, which were pouring into the Frankish territories in great numbers. The larger part of Burgundy was wasted, including Autun and its districts as far as the walls of Chalons. Doubly outraged by the breach of faith and the invasion of his own dominion, Pippin gathered his warriors and fell upon Aquitain in a transport of rage. He was accompanied by his oldest son, Karl, who then made his first trial of arms.¹ They took the strong fortress of Bourbon (Borbo, now Bourbon-l'Archambault) by assault; razed that of Chantelle to the ground; and then bore down with their whole force upon the capital of Auvergne (Augusto-Nemetum), whose inhabitants had taken refuge in the citadel of Clermont (*Clarus Mons*), built on the top of the mountain overlooking the town. Blandinus, the count of the district, made a stubborn and resolute defense, but was overborne by the impetuous charges of the Franks, and the whole town, with the men, women, and children, was consumed by fire.² So implacable and ruthless was the anger of the Franks, that the few Wascons who managed to escape were massacred in cold blood. It is intimated by the chroniclers that this savage butchery was committed without or

¹ The first known to history; but, as he was about twenty years of age, and majority among the Franks was attain-

ed at fourteen, it is probable that he had already more than once been in war.

² Fred., Chron. Cont., 4.

against the orders of Pippin, although he did not hesitate to avail himself of the terror it every where spread to bring about a speedier surrender of the castles and towns. His victorious arms were seen as far south as Limoges, having despoiled the greater part of Berri, Auvergne, and the Limousin, before he dismissed his troops for the winter.

Early the next spring they were summoned again to complete the work of destruction. A "multitude of the nation of the Franks," under Pippin and his two sons, invested the strongly-fortified city of Bourges, so that "no one could enter it or depart from it." Waifer, it seems, depended on his fortified towns for security, but the Franks were no longer mere hordes of undisciplined fighting men. Either in their contests with the Romans, or under the military and organizing genius of the Karlingans, they had learned the more scientific modes of warfare. They raised walls of circumvallation about besieged places, and beset them with battering-rams and other machines of war. Nevertheless, Bourges, under the skillful defense of Count Hunibert, held out for several weeks before it was made to capitulate. When it did so Pippin managed to restrain the fury of his men, so that the cruel executions of the last year were not repeated. All the Aquitains taken prisoners were sent home, while Hunibert and the Wascons in his employ were only obliged to forswear their allegiance to Waifer, and take on that of Pippin.¹ The castle of Thouars, in Poitou, was next overrun, when the Franks disbanded according to their custom for the winter. The next

year (768) again they repeated their incursion, fighting their way along the valley of the Vesère and Dordogne toward Bordeaux. This was then, as it is now, a celebrated wine region;² and the vengeance of the Franks spent itself chiefly upon the vineyards, which they tore up and desolated without compunction. Bordeaux they did not reach, owing, probably, to the defection of Tassilo, the Duke of Bavaria, who had lately "placed his hands" in those of Pippin, and

¹ Their women and children, however, were sent into Austrasia as hostages, proving that the Wascons still carried their families with them on their war expeditions.

² Fredegger mentions particularly

that the Bordeaux wines were in great demand, not only in the cities, but in the churches and monasteries.

³ This is the first time that doing homage *per manus* is mentioned.

afterward accompanied him as a vassal in the Aquitanian campaigns. Waifer had in some way wrought upon his ancient rancors so as to induce him to turn homeward, expecting, doubtless, that Pippin would be diverted thereby toward the east. But Pippin chose rather to pursue the Wascons along the Garonne, on the banks of which, at some unknown place, they were signally defeated.

Detained on the borders of the Rhine during the next two years by troubles in Saxony and Bavaria, Pippin did not cross the Loire, and thus left Waifer a full opportunity for recruiting his forces and reorganizing the war. He did not lose the chance, and spent the whole year in collecting troops, which in the spring of 765 were divided into three bodies, and moved upon the Frankish territories in three several directions.¹ One of them, under Count Mank, the cousin of Waifer, cast itself upon Septimania; another, under Hilping, Count of Auvergne, upon the Lyonnese; and the third, under Amanugh, Count of Poitiers, upon Touraine.² It was a formidable movement, designed to drive out all the Frankish garrisons by a simultaneous assault, and to carry the war into the very heart of the enemy's country. All the expeditions miscarried, their leaders were slain, and the cause of the duke was hopelessly wrecked. His own people now began to desert him; his uncle Remistan even sought out Pippin to swear fidelity to him; and the towns and castles every where were falling into the hands of his foes by conquest or surrender. But the heart of Waifer did not fail him in the extremity of his fortunes. He still fought on. Convinced, however, that he could no longer hold the north of Aquitain against the superior numbers and energy of Pippin (particularly as Germany was for a moment pacified, and the king could once more give his personal attention to the war), he ventured upon the desperate experiment of sacrificing a part of his dominions in order to secure the rest. Aquitain was divided by a range of mountains, extending from Auvergne toward the sources of

Waifer assails
Pippin's territories,
A.D.
764-765.

¹ It does not appear what part Waifer himself took in this offensive movement.

² Amanugh, who assailed Touraine, was stopped at Tours by Wulfard, Ab-

bot of St. Martin's of Tours, who put himself at the head of the armed vassals of the abbey and beat the men of Poitiers.

the Charente, into two nearly equal parts.¹ All the cities and strong-holds to the north of this he abandoned and dismantled, and then withdrew into the mountainous and well-wooded region to the south, where he might at least save to himself Bordeaux, Toulouse, and the fine districts of Wasconia. It was a fruitless expedient. The Franks took possession at once of the abandoned north, but in their next campaign (767), instead of marching directly upon Aquitain, descended the Rhone, and assailed the forces of Waifer from below. One after another his fastnesses were broken by their hardy valor, until there remained to the brave duke scarcely a single strong-hold or a united body of warriors.

Pippin's last expedition in Aquitain became, in consequence, rather a hunt than a war; he had no armies to contend with, and only a single man to capture. The unfortunate but heroic Waifer, in spite of his losses, refused to submit; his spirits, indeed, rose as his prospects darkened, and he wandered over the country to stir up the lingering discontents and foment new rebellions. Though stripped of power and arms, his cities taken from him, his chiefs slain or imprisoned; his wife, his sisters, and his nephews carried into captivity; some of his few remaining followers plotting against his life to purchase a dishonorable safety, Waifer yet maintained, with sullen dignity and grandeur, his unconquerable independence. From rock to rock, and cave to cave, in the savage forests of Edobolus (now the Ver), the Franks pursued him for weeks, as a wild beast is tracked by hunters. At length, in the depth of winter, driven into one of the mountain gorges of Perigord, and surrounded by four squadrons (*scara*) of the enemy, he was betrayed and slain, through the complicity of Pippin, by one of his own warriors named Waratto.² The resistance of Aquitain and Wasconia was at an end, and the sceptre of Pippin acknowledged from the Rhine to the Pyrenees. Ten campaigns, and nearly as many years of fighting as Cæsar had consumed in the conquest of all Gaul, had been occupied in the reduction of this single stubborn province.

¹ Fauriel (*Hist. de la Gaul. Mérid.*, t. iii., p. 281).

² The end of Waifer recalls, in many

of its incidents, the end of Philip of Poikanoket, as described by Irving in the Sketch Book.

While Pippin had been prosecuting these wars, he did not forget to maintain his friendly relations with the court of Rome. Some changes of personage had taken place in Italy, but no essential change of political situation. Aistulf was no more, having been accidentally killed while hunting, toward the close of year 756. Pope Stephen, in communicating the event to Pippin, reproached the memory of the Lombard in the vilest epithets, calling him "that tyrant, that satelite of the devil, that destroyer of the Church of God," ascribed his death to the immediate vengeance of Deity, and almost rejoiced in the assurance that "his soul has been plunged in the abyss of hell;"¹ but, as the succession to the throne was disputed between Desiderius, a Lombard duke, and Rachis, the brother of Aistulf, who emerged from his monastery, he did not hesitate to intrigue successfully in favor of the warrior rather than the monk. The price of his interference was the surrender to the Church of the duchy of Ferrara, with the castles of Imola, Faenza, Ancona, Osimo, and others.² Stephen died, also, before the consummation of the bargain (April, 757), and only a few months after Aistulf, whose decease he had viewed with so much bigotry. His brother Paul succeeded him, reigning for ten years, when the succession to a place of such lofty dignity and power became itself the subject of a bitter and bloody strife. Constantine, a layman, usurped the throne for a year; Philip was next elected by a certain faction; and, finally, amid the most revolting scenes of tumult and carnage, Stephen III. was declared the legitimate pontiff by the stronger party of the Roman clergy and people (767). During these troubles, the King of the Lombards, Desiderius, showed himself alternately the friend and the foe of the papacy; but, while he withheld the promised concessions exacted by Stephen II., he was restrained by a dread of King Pippin from open or destructive hostilities. Nevertheless, he was suspected and feared, and one of the first acts of Stephen III. was to communicate his elevation and his hopes to the King of the Franks, as the declared Patrician of Rome. Before his ambassadors arrived, however, that monarch was himself extinct. Returning

¹ Codex Carol., Epist. ad Pipp., 8, apud Bouquet, t. v., p. 499.

² Anastasius, Vit. Steph. II.

Death of Pip- from the last expedition into Aquitain, he was seized
 pin, Sept. 18th,
 A.D. 768. with a fever at Saintes; in vain he put up his prayers
 to St. Martin of Tours, and afterward to St. Denis, near Paris,
 to intercede for his recovery; in vain he cast his costly obla-
 tions upon the altars of the churches, and poured his abundant
 alms into the hands of the monks and the poor. The clutch
 of death was not to be unloosed by any purchases or prayers;
 and he expired, after having divided his kingdom between his
 sons Karl and Karloman, in the twenty-seventh year of his
 reign, eleven of which he had passed as Mayor of the Palace,
 and sixteen as an anointed king.

Son of Karl the Hammer, and father of Karl the Great, Pip-
 pin's fame has been eclipsed by that of his more illus-
 trious relatives. He fought no battle like the battle
 of his sire against the Saracens; he established no empire like
 the empire which Charlemagne extended over Europe; never-
 theless, he was a strong shoot of a strong stock, who carried on
 ably the work which Karl-Martel began, and no less ably pre-
 pared the work which the greater Karl perfected. His private
 life is utterly unknown, and the motives of his policy are only
 to be guessed from the general results, but these leave little
 doubt that he was one of the leading spirits of his age, compre-
 hending well its wants and tendencies, and marching with sin-
 gular unity as well as energy of purpose to his ends. A Ger-
 man of the Germans, whose organ and representative he was,
 he imparted new vigor to that series of aristocratic institutions
 which had overcome the feeble imperialism of the Mérovin-
 gans;¹ and a true son of the Church, willing in his devotion to
 endow with munificent gifts the altars of his faith, and to walk
 bareheaded in the train of the sacred relics, he repulsed the in-
 roads of the wild paganism of the north, and lent a powerful
 support to the establishment of the spiritual monarchy of
 Rome.²

¹ On the true nature of the Karlin-
 gan royalty, and the essential feudalism
 of society at this period, see Lehuërou
 (Institut. Méroving., t. ii., l. ii., cc.
 1-4).

² Wirth (Geschicht. der Deutschen,
 b. i., c. 15) regards his reign as a turn-
 ing-point in the destinies of Germany.

CHAPTER XVI.

KARL THE GREAT, OR CHARLEMAGNE. (FROM A.D. 768 TO A.D. 788.)

THERE is to me something indescribably grand in the figure of many of the barbaric chiefs—Alariks, Ataulfa, Theodoriks, and Euriks—who succeeded to the power of the Romans, and, in their wild, heroic way, endeavored to raise a fabric of state on the ruins of the ancient empire. But none of those figures is so imposing and majestic as that of Karl,¹ the son of Pippin, whose name, for the first and only time in history, the admiration of mankind has indissolubly blended with the title of Great.² By the peculiarity of his position in respect to ancient and modern times—by the extraordinary length of his reign, by the number and importance of the transactions in which he was engaged, by the extent and splendor of his conquests, by his signal services to the Church, and by the grandeur of his personal qualities—he impressed himself so profoundly upon the character of his times, that he stands almost alone and apart in the annals of Europe. For nearly a thousand years before him, or since the days of Julius Cæsar, no monarch had won so universal and brilliant a renown; and for nearly a thousand years after him, or until the days of Charles V. of Germany, no monarch attained any thing like an equal dominion. A link between the old and new, he revived the Empire of the West, with a degree of glory that it had only enjoyed in its prime; while, at the same time, the modern history of every Continental nation was made to begin with him. Germany claims him as one of her most illustrious sons; France, as her noblest king; Italy, as her chosen emperor; and the Church as her most prodigal benefactor and worthy saint. All the institutions of the Mid-

¹ I shall adhere to the German name of Karl, in accordance with my general plan, and because it is more agreeable to me, but without having the vanity to suppose for a moment that the French

form of it, Charlemagne, will be superseded in general use.

² Gibbon (Dec. and Fall, vol. vi., c. 49).

dle Ages—political, literary, scientific, and ecclesiastical—delighted to trace their traditional origins to his hand: he was considered the source of the peerage, the inspirer of chivalry, the founder of the universities, and the endower of the churches; and the genius of romance, kindling its fantastic torches at the flame of his deeds, lighted up a new and marvelous world about him, filled with wonderful adventures and heroic forms.¹ Thus, by a double immortality, the one the deliberate award of history, and the other the prodigal gift of fiction,² he claims the study of mankind.

It would be interesting to trace the youth and education of this colossal individuality; but his younger days, like the beginnings of nations and races, are veiled in darkness. Einhard, his secretary and friend, who wrote his life and the annals of his age, confesses ignorance of his early years, and no one else has been able to supply the deficiency.³ He was born either at Aachen or Ingelheim, about the year 742; yet his name is mentioned but twice before he assumed the reins of government, once at the reception given by his father to Pope Stephen II., and once as a witness in the Aquitanian campaigns. By these incidents, it is rendered certain that he was early accustomed to the duties of the palace and to the martial exercises of the Franks. At the same time, the long intimacy of Pippin with the great prelates of the day, who were many of them men of learning, makes it probable that he acquired from them whatever culture they could impart. Nor can we doubt that his mother Bertrada, or Bertha, a woman of energetic character and strong affections, watched over the de-

¹ On the Romanesque history of Karl, see Gaillard (*Vie de Charlemag.*, vol. ii., p. 238).

² Stephen (*Lect. on Hist. of Franc.*, lec. iii., p. 58).

³ The authorities for the life and reign of Karl are both more and better than we have had since the extinction of the western empire. They are, first and most important, the *Life* and the *Annals* of Einhard, a companion, and, tradition says, a son-in-law of Karl; second, his own capitulars and letters; third, the letters of Alcuin, one of his personal friends and attendants; fourth,

the *Gesta* of the anonymous monk of St. Gall, and other chroniclers, to be found in Bouquet; and the *Lives* of the Popes, by Anastasius, the librarian, the greater part of them written very near his times, or drawn from contemporary sources. Under him the old annals, which were the mere notations of monks on the margin of the sheets on which they calculated the Paschal Cycle, blossomed out into completer histories. Einhard's *Life* of Karl, for instance, is a neat and lively specimen of biography.

velopment of his moral and religious nature, exposed to so many dangers both in the army and the court.¹

In the division of his kingdom, Pippin left to Karl, Austrasia and its Germanic dependencies, and to Karloman, his brother, some six or eight years younger, Burgundy, Provence, and Septimania, while Neustria and Aquitain were divided between them.² As an evidence of their equality of rank doubtless, they were both crowned on the same day (Oct. 7), with the consent of the nobles, the one at Noyon, and the other at Soissons.

In ascending his throne, Karl found the cardinal points of his foreign and domestic policy laid down for him by the three great men, his ancestors, whose large capacities and splendid achievements had slowly built up the power of their house. Those points were the maintenance of that Germanic constitution of society which had rendered the advances of the Austrasians into Gaul almost a second Germanic invasion; to anticipate, instead of awaiting, the inroads of surrounding barbarism, so as to extinguish it on its own hearth; and to cultivate and extend alliances with all peacefully-disposed nations, and particularly with the great spiritual potentate who controlled the destinies of the Church.³ Karl's first civic act was to preside at the Council of Rouen (769), which renewed the canons against unworthy priests; and in his first capitular he entitled himself "King by the grace of God, a devout defender of the Holy Church, and ally in all things (*adjutor*) of the apostolic see." War, however, almost immediately diverted him from civic labors, showing that he was an Austrasian as well as a Churchman, determined to maintain the ambitious projects of his fathers. Scarcely had the council closed, when he was compelled to summon a mall of warriors to consider the state of Aquitain, agitated by new troubles.

¹ Bertha appears in the later romances as Bertha with the Great Foot, and, both in history and fiction, is an interesting figure. Gaillard (*Vie de Charlemag.*, t. ii., p. 243) has collected some of the fictions which relate to her, and in which she generally appears as a

character of much gentleness and goodness.

² The writers differ as to this division, but, as Karl so soon succeeded to the whole, the precise demarcations are of little consequence.

³ Stephen (*Lect. on Hist. France*, p. 63).

**War of Aqu-
tain.** The old Duke Hunald, quitting his cloister, had resumed his wife and his authority, and was once more appealing to his subjects to avenge his and their wrongs.¹ Ghostly apparition as he must have seemed after so long a seclusion, they flocked about him in great numbers. The king was forced to march hurriedly against them in order to retain his hold of the province. Karloman, being invited to accompany him, did so for a part of the way; but some dark jealousy or rancor which he had nursed bred an open quarrel between them, and he soon returned moodily to his estates. By the wonderful activity which the young and untried chief displayed, the forces of Hunald were soon dissipated, and he himself driven to seek a refuge with his nephew, Loup, the Duke of Wasconia, and son of that Atto whose eyes he had extinguished. Loup surrendered him to Karl, who sent him, after a brief imprisonment, into Italy, to pass his days as a penitent near the tomb of St. Peter.²

**Marriage of Karl
with a Lombard
princess, A.D. 770.** In the mean time, the ill feeling of Karloman had been inflamed by his partisans to a pitch of bitter enmity; and, but for the intervention of Bertrada, the mother, who succeeded in appeasing him, it would have led to a disastrous rupture between the kingdoms. Devoted to God as a nun, she loved peace and good-will, and this sentiment induced her to undertake another more important reconciliation. It was that of the Franks and the Lombards, whose king, Desiderius, was not only embroiled with the Pope, but looked with no friendly eyes upon the promising king of the Franks. Her plan was to bring about a marriage of Karl with Desiderata, the daughter of the Lombard monarch; and, in furtherance of it, she visited Italy, where she encountered no opposition from the persons most interested in the scheme, but the utmost vehemence of hostility on the part of the supreme pontiff. His ambition and his hatred were alike interested in the defeat of this fatal alliance. Karl was already married, and that fact might have furnished Stephen III. with excellent rea-

¹ I find no positive statement that this Hunald was the same who had abdicated in 744, but all the circumstances and the later traditions show that it must have been the same.

² Einhard (Annal., ad Ann. 769). It is, however, not clear whether he escaped or was banished.

sons for opposing the match ; but, passing over the moral considerations lightly, he vented his sultry rage upon the character of the Lombards as a nation.¹ They were a perfidious, leprous, fetid, and horrible race, he said, with whom the most Christian kings of the Franks should have no more intercourse than the adorers of the truc God with the children of Baal. Nevertheless, in spite of his protests, Karl espoused the princess, to the delight of his mother and the apparent fraternization of the two powers. But, in the end, the marriage had the effect only of involving them more deeply and bitterly, for Karl repudiated his wife the next year for some unexplainable cause, and returned her with ignominy to her father.²

Repudiates her
in a year.

A dark storm was then brewed at the court of Desiderius against the offending monarch. An affront so insulting to the royal family kindled anew the ancient animosities of the races. At the same time, Hunald, the banished or fugitive duke, repairing to their capital instead of to the monastery, mingled his grievances with theirs ; and, to increase the circle of the malcontents, the widow and children of Karloman fled thither with the complaint that they had been robbed of their patrimony by the ambitious brother. Karloman had suddenly died, and, as soon as he was interred, the elder Karl took possession of his estates and his power. It was not unusual among the Franks for the uncle to seize the property of orphan nephews, and in this case it appears to have been done less through avidity or the national custom than the general desire of the subjects of the deceased prince to transfer their allegiance to his brother. All the nobles, both ecclesiastical and lay, says the chronicler, were eager to anoint Karl as their king, and to render the noble nation of the Franks a united monarchy.³ Gerbergha, the relict of Karloman, together with her children and some nobles who clung to their cause, impelled by a needless panic, it is said, sought an asylum at the court of Karl's powerful enemy. An insulted monarch, a deposed and outcast duke, and the family of a brother despoiled

¹ See his letters to Karl and Karloman (Bouquet, t. v., pp. 541-544).

² It is intimated that she was either diseased or sterile (Monach. San Gall,

l. ii., c. 25). Karl soon after married Hildegarda, the daughter of a Swabian or Alemannic noble.

³ Annal. Mettens., ad Ann. 771.

of its inheritance, were combined together to nourish the roots of bitterness which had sprung up between the Lombard and Austrasian kings.¹

But a more imminent and formidable foe drew his attention for the time from the plot seething in Italy. His nearest neighbors on the northeast, the Saxons, divided into the Westphalians, Angrivarians, and Eastphalians, once the brothers and then the tributaries of the Franks, were now their most inveterate enemies. Those stalwart sons of the forest, through jealousies incident to territorial proximity, prejudices of clan, differences of manners, of political constitution and religion, and the rankling wounds of old wars, had imbibed an undying hatred of their ancient kinsmen.² Few of the Roman or foreign influences, which had tempered the original nature of the Franks, had touched their grain. They were of the genuine old German stock still, having their affinities with the Frisons and Danes of the north. The primitive constitution of the tribe, which subsists upon agriculture and war, and is governed by many small chiefs (*herrzoghen*, dukes), continued to be maintained among them. They honored, with the lively yet stubborn zeal of the children of nature, that profound faith of the Asen, which the warrior-god had given to their fathers, and which, blended with their traditions, their household worship, and the very names of their hills and groves,³ was entwined with every fibre of their being. Regarding the Franks, who had abandoned the old home and the old ways, as degenerate offshoots of a once noble stem, the Saxons saw in their submission to kings and their attachment to the Church treachery and desertion, while the Franks regarded the Saxons as idolaters and barbarians. The Christianity which had been preached to the latter by the missionaries of Boniface, securing but a precarious lodgment among them, and administered often with an injudicious zeal, had aroused and irritated rather than subdued their vindictive passions. The priests, indeed, who were sometimes, as Alcuin intimates, *predatores* (robbers), not *praedi-*

¹ Einhard (Annal. et Vit. Karl).

² Grimm (Deutsche Mythologie, Ein-

³ The Angrivarians were among the tribes which had originally composed the Frankish league.

leitung, b. i., ss. 4-8).

calores (preachers), were the special objects of their rage: they despoiled monasteries with a will; and the churches every where were the first things to fall before their torches and battle-axes. During the ten years' war of Pippin in Aquitaine and Septimania, they had taken advantage of his absence to wreak their fury with peculiar heat. The borders were the scenes of perpetual outrages.¹ In the youth and inexperience of the new king they fancied they might find impunity. Karl was yet unknown to them, and his seeming negligence in repulsing their inroads encouraged their predatory fervor. As if anticipating the thirty-three years of slaughter and turmoil which the Saxon conquest would cost him, he recoiled at first from the onslaught; but he stopped only like the eagle who balances ere he swoops upon his prey.²

Summoning his May-field at Worms, Karl crossed the Rhine, and shot northward upon the cantons of the Upper First Saxon War, A.D. 772. Lippe. Those sombre forests centuries before had been the theatre of the struggles of Hermann with the legions of Rome. It was there the troops of Varus had been drawn into the fatal ambush of the Teutoberg, in which they were so remorselessly slain; it was there that, six years later, Germanicus paid those solemn funeral rites, of which Tacitus has painted one of the most pathetic pictures of history;³ and there, too, in honor of the immortal hero of their race, the Germans had erected a temple and a statue, which they revered with religious awe as the symbol of their nation and a monument of glory.⁴ On the heights of Ehresburg, or hill of honor, above the Wint-field, or field of victory, and amid "the black shadows of the secular trees,"⁵ rose the rude fane of their first deliverer. It was a lofty block of stone surmounted by an armed warrior, who held in his right hand a standard ornamented with a rose; in his left a balance; while on his buckler reared

¹ Vit. Sancti Libuini, apud Pagi. Crit., § 5, p. 386; Poetæ Saxonici, Annales, l. i., v. 40.

² Martin (Hist. de France, t. ii., p. 348).

³ Tacit. (Annal., l. i., cc. 61, 62).

⁴ The *Herminsaule*, or column of Hermann, as it was called, is supposed to have been a mysterious emblem of

the German nation, or national deity (Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, b. i., s. 104), but it was also connected, as is obvious from the position and various local names, with the deeds of Hermann, the Cheruskan chief (Stapfer, Biog. Universelle, art. Arminius).

⁵ Martin (Hist. de France, t. ii., p. 353).

a lion, at the feet of which was a field strown with flowers.¹ Against this idol of the Saxon heart Karl directed his arms. After penetrating through marshes and wood, his troops at length scaled the heights, seized the fortress, demolished the temple, burned the sacred groves, and broke in pieces the venerated image.² Stupefied and consternated by the sacrilegious boldness of the attack, the Saxons allowed themselves to be easily dispersed, or to surrender. Karl's first campaign, which had smitten them in the forehead of their faith, secured him the renown of overcoming the principal deity of the barbarians and the joyful greetings of all Christendom; while the chroniclers relate how the heavens testified their approval of it by the miraculous opening of a copious spring just at the moment when his army was about to perish with thirst.³

Meanwhile the breach between Desiderius and the Pope had been widening. The king, with a generous compassion for the orphan children of Karloman, demanded of the pontiff the royal unction, as a consecration of their dignity and an acknowledgment of their right; but he, imputing these importunities to wickedness, steadily refrained from a compliance which would have offended his friend and ally the great Karl.⁴ Other causes of dissension also envenomed their hatreds. The concessions to the Holy See extorted from Aistaulf by Pippin, indeterminate or general in scope, were susceptible of a variety of contradictory interpretations. Hadrian, who succeeded Stephen in 772, acting in behalf of the confused rights of the Roman republic, the empire, and the papacy, claimed many *justitia*, or seignorial magistracies within the domains of the Lombards which they were unwilling to grant.⁵ On the other hand, they had carried off from the Pope several cities of the exarchate, including Commacio and Faenza. At length they invaded and ravaged the very territory of Rome.⁶ Karl was implored for succor by an emissary of Hadrian, who voyaged into Gaul by way of Marseilles, the

¹ Spelman (Irminsul., apud Pagi. Crit., § 4, p. 866).

² Annales Laureshamenses, ad Ann. 772.

³ Einhard (Annal., ad Ann. 772); Annal. Fuldenses; Annal. Mettens.

⁴ Anastasius (in Vit. Hadriani pape, apud Bouquet, t. v.).

⁵ Sismondi (Hist. des Franc., t. i., p. 381).

⁶ Paul Warnefrid (De Gestis Langobardi, Supp., ad Ann. 772).

usual passes of the Alps being closed by the enemy.¹ He demanded of Karl, "the legitimate guardian and defender of the Roman people," whom, moreover, "Stephen, of blessed memory, had consecrated to the patriciate," that he should "free them from the oppressions of Desiderius."² Karl listened to the appeal with the gracious alacrity of one who was both Patrician of Rome and a true son of the Church. The threatened Desiderius protested that he had fulfilled every term of any treaties by which he was bound; and the summer was spent in fruitless negotiations. In December Karl convoked his lords at Geneva, and, dividing the army into two bodies, prepared to ascend the rough paths of the Alps. One division of his troops, under the command of Bernard, his uncle, a bastard of Karl-Martel, made the passage by Mount Jove (*Mons Jovis*), now the Great St. Bernard; and another, led by the king personally, took the route by Mount Cenia. "It is impossible to describe the difficulty," says Einhard, "which the Franks encountered in scaling these inaccessible heights, whose rocky summits shoot sheer up into the skies."³ Desiderius was in possession of the Italian side, which was fortified with palisades of stones and trees. He fancied that the soldiers of Karl would scarcely brook a bivouac among the winter snows of those frowning precipices and rude defiles; and they had, indeed, already begun to murmur of returning home, when the Lombards suddenly disappeared, as if smitten by invisible foes.⁴ Bernard had assailed them on the flank, according to the strategy of Karl, and put them to flight toward Pavia.

Arrived at the walls of that city, the Lombard king resolutely maintained the defense, and sent his son, Adalghis, Long siege of Pavia. with the widow and children of Karloman, to occupy Verona, "the most impregnable town in the kingdom." A vast body of Franks, accompanied by a cortège of bishops, abbots, and clerks, soon took up its position before the walls, and began an assault. At the same time a second body passed onward toward Verona, reducing the open country as it went along. This city, either badly garrisoned or defended, was made to

¹ Annal. Loiselliani., et Tiliani.

² Annal. Mettens., ad Ann. 773.

³ Einhard, Vit. Karol. Mag.

⁴ The chroniclers do, in fact, ascribe their sudden flight to divine agency.

yield in a little while; the family of Karloman surrendered, Adalghis escaped to Byzantium, and the Lombards delivered up their arms.¹ A more obstinate and animated courage prolonged the fate of Pavia. All the winter and for a part of the spring (774) the Franks pushed the siege with all their strength, but the inhabitants resisted with no less energy. Other strongholds of the district north of the Po gave in; the people of Spoleto and Rieti reconciled themselves to the Pope; yet the brave hearts in Pavia, regarding it as the last asylum of their nationality, preferred the horrors of war, famine, and disease to the dishonor of capitulation.

Karl had taken his family with him into Italy (where his daughter Adelaida was born during the siege), and, when the Easter festival approached, he left his army to make a pious pilgrimage to the Eternal City. He traveled through Tuscany with a numerous escort of his dukes, bishops, counts, and servants; and the rumor of his approach reaching the ears of Pope Adrian, threw the latter into an ecstasy of delight. He dispatched the magistrates (*judices*) of the city thirty miles beyond the walls to meet the advancing patrician with the banners of the republic. At the distance of one mile the cohorts of the militia were stationed, with the senators (*patroni*), the schools, as the corporations of foreign residents were called, and the Roman youth, some waving the standards of their rank, and others dressed in festival habits, or crowned with flowers and bearing branches of palm in their hands. As Karl entered the gates the people saluted him with deafening acclamations, the priests carried before him the great cross of gold and silver, which was only carried before the patricians and the exarchs, and the choirs of singers sang joyful psalms, saying, "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord." Karl, descending from his horse as he drew near the basilica of St. Peter, directed his steps, followed by all the grandes of the Franks, toward the holy edifice. He kneeled upon the staircase, and kissed the stones as he went up. Adrian awaited him in the porch of the church, and as they encountered they

¹ Annal. Mettens. What became of Gerbergha and her children is not known. Some authors throw out hints of foul treatment, but the probability is that they were all confined in convents till their deaths.

embraced each other, and then marched hand in hand toward the crypt where reposed the traditionary bones of the Prince of the Apostles. The crowds of attending people shouted their acclaims in unison with the deep-toned music of the clerks. Karl and his attendants knelt before the sepulchre to make their devotions to God; the Pope, and the king, and "all the magistrates of the Franks and the Romans swore" mutual friendship over the body of the apostle, when the train departed from the church,¹ to enter the city in imposing splendor. On this occasion, when he first trod the sacred streets of the metropolis of the world, over which his father had exercised control, and with the government of which he was himself invested, Karl, for the first time in his life, laid aside the simplicity of his attire, assumed a robe of purple and gold, encircled his brow with jewels, and decorated even his sandals with glittering stones.² He was in Rome, and followed the customs of the Romans.

Easter-week was spent in observance of the usual religious solemnities; but so rare an opportunity for adjusting his temporal affairs could not be neglected by Adrian, and considerable acquisitions of land and power were the reward of his hospitality or his merit. Karl, it is certain, restored him the properties and rights which had been invaded by Desiderius,³ for that had been a principal object of his Italian expedition. It is reported, also, that he confirmed the "donations" formerly made by his father;⁴ and, besides, that, jealous of the honor of endowing the Holy See in his own name, he amplified the gifts of Pippin by annexing to them the island of Corsica, with the provinces of Parma, Mantua, Venice, and Istria, and the duchies of Spoleto and Beneventum.⁵ Of the

¹ The story that Karl asked permission of the Pope to enter the city would seem to be an invention. It would be absurd to suppose that the patrician or governor of Rome would request any body's permission to visit the city of his special jurisdiction.

² Einhard (Vit. Karl. Mag., c. 23).

³ This Einhard affirms (Vit. Karl. Mag.).

⁴ Pippin made no donation, only a

restitution, as we have seen. *Ante*, p. 402.

⁵ This rests wholly upon the assertion of Anastasius; but Karl could not give away what he did not possess, and we know that Corsica, Venice, and Beneventum were not held by the Franks till several years later. Gosselin, to avoid the difficulty, supposes that these and other provinces were among the number of those which, during the pontificate of Gregory II., had given them-

nature or the extent of these gifts nothing is determined:¹ that they did not carry the right of eminent domain is clear from the subsequent exercise of acts of sovereignty within them by the Frankish monarchs;² and the probability is, according to the habits of the times, that the properties were granted only under some form of feudal vassalage.³

After regulating certain minor ecclesiastical affairs, Karl re-
Reduction of Pavia; annexation of Lombardy.
turned to Pavia, where the wearisome siege was still defied by the stubborn valor of Desiderius and the patient fidelity of his people. For nearly fifteen months they had baffled the skill and the violence of the Franks; no living thing, save the birds of the air, had passed to or from the city during that long and dreary interval; but the endurance of human nature has an end, and famine and despair at length exhausted the energy of the Lombards. They opened their gates to the victor and asked his clemency. They did not appeal in vain to that great soul. Desiderius and his family were merely condemned to pass the remnant of their lives in the prison of the cloister,⁴ although Hunald was stoned to death, either by the Lombards for his obstinacy or the Franks for his treachery. Thus the kingdom of the Lombards, after a stormy existence of over two hundred years, was forever extinguished. Comprising Piedmont, Genoa, the Milanese, Tuscany, and several smaller states, it constituted the most valuable acquisition perhaps the Franks had lately achieved. Their limits were advanced by it from the Alps to the Tiber; yet, in the disposal of his spoil, the magnanimous conqueror regarded the forms of government which had been previously established. He intro-

selves to the Holy See to obtain its protection in the abandoned state in which they had been left by the Byzantine emperors (*Power of the Popes*, vol. i., p. 233). But this is merely conjecture in regard to all except Spoleto, which did about this time come under the jurisdiction of the Pope (Anastasius, in Vit. Hadriani).

¹ No one has ever seen the deed of Karl's donation, nor do the Popes cite it in their later quarrels with the Lombard dukes and the Archbishop of Ravenna.

² This appears in numerous cases, as we shall see hereafter.

³ On this obscure point, see Leblanc (*Dissert. sur Quelques Monnaies de Charlemag.*, Paris, 1689), Fleury (*Ecc. Hist.*, vol. ix., l. 43, and vol. x., l. 45), Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, ad Ann. 800), Von Savigny (*Hist. of Roman Law*, vol. i., c. 5, § 7), Gosselin (*Temp. Power of the Popes*, vol. i., pt. i., c. 2, §§ 50-70). It is discussed by nearly all the Church historians.

⁴ *Acta Sanctorum*, t. iv., p. 446. First at Liege, then at Corbie.

duced no changes that were not deemed indispensable. The native dukes and counts were confirmed in their dignities; the national law was preserved, and the distributions of land maintained, Karl receiving the homage of the Lombard lords as their feudal sovereign, and reserving to himself only the name of King of Lombardy.¹

During the occupation of the Franks in Italy, the Saxons had taken advantage of their absence to break the ties of allegiance and pillage the frontiers. Hesse they desolated with fire and sword; they sacked the church at Deventer and the fortress of Burabourg; and they were about to demolish the temple of the holy martyr Boniface at Fritzlar, when some sudden fear of the enemy's God, whom they began to regard as more powerful than their own divinities, dissipated their forces.² Karl, summoning his May-field (775) at Duren, proposed to his nobles to avenge the atrocities committed by the Saxons, and they consented. His army, in four divisions, soon crossed the Rhine, taking the fortress of Sighisburg, which the Saxons had garrisoned, and rebuilding the fortifications of Ehresburg, which they had destroyed. Leaving a Frankish garrison in occupation, they reached the Weser, the passage of which was effected amid a dreadful carnage, and then carried their successful arms as far as the banks of the Ocker (in modern Brunswick). Hasso, one of the most considerable kings or dukes of the Eastphalians (Osterlings, Osterliude), met him at the stream, and capitulated for his tribes. Thence turning to the northwest, as far as Buch (Bocki, Buchenburg), Karl reduced the Angrarians (Nord-liude), and received from them hostages and oaths of fidelity. But the Westphalians continued to defy his arms. A branch of his forces, left as a reserve upon the Weser, at Lidbad or Hudbek, was surprised by the Saxons, who, adroitly mingling with its foragers, secured an entrance into the camp, and nearly cut them to pieces. In the end the Franks repulsed the aggressors, and Karl, coming up at the same time, pursued them on the retreat, slaying many of them, and compelling their chiefs to agree to terms of peace for the rest of the revolted tribes.

¹ Codex Carolin., Epist. 55; Muratori (Annal. d'Italia, t. vi., p. 260).

² Einhard, Annales.

His Christmas festival Karl celebrated at Schlestadt, in Alsace; but he had scarcely reached home when pressing letters came to him from Pope Adrian, denouncing the Lombard dukes as treacherous and refractory, and charging them with conspiring, in connection with the Greek emperor, against the rights of the Church and the Frankish supremacy. Araghis, the Duke of Beneventum, Rhotgaud, the Duke of Friuli, Regnibald, the Duke of Clusium, and others, were accused of meeting at Spoleto to concert measures with agents of the Byzantine court for the restoration of Adalghis, the son of Desiderius, then in exile at Constantinople. A Greek army was "about to invade Italy by land and by sea, capture the city of Rome, plunder the churches, carry off the chalice of your (Karl's) protector, St. Peter, draw ourselves (the Pope), which God forbid! into captivity, and inaugurate once more the kingdom of the Lombards."¹ Whether the perpetual interventions of the Pope had provoked this scheme, or the Lombards entertained a serious hope of recovering their national independence, does not appear; but Karl deemed the reports of sufficient moment to hurry with a chosen body of troops across the Alps, though it was in the depth of winter. He took Friuli (Forojuliensis) by storm, and laid siege to Treviso, which was betrayed into his hands. Rhotgaud and his father-in-law, Stabilinus, who commanded at Treviso, were put to death; the various Lombard magistrates were removed from their places, and Franks established instead of them; the privileges of the populations were curtailed; and the other parties to the conspiracy smitten with such fear that they did not dare to stir. With the rapidity of thought, Karl then returned to Worms in time to hold his annual May-field (776), and to organize an expedition against the Saxons, who had again revolted, taking the fort of Ehresburg and expelling the garrison, and laying siege to Liegburg. They were again speedily subdued. In token of their submission, "an immense multitude of men, women, and children" received the Christian rite of baptism in presence of the Franks, and gave hostages for their good behavior in the future.

The assembly of the next year was held in the heart of the

¹ Codex Carolin., Epist. 59.

Diet of Pader-
born, A.D. 777.

Saxon country, desolate as it must have been after the ravages of so many wars, and the Saxons themselves were summoned to attend it, to witness rather than participate in the proceedings. Karl had resolved to make a thorough work of the reduction of this people, whose inability or unwillingness to adhere to their oaths he had so often disastrously experienced. Already several fortified places had been built along the frontiers, and strong garrisons established in the interior, to hold them in check. In their want of national unity and concert, however, a single tribe could at any time, often in a drunken frolic, break the conditions of peace. By bringing them all together in presence of his army, Karl supposed he might succeed in imposing upon them some universal and stringent bonds which would restrain their future outbreaks. "All the senate," says Einhard, "and a vast number of the people of this perfidious race, obeyed the orders of the king, feigned a sincere devotion and obedience, and accepted pardon on the condition that if they ever revolted again they should be deprived of their fatherland and liberties!" Many of them even professed Christianity and were baptized. Yet there was one chief of the Westphalians who refused to accede to any terms of conciliation, and resolutely absented himself from the assembly. This was Witikind, a leader of great courage and warlike ability, devoted to the gods and the cause of his country, and master apparently of that sturdy eloquence and talent for command which could move and guide the tempestuous enthusiasm of his nation.¹ A second Arminius, he had been the soul of the patriotic party, animating it to its deeds of valor, and supporting it in its reverses; and when his compeers repaired to Paderborn to humiliate themselves before the Franks, he passed indignantly into Scandinavia, to ask the hospitality of Siegfried, king of the Danes, and to find among the kindred people of the north the deliverers and avengers of his race.²

The Saracens
of Spain ask
aid of Karl.

At this imposing diet of Paderborn other deputies figured besides those of the Saxons, for the renown

¹ Jacob Andrea Crusius published all the monuments relating to Witikind in 1679, and some account of his work is given as an appendix to Gaillard (*Vie*

de Charlemagne, t. ii., p. 399, ed. Paris, 1819).

² Einhard, *Annal.*; *Annal. Mettens.*

of Karl's power had penetrated every part of Europe, and the weaker nations seemed to desire the protection or the glory of his friendship. Among the rest, the Mussulmans of Saragossa sent their recent wali, Ibn-el-Arabi, with a train of grandees, to solicit an alliance. Divisions and civil wars had, in the course of half a century, broken the once gorgeous monarchy of the Saracens, which threatened a universal dominion, into discordant parties and petty states. Two califs, representatives of the bitterest animosities of dynasty and sect, reigned—the one at Bagdad and the other at Cordova—and the multitudes of the faithful were divided by the rival claims of the Ommiades and the Abbassides. Ibn-el-Arabi belonged to the latter, and, either in devotion to his Eastern chief, or to secure the political independence of the provinces north of the Ebro, had waged a bitter war upon Abd-el-Rahman, the Ommiade Calif of Cordova.¹ As, eighteen years before, Zuliman, the Governor of Barcelona, forgetting the prejudices of religion and race, had invoked the assistance of Pippin, so he now appealed to the generosity or the ambition of Pippin's greater descendant. Karl listened with eagerness to the request, although it is difficult to discover, at this distance of time, the precise motives which determined his assent. The Saracens had not recently invaded his territories, nor were they, in their distracted condition, an immediate menace to them; he had never, as yet, been animated by the mere lust of conquest; and if the prayers and complaints of the oppressed Christian Goths of the Peninsula influenced him² as a defender of the faith, the same considerations should have led him to a general war against the Mussulmans, the most formidable unbelievers in the world, rather than to a partial onslaught upon a single division of them. What was the conversion of a few wild hordes of Saxons, on which he expended so much energy and blood, compared to the overthrow of the mighty populations which in Africa and Syria followed the false standards of the Prophet? Nevertheless, Karl remained insensible to the dazzling glory of a universal Mohammedan conquest; or, if he contemplated it among the possibilities of the future, he confined his movements for the time

¹ De Marca (*Marca Hispanica*, l.

² *Annal. Mettens.*

iii., c. 6, no. 4); *Annal. Petaviani*.

to the north of Spain; perhaps deeming the defeat of the Calif of Cordova, and the seizure of the rich and fertile valleys of the Ebro, all that was necessary as a first step toward the conquest of African and Asiatic dominion.

Be that as it may, Karl occupied the winter in collecting his Expedition forces at Cassineuil (Casinogalum), at the confluence of into Spain, A.D. 778. the Lot and the Garonne, preparatory to a passage, as soon as the celebration of the Easter festival should announce the opening of the roads, across the difficult summits of the Pyrenees. Those lofty ranges, stretching like a wall from the Mediterranean to the Bay of Biscay, and inferior in height to the Alps alone among the mountains of Europe, had but few apertures, and those chiefly at the eastern and western extremities, where they dipped toward the seas. When every thing was ready, Karl, with the main body of his army, traversed Wasconia, by way of the gorges of St. Jean-Pied-de-Port, and debouched upon the valley of Roscida (Roscida Vallis), whence he went to invest the city of Pampeluna. Another division of troops, composed of Austrasians, Bavarians, and Lombards, threaded the defiles of the east by way of Rousillon.¹ The latter took easy possession of Girona, Barcelona, and other towns of Catalonia, and, after a brief resistance, Pampeluna capitulated to Karl, together with the towns of Huesca and Jacca. In the end, the two armies united under the walls of Saragossa. Disposed at first to sustain a siege, the inhabitants of that town, when they saw how immense the force which the Franks were gathering about it,² offered a ransom and proposals for peace. Nor was Karl inclined to protract the conflict; either in the failure of subsistence, or the unwillingness of the Goths and the disaffected Saracens to support his efforts, or because of rumors of new and terrible ravages committed by the Saxons, he relinquished the prosecution of his successes. North of the Ebro his feudal supremacy was admitted: the Christians were released from their oppressions; the whole broad tract of country at the southern foot of the Pyrenees, called the Spanish March, was added to the dominions of the Franks; and with these results he seemed to be satis-

¹ Annal. Poet. Saxon., ad Ann. 778; Annal. Tiliari, Chron. Moissiac.

² Annal. Mettens.

fled.¹ But the return of the victors was not so unmolested and prosperous as their advances had been. Ascending the pass of Roncesvalles, which many of them had descended a few weeks before, the army attained in safety the heights of Altibicar, and was looking joyfully forward toward the more congenial valleys of the north. The rear guard, however, oppressed with baggage, loitered along the rocky and narrow pathway, and as it entered the solitary gap of Ibayeta, from the lofty precipices on either side an unknown foe rolled suddenly down enormous rocks and trunks of uprooted trees. Instantly many of the troops were crushed to death, and the entire passage was blockaded. A band of infuriated Basques, led on, it is supposed, by Duke Loup, the son of Waifer, had crouched like wolves among the crags, to watch their opportunity for inflicting a signal vengeance upon the race of Pippin. The avalanche of rocks and trees was the first betrayal of their ambush. The Franks who escaped the horrible slaughter were at once assailed with forks and pikes; their heavy armor, which had served them so well in other fights, only encumbered them amid the bushes and brambles of the ravine; and yet they fought with obstinate and ferocious energy. Cheered on by the prowess of Eghihard, the royal seneschal, of Anselm, Count of the Palace, of Roland, the warden of the Marches of Brittany, and of many other renowned chiefs, they did not desist till the last man had fallen, covered with wounds and blood. When the night dropped down upon the solitudes nothing was heard but the groans of the dying; even the enemy had fled; and, dispersing rapidly among the thickets, to whose sinuous paths his foot was accustomed, he remained unknown. How many perished in this fatal surprise was never told; but the event smote with profound effect upon the imagination of Europe; it was kept alive in a thousand shapes by tales and superstitions; heroic songs

¹ This Spanish expedition is too obscurely and concisely described by the chroniclers to enable us to speak positively either of the causes of it or of the ends accomplished. I have constructed my narrative chiefly from a comparison of Einhard, and the Annal. Loisel-

iani, Tiliani, and the Poet. Saxonic, and the Chron. Moissiac. Condé (Hist. of Arab. Dominat., pt. ii., c. 20) notices the event slightly, as an irruption of Christians upon the northern frontier of Spain, which the Wallis of Leri-da, Huesca, etc., easily repulsed.

and stories carried the remembrance of it from generation to generation; Roland and his companions, the Paladins of Karl, untimely slain, became, in the Middle Ages, the types of chivalric valor and Christian heroism; and seven centuries after their only appearance in history, the genius of Pulci, Boiardo, and Ariosto still preserved in immortal verse the traditions of their glory.¹

Karl could not avenge the loss of his brave companions in arms, for the enemy had disappeared in the morning like the mist from the mountains, while the most urgent necessities called him to his Saxon frontiers.² Witi-kind, returning from his Danish exile, vehemently incensed by the humiliations to which his people had submitted, breathed once more his own indomitable spirit of vengeance into their breasts. Regardless of the solemn oaths of Paderborn and the remonstrances of the more pacific elders, they pounced impetuously upon the borders, and, from Duisburg, opposite Cologne, to Coblenz, at the confluence of the Rhine and the Moselle, burned all the villages, churches, and farms, and massacred the inhabitants, without respect to age or sex. Karl dispatched a

¹ All the chroniclers are silent on this catastrophe save Einhard, in his *Life and Annals of Karl*, the Saxon Poet, who copied from him, and the anonymous author of the life of Ludwig the Pious. Roland is but once mentioned in authentic history, but the romances and songs, which make him a nephew of Karl, compensate his memory for this neglect. These were founded chiefly upon the fabulous work *De Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi* (apud Echard, *Germanicarum Rerum Celebrationes Vetustiores Chronographia*, Frankfurt, 1566), ascribed to Turpin, Archbishop of Rheims, in the time of Karl, although it was not published till some time in the eleventh or twelfth centuries. In these stories, however, the Wascons are converted into Saracens, and the fatal valley into the great gap near the Mont Perdu of the Pyrenees, which still bears the name of *La Brèche du Roland*. The ballads of the Spaniards, which make the famous Bernardo del Carpio the conqueror

of Roland, are utterly unfounded. On the subject of this romantic literature, so important and interesting to the literary annalist, and of which there are three distinct cycles—first, the legends of the old Gothic, Frankish, and Burgundian heroes; second, the chivalric poems about Charlemagne and his paladins; and, third, the romances of King Arthur and the Round Table, see Sismondi (*Hist. Lit. of the South of Europe*, vol. i., c. 7, N. Y., 1848) and his various authorities. A Basque souvenir of the event, called the Song of Altirbica, was translated in the *Journal de l'Institut Historique*, t. i., p. 173, by M. E. de Montglave. It is more spirited than any of the *chansons de gestes* that I have read.

² It is reported, nevertheless, that he found time to hang Duke Loup by the neck, and organise both Wasconia and Aquitain by distributing the government among his dukes and counts (Charter of Alau, and Vit. Ludovici Pii).

body of his Austrasians, in forced marches, to arrest their fury ; but, before it could reach the scene of havoc, the Saxons were in full retreat toward the Adern. Encumbered with booty, however, they were delayed in crossing that stream, when the Franks came up with them at the town of Badenfeld, or, as Successive de-
feats of the
Saxons. some call it, Likesy,¹ and inflicted upon them a fearful punishment. The greater part of them were cut off, and the few that escaped were driven into the marshes and woods. The next year (779), however, other tribes of the Saxons rallied, and Karl renewed the war in person. He defeated them at Bockholz, near Zutphen,² and then compelled the cantons, one by one, to sue for peace, and submit to the external rites of Christianity. Witikind and his companions sought refuge again among the Northmen. But, as soon as Karl had dismissed his forces, they came back in augmented numbers and with whetted zeal. All the following summer (780), in fact, the soil of Saxony presented a continuous scene of combat and carnage. The Franks traversed the whole region from the Rhine to the Elbe, dispersing war-parties, rooting up settlements, exacting hostages, and razing fortresses. They stopped at the Elbe alone, where the Venedi, a Slavavic race, were the neighbors of the Saxons, and whose language, manners, and sentiments announced that they had now reached a new people. Karl received their willing submission ; he regulated their border difficulties with the Saxons, and then proceeded to organize the Church systematically within the limits of his late conquests.

Saxony reduced,
and organised ec-
clesiastically, A.
D. 780.

He divided the whole country of Saxony among the priests, abbots, or bishops, whose sees, at once religious and military colonies, spread their influence gradually, till they became the cradles of those powerful prelacies that, during the Middle Ages, almost controlled the destinies of Germany.³ He ordained laws, also, quite as savage as the people they were meant to restrain, condemning to the same penalty of death the heathen who immolated human

¹ Einhard, Annal.

² The annalists say the Saxons were frightened off, although they do not add by what. Annal. Tiliari; Nibelungi; Chron. Moissiac.

³ Among these Sees we may men-

tion Paderborn, Osnaburg, Munster, Bremen, Minden, Seligenstadt, Verdun, and Hildesheim, in addition to which many rich monasteries were founded. Milman (Hist. Lat. Christ., vol. ii., p. 222).

beings, who insulted the Christian religion in the person of its priests, and who refused or deserted the rite of baptism. Karl never conquered for the sake of conquest. The representative and champion of civilization, as he conceived himself, he felt bound, not merely to repulse the inroads of paganism, but to compel it to an external conformity. His ends were noble; but, in the choice of means, his enlightened mind did not always rise above the spirit and usages of his time. Mankind had nowhere learned as yet, not even in the bosom of the Church, the exclusive spirituality of the religion of Christ, which abhors and disdains every acknowledgment of itself that does not spring from the spontaneous choice of the heart. Accordingly, Karl's measures of reform had little immediate effect; the Saxons submitted to baptism to escape punishment, and they confessed Christ with Odhinn in their thoughts.¹ During

New revolts,
A.D. 781.

Karl's single year of peace (781), which he devoted to friendly negotiations in Italy between the Pope and the Lombards, and with Irene, the Empress of the Greeks, and also to important administrative and scholastic schemes,² their hostility was kindled again to an almost unexampled heat. Not the Saxons alone, but re-enforcements of Danes under Witikind, and the Slavonic Sorabes, who dwelt upon the Upper Elbe and Saale, rushed to arms.³ Those who had been baptized denied their confession; the priests were driven from the churches; and the Frankish counts were butchered or expelled. Karl, who joined to an absolute reliance on his own powers the most remarkable and generous confidence in those of his subordinates,⁴ dividing his army into three bodies, committed the conduct of it to Adalghis, his chamberlain, Gheilo, the constable, and Worad, a count of the palace, under the general leadership of Theuderik, his relative, and a captain of renown. They marched into Saxony; but the leaders, disregarding the policy of Theuderik, and too confident of victory, pushed on with an injudicious precipitation, and at Sonnetthal, on the banks of the Weser,⁵ suffered a severe defeat.

The Franks
defeated.

¹ Einhard (Vit. Karol. Magn.).

² I shall recur to these hereafter, to prevent breaking the narrative of the Saxon wars at this point.

³ Annal. Loiseliani; Poet. Saxon.

⁴ Stephen (Lect. Hist. Franc., p. 76).

⁵ Near Munder, in the present duchy of Brunswick.

Nearly the whole army was slaughtered; among the rest, Adalghis and Gheilo, together with four counts, and more than twenty other principal nobles, while those that escaped fled to the reserve of Theuderik, to scatter it by panic. Karl, incensed beyond measure by the perfidy of the revolt and the atrocities which accompanied it, as well as by the defeat of his favorite generals, hastened to the rescue. Witikind, with his fellows, however, had by this time withdrawn, and there was nothing

Karl takes a bloody revenge. left for him but to bring together all the Saxons whom he could capture, or who would listen to his summons,

to impress upon them, by some signal act, a salutary awe of his power. They declared that Witikind alone was responsible for the recent outrages, and they offered to renew their oaths of fidelity and to be converted once more, i. e., baptized; but the angry King of the Franks had been too often deceived by their hypocrisy (which he should have remembered he himself had encouraged) to receive their protests and expostulations.

All that were convicted of having taken arms in the late campaign, to the number of four thousand five hundred men, were decapitated on the spot. A bloody and repulsive revenge, which stained forever the fame of this otherwise noble chieftain!

"Every conqueror," says Gaillard, "is forced to be, to a certain extent, a barbarian;"² and Karl, like Alexander at Tyre and Napoleon at Joppa, succumbed to the terrible necessities of his vocation. If such deeds tended to the accomplishment of the ends for which they are designed, they might find a palliation or an excuse in their motive; but the shedding of blood always provokes a sanguinary retaliation; and Karl found too late that, instead of quelling the refractory zeal of the Saxons, he had only aroused it to a fiercer intensity. A universal indignation consumed their tribes. They had confined their assaults

Saxon retaliations, A.D. 788. hitherto chiefly to predatory excursions and surprises, but now (788) they advanced to meet him with reckless audacity in the open field.³ The two armies encountered

¹ This atrocity is not mentioned by Einhard, and is given in only three of the chronicles, which generally copied from each other. Ampère is disposed to think the story either unfounded or exaggerated. But we are obliged to

suppose that some dreadful wrong was committed to account for the general revolt of the next year.

² Vie de Charlemag., t. i., p. 346.

³ His own spirit, too, was sharpened and degraded, for thereafter his career

at Detmold in the first pitched battle they had fought, and, although the discipline of Karl overcame their desultory valor, their losses could not have been great, for within a month they rallied on the Hase, near Osnabruck, and engaged in another desperate struggle. Karl was again successful; many of the Saxons were slain, others carried into captivity, and their whole country was ravaged from the Weser to the Elbe. Still they were not subdued, and his efforts could not be relaxed, as usual, in the winter, lest in the interval they should be able to heal their wounds and repair their losses. In connection with his son, then twelve years old—so early the Franks began their martial education—he overran the whole of Saxony anew (784).¹

He penetrated to the most inaccessible retreats of the enemy, and every where proposed the single condition of submission or death. In wishing their subjection, however, he offered no terms that were incompatible with honor; his purpose was to incorporate them among the Franks as an equal Christian nation; and in the division of political rights and privileges he contemplated no distinctions. Their native dukes and chiefs were to be allowed to hold their governments, and the same places in the assemblies, the same ranks in the armies, the same order of provincial administration were to be assigned to victor and vanquished alike. This was a magnanimous policy, and Karl experienced the beneficial effects of it. The country of the Saxons had been smitten with fire and sword until it was left as vacant and desolate as the desert; its inhabitants for fifty years or more, year after year, had fallen under the heavy battle-axes of the Franks; and yet their spirit was as unbroken and unsubdued, in the last campaign of Karl, as it had been in the first campaign of Pipin. Though physically exhausted, they were morally as vigorous as ever. Nevertheless, the graciousness and generosity of Karl's concessions touched their haughty and invincible souls.² Even the high-strung Witikind, whom

Karl ravages
their country,
but offers lib-
eral terms of
peace.

Good effect of
his modera-
tion.

was more vindictive than before, although some historians ascribe this to the evil influence of his new wife, Fastrada, whom he married in 783, shortly after the death of Hildegarda. She was an Austrasian of proud and cruel character.

¹ It would be only wearisome to pursue in detail the varied and rapid movements of Karl during this most busy year.

² My interpretations of these events do not agree with those of most of the modern historians, but they are sus-

no reverses had dismayed or intimidated, began at length, under these softer appliances, to relent. After the May-field of Paderborn in 785, as Karl advanced with his army to Badengau, on the Ilmenaw, word came to him that Witikind and his brother Albio, who were on the other side of the Elbe, evinced a willingness to treat. Hostages were immediately sent to them as guarantees of a safe reception should they venture to appear in peaceable guise in the camp of the Franks. Witikind, ^{yielded,} kind, either in an interview with Karl or by messenger, replied that he was ready to abjure the gods of his fathers and to accept the suzerainty of Christ. He had tried the Asen, and they had failed him; the heroes of the Walhalla came no more to his aid; the God of the Christians was proved the most powerful of gods; and the subdued but noble chief surrendered his cause to what seemed to him an inevitable destiny. Karl appointed a grand assembly at Attigny, on the Aisne, to receive and to confirm this important submission. Witikind and his brother, with many chiefs, attended the conclave; they consented to be solemnly baptized at the hands of the Christian priest, Karl standing as their sponsor; and, when they knelt at the altar to confess the sins of their lives, we may behold the whole Saxon nation bowing down with them. The struggle was essentially over; or for eight years, at least, it was suppressed. The Frank was conqueror, though not alone by his sword;

^{and becomes a Christian.} and Karl spread the glorious news to the general joy of Christendom. Witikind was sincere in his professions; he lived and died a monk; and grateful annalists, if not the Church, placed him among the number of the saints.¹

In an interval of the Saxon wars, as we have seen, Karl ^{Karl visits Italy, A.D. 780-781.} passed into Italy, where he spent the winter at Pavia, and celebrated Easter at Rome. His objects were ostensibly to perform certain religious vows, but in reality to pacify the discontents of the peninsula and reorganize his other dependencies. The sceptre of the Lombards was broken, but

tained by the authorities, and more in accordance with the inherent laws of human nature.

¹ Einhard (*Annal.*, ad Ann. 785); *Annal. Nibelungi*, p. 27, et cæter. *Annalistsæ*. According to some German

writers, the illustrious house of Saxony, which gave five emperors to Germany, descended from Witikind by his second wife, Suaterna. Gaillard (*Vie de Charlemagne*, ii., 429).

the members of the family of Desiderius remained to plot in secrecy the recovery of their possessions. Araghia, the Duke of Beneventum, had married a daughter of the Lombard king; Tassilo, the Duke of Bavaria, was the husband of another; while his son and heir, Adalghis, lived a favorite at the imperial court of Byzantium. All these were united by an inextinguishable hatred of the supremacy of the Franks; but the power of that nation and the activity of Karl, assisted by the lynx-eyed vigilance of Adrian, who never desisted from his suspicion of "the perfidious race," forced them to dissemble their plans. The malignant conspiracy fermented only in darkness from Naples to the Ems, and from the Ems to Constantinople. A transient outbreak in Istria, where the people tore out the eyes of the Roman bishop, and the seizure of Terracina by the Beneventins, alone betrayed the general unrest. More open insurrection, too, was only prevented by a religious revolution which had taken place among the Greeks on the death of the Emperor Leo. That monarch had maintained with rigor and zeal the iconoclastic policy of his predecessors of the Isaurian line; although his wife, the fair, the ambitious, and soon the blood-stained Irene, an Athenian by birth, cherished in private the persecuted idolatry. As soon as her husband was dead, and she reigned in her own name and that of her son, "she drew from the caverns her favorite monks, and, placing them on the metropolitan thrones of the East," issued a general edict for liberty of conscience.¹ Her religious sympathy impelled her toward the See of Rome; the dangers of her political position to the King of the Franks; and under this double motive she proposed to the latter to inaugurate an alliance by the marriage of his daughter Rotruda, then eight years of age, to her scarcely less youthful son Constantine. Karl accepted the proposal, and the Byzantine envoys left with him the eunuch Eliseus to superintend the education of the princess in the Greek language and letters.² Of course, a union of this kind disconcerted the schemes of the Lombard dukes, who depended upon the promises of the Eastern court. Yet Karl was fully aware of the uneasiness of those vassals,

Alliance with
the Empress
Irene.

¹ Gibbon (Dec. and Fall, vol. vi., c. 49).

² Theophanis (Chronographia Byzant., apud Bouquet, t. v., p. 187).

and feeling also perhaps that Italy deserved a higher rank than that of a simple province of Gaul, he resolved to conciliate the inhabitants by erecting it into a separate kingdom. At the same time he raised the duchy of Aquitain to the same dignity, and causing his infant sons Pippin and Ludwig to be consecrated and crowned by the Pope, he established them in the new states, Pippin in Italy and Ludwig in Aquitain, with the title of kings.¹

Two kingdoms
erected.

These expedients were only transiently successful in regard to Italy. The Lombard plot continued to smoulder for several years, and then, while Karl's army was engaged with certain Angles and Saxons from the island of Great Britain, who had settled in Brittany,² he was again called to Rome. The Duke of Beneventum, renewing with Tassilo and the Greeks the design of a general rupture, was about to give the signal, when Karl anticipated the outbreak by marching at once from Rome upon Capua. Surprised by the celerity of Karl, the duke, after flying to Salerno, sent hostages and a tribute to the king, and, with his people, took the usual oath of fidelity.³ Tassilo was a more formidable foe. Subtle and morose by nature, galled by the chains of vassalage which he had long impatiently worn, and envenomed by the implacable rancor of his wife, he had not scrupled to negotiate with wild tribes of Schlaves and Huns to engage them in a joint assault upon Gaul and Italy. His intrigues were prematurely revealed, and Karl, presenting the case to the May-field of Worms (787), procured the advance of three great armies toward Bavaria. One body, consisting of Austrasians, Thuringians, and Saxons,⁴ approached it from the north; another, of Neustrians and Burgundians, marched from the west; and the army of Italy from the valley of the Adige. So numerous a host might have easily crushed the Bavarians if they had been disposed to resist, but the people either did not share the re-

¹ Theophan., *Chronographia*, t. vi.; *apud Script. Ital.*, t. v., p. 16); *Annal. Chron. Moissiac.*; *Einhard, Annal. Loiseliani.*

² *Einhard (Annal., ad Ann. 786).* They refused to pay the usual tribute of the Bretons.

³ *Einhard (Vit. Carl. Mag., c. 10); Erchemberti (Epit. Hist. Langobardi,*

⁴ It was the habit of Karl, as it became that of Napoleon afterward, to recruit from the nations he vanquished the forces with which he subdued other yet unconquered people.

sentments of their rulers, or they preferred the supremacy of the Franks to the alliance of more barbarous strangers. Tassilo, left without followers, was forced to confess that he had sinned, renewed his oaths of fidelity, and pledged himself to appear the next year at the great diet of Ingleheim.¹

This diet was one of the most numerous and imposing that had ever been held by the Franks. All the great lords of Gaul, lay and clerical, and all the lords of the tributary nations, were present, and their proceedings were marked by unusual solemnity. Tassilo appeared, and with him many of his subjects, who accused him of fraud, of perjury, and of treason; they averred his animosity to the king, his complicity with the Avars, his hostility to the Christian religion; and then, being unanimously convicted by the synod, he was condemned to death. The clemency of Karl, however, saved his life. He was deposed from his rank as a warrior and a duke, and remitted to the monastery of Jumiège to end his days; his wife, his son, and his daughters were also banished to religious seclusion; the nobles involved with him were sent into exile, and the duchy of Bavaria itself was extinguished, with the race of Agalolfings, which had ruled it for two hundred years.² Meanwhile the Huns had been true to their compact with the duke. They assailed Bavaria and Friuli with powerful armies on two separate occasions, and were only with the greatest difficulty repulsed. At the same time, the Greeks, whose emperor, Constantine, had been offended by the refusal of Karl to fulfill the marriage contract made on behalf of his daughter, harassed the coasts of Beneventum, but Grimoald, the son of the duke whom Karl had conquered, won by the magnanimity of the Frankish monarch in restoring him to his father's position, repelled their attacks with his own forces.³ From the Elbe to the Ebro, from the North Sea to Naples, the power of the great king seemed to be immovably recovered.

These twenty years, in which we have seen our hero traversing Europe at the head of his armies, crushing enemies almost simultaneously in Spain, in Italy, and in the

Diet of Ingleheim. Tassilo deposed, A. D. 788.

Karl's administrative and civic labors.

¹ Poet. Saxon. (*Annal.*, l. ii., v. 275-296); *Annal. Mettens.*

² *Annal. Nibelung.*; *Codex Carol.*, Epist. 90; *Annal. Loiseliani*, et cæ.

³ Martin (*Hist. de France*, t. ii., p. 416).

extreme north of Europe, were not years of combat and carnage only; his civic labors the while were scarcely less exacting and prodigious. Karl felt himself to be the one man of his age and the world. His noble soul was inspired by the grandest moral ends, and his capacious mind conceived the means for their attainment. From every visit to Italy he had brought back with him something that was better than the tributes of the vanquished—learned priests, men of science, the higher arts. In every moment of leisure he meditated or decreed some reform of the Church or the state, or some improvement of society. His general scheme of political and social organization I shall consider hereafter; but it will relieve the monotony of my narrative to refer for a moment in this place to his literary and scientific enterprises. Karl's own scholastic education had not been neglected; he spoke Latin, had a smattering of Greek and the Oriental languages; knew dialectics, rhetoric, music, and astronomy; and he composed a work in which he tried to reduce the Germanic idioms to grammatical rules, as well as a learned treatise on theology.¹ He wrote with difficulty, for the hand so used to grasp the sword could not wield the pen with ease, particularly in the formation of the fine painted letters then in vogue;² but he recorded the old traditionary poems of his race, such as we still have them probably in the *Nibelungen* and the *Helden-buch*; and he corrected the texts of the Greek Gospels by the Syriac versions.³ His favorite reading was Augustine's subtle but sublime treatise of the *City of God*, which no common intellect delights in. For the preservation and multiplication of manuscripts he evinced an eager solicitude, and the letters of Alcuin in response to his questionings show that his thirst for knowledge was insatiable. Not warriors, but men of letters, were his favorite companions: Alcuin, Peter of Pisa, Paul Warnefrid, Theodulf, Leidrade, Angilbert, and others—rhetoricians, historians, poets—most of whom were brought

¹ Einhard (*Vit. Karol. Magn.*, cc. 25–29); Alcuin (*Opera*, Epist. 70).

² The idea that Karl could not write at all, derived from a doubtful expression of Einhard (*Temptavit et scribere, sed parum successit labor præposterus ac serò inchoatus*, c. 27), referring rath-

er to his caligraphy than his ability to write, is absurd. It is contradicted by other passages, and not at all probable in itself. Gaillard (*Vie de Charlemag.*, t. ii., l. 8, p. 191).

³ Thegan. (*De Gestis Ludovici Pii*).

from abroad and domesticated in his family.¹ They conversed with him in his hours of repast or leisure, instructed his children and the children of his nobles, and executed his generous projects for restoring schools and letters.² For two centuries and more a thick intellectual darkness had overspread the greater part of Gaul; the old classic literature had been submerged by wild religious legends; here and there in the south a straggling light gleamed from the solitary cells of the monasteries; here and there active missionaries, like Columban and Boniface, united erudition to poetry; here and there the episcopal schools, which had superseded the secular schools, were feebly maintained; but society, in settling down from the violent ferments of the great invasions, had sunk to its lees. Its higher faculties were benumbed, and its finer tastes blunted by the incessant shocks of disaster. The electricity of one powerful nature alone revived the inert mass. Karl's palace was an academy. From it he addressed to the bishops and the abbots persuasive appeals to undertake the work of their own instruction and of that of the children of their flocks. "It is better to act well than to know," he said, "but knowledge precedes action." In furtherance of his scheme, he rebuked the ignorance and licentious habits of the clergy, restrained their participation in wars, allowed them to hunt animals only whose skins were necessary to bind the manuscripts of their libraries, and forbade the honoring of new

¹ Karl met Alcuin at Parma, on his return from Italy in 781. They took to each other at first sight. He was an Anglo-Saxon by birth, a disciple of the school of York, then the most enlightened spot in all the western world. Next to Karl himself, he was the largest and most active spirit of his period. Karl took him home, and made him what Guizot calls a Minister of Instruction, i. e., the superintendent of the education of his children, and the head of the school which he soon instituted. Afterward he became abbot of the rich monastery at Tours (Vitæ Alcuini, auct. anon.). Warnefrid was the historian of the Lombards, who had been taken prisoner and released. Leidrade was from Norica, and became archbishop of Lyons. Theodulf, a Goth, was

both theologian and poet; of Peter of Pisa, a Tuscan, little is known (Tiraboschi, *Storia*, t. v., l. iii., c. 8; Le Boëf, *Dissert. sur l'Hist. Eccles.*, t. i., p. 370; Ampère, *Hist. Litt.*, t. iii., cc. 1-4). The English reader will find an instructive account of all these men in Guizot (*Hist. of Civiliz.*, vol. iii., lect. 22, ed. N. Y., 1858).

² There was something apparently puerile and pedantic in the intercourse of these students, who assumed fictitious names, and addressed each other as David, Homer, Pindar, Calliope, etc.; but they were none the less in earnest in their plans of reformation. Ampère says finely of Karl's selection of friends, "his eyes turned to the light as naturally as the eye of the eagle turns to the sun" (*Hist. Litt.*, t. iii., c. 3).

saints to arrest the disorders of the legendary imagination.¹ In a little while he saw schools, fashioned on the model of the school of Alcuin, arising in every parish and almost in every convent. Their range of studies, it is true, was limited, confined to the seven arts of the ancient *quadrivium* and *trivium*, to formal rules of grammar, to the astronomy which regulated the festivals of the Church, to jejune logic and rhetoric, to Gregorian music, Boethian science, and Augustinian theology;² but in the dry and withered husk there is often sustenance, and a living spirit pervaded their efforts. All the great renaissances seem to have been at first retrogressions—recoils into the past preceding the leap forward. If Karl and his coadjutors did not accomplish all their aims, did not accomplish as much as was accomplished at the end of the eleventh century, and again in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was because the heavy slumbers of three hundred years are not easily broken. They prepared the way for these later revivals, and stand at the source of our modern intellectual activity.

¹ Ampère (*Hist. Litt.*, t. iii., p. 28).

² Milman (*Hist. Lat. Christ.*, vol. ii., p. 240).

CHAPTER XVII.

KARL THE GREAT, OR CHARLEMAGNE. REVIVAL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.
(FROM A.D. 788 TO A.D. 814.)

"EXTEND your estates as far as you please," said the peasant to an encroaching nobleman, "and still you will have neighbors." Karl's supremacy was recognized over the greater part of Europe, and yet there were those by whom it was not recognized. On the north, around the shores of the Baltic Sea, in the mysterious realms of Scandinavia, dwelt the Danes and others—Northmen as they were beginning to be called¹—the bravest, the most enterprising, the most intelligent of all the Teutonic races,² and masters of the sea as of the land, whose daring piracies had already troubled the coast of Britain, as they were about to infest the coast of Gaul. On the east, from Holstein to Bohemia, lived a multitude of tribes, Schlaves and Huns, more savage and restless than the Germans even, which, having tasted the spoils of Bavaria and Friuli, whet their appetites for a richer prey. At the south, in Venice, Naples, and the cities of Calabria, the scheming Greeks had not abandoned their attachments nor their obligations to the monarchy of the east, which itself, since the failure of the plans of Irene for the marriage of her son to the daughter of Karl, looked with jealous eyes upon the rapidly augmenting power of the Franks. Nor could the Saracens of the southwest be counted upon as permanent and quiet allies. Wherever Karl turned outside of his own borders, he might still behold numerous, powerful, and menacing enemies.

Into the second or Slavonic circle of barbaric nations, the Germans being the first, Karl was drawn by an alliance with the Abodrites, who had befriended him in some of his Saxon raids. Dividing with the Weletabes, or Wiltai, the larger part of the region between the Elbe and the Oder, they were assailed by their neighbors, and ap-

Extension of
the frontier of
the Franks,
A.D. 789.

¹ Pagi (Critica, §§ 18-19).

² See Laing's Introduction to his *Heimskringla*, on the moral and social state of the Danes and other Northmen.

pealed for support to the king of the Franks. He inclined at once to send them aid, and, causing an army of Austrasians, Frisons, and Saxons to pass the Elbe toward the mouths of the Oder, where re-enforcements were contributed by the Abodrites and the Sorabs, he routed and dispersed the hordes of the Wiltzi. Their principal chief, advanced in age, surrendered to him, and, in the name of his people, delivered hostages and assumed the oath of fidelity. All the other chiefs, many of whom are denominated kings by the chroniclers, followed this example, and in the course of a single year the Frankish dominion was expanded over an area of several thousand square miles, equivalent to the modern Mecklenburg.¹ A powerful monarchy, in contact with small and weak nations, absorbs or crushes them before they are aware, either sucking them into the vortex of its own movements, or trampling them to pieces in its march against more distant foes. The same year, probably, in which Karl had swallowed up the Wiltzi, his son Pippin, the King of Italy, had acquired the provinces of Istria and Liburnia, on the Adriatic, at the other extremity of the long Slavonic frontier.²

Between them lay Pannonia, the vast grim desert in whose woods and brakes the Huns maintained their formidable empire; while to the east of these, between the Theiss and Preuth, stretched the more extensive dominions of the kindred Avars.³ Untamed and truculent still as in the days of Attila, every man a warrior, living on the back of his horse, free as the wind, yet impulsively obedient to the will of the great Khan, these nations could bring into the field a more numerous army than Karl, with all the amplitude and populousness of his states.⁴ He was not, however, of a temper to be restrained by the dread of any superiority, when it became necessary for him to repel or avenge aggression. The gratuitous inroads of these wild horsemen into Italy and Bavaria during the revolt of Tassilo⁵ were affronts not to be easily

War declared
against the
Huns, A. D.
790.

¹ Einhard (Annal., ad Ann. 789).

² Sismondi (Hist. des Franc., t. i., p. 481). Liburnia was between the Save and the Adriatic, corresponding nearly to the modern Croatia.

³ Corresponding to a part of Hun-

gary, the Bannat, Wallachia, and Transylvania.

⁴ Sismondi (Hist. des Franc., t. ii., p. 481).

⁵ See ante, chap. xvi., p. 486.

forgiven. Conscious of what they deserved, or knowing the character of the monarch they had provoked, an embassy of theirs had appeared at the Diet of Worms (790) to explain their part in the late incursions, and deprecate the wrath of the king. He received it with haughtiness and ill-concealed disdain; and, after addressing the assembly on "the intolerable malignity of the Huns toward the Frankish nation and the Church of God,"¹ and the necessity of inflicting upon them some exemplary punishment, ordered instant and unusual preparations for war. Gaul heard the announcement with emotions of mingled curiosity and disquietude. The country and the people were alike unknown: in the time of Sighebert, husband of Brunahilda, the Avars, indeed, had been considered sorcerers, who destroyed their foes by magical arts;² while in the chronicles and legends with which the popular mind was filled they were confounded with the Huns of Attila, that scourge of God, who had left so terrible a memory among the nations.³ Karl himself, knowing their inveterate heathenism, or touched by these remembrances, and perhaps desirous to avenge the disasters of old times, regarded the war as a religious enterprise.⁴ The most elaborate and gigantic provisions made, A. D. 790-791. were made for its prosecution; Franks, Austrasians, Gauls, Thuringians, Frisians, Saxons, and Italians were summoned to the field; and even his young son Ludwig, King of Aquitain, then thirteen years of age, was invested with his first armor to be able to take part in it. After these multitudinous hosts were gathered near Regensburg (Ratisbon), whither Karl removed his family, solemn litanies—fastings, processions, and prayers—were celebrated in the camp of the Franks, which for three days "anticipated the spectacle of a camp of crusaders under the walls of Jerusalem or Antioch."⁵ "The plan of the campaign, maturely considered, surpassed in

¹ Chron. St. Arnulph, ad Ann. 791.

² Fredegher, Epit., c. 61; Greg. Thron. (Hist. Ecc., l. iv., c. 29); Paul. Diacon. (De Gest. Lang., l. ii., c. 10).

³ Poet. Saxon. (Annal., l. ii.), who recalls some of the traditionary stories of Attila's devastations.

⁴ Epist. Karl. Mag. ad Fastrad., ad Ann. 791, apud Bouquet, t. v., p. 623.

⁵ Thierry (Hist. d'Attila, t. ii., p. 166). The religious observances took place, after the army began to move, at Linz, on the Danube, which the traveler will remember as one of the most beautiful towns of that romantic region; in later years, too, the scene of many an important historical event.

the boldness and skill of its combinations the strategic genius of the moderns. Master of Italy, and at the same time of Bavaria, Karl selected two bases of operations, the one upon the Upper Danube, and the other upon the Po. While the army of Gaul assailed Hunnia, as it was called, in front, by the great valley which traverses it, the army of Italy, under the conduct of King Pippin, passed the Alps, and took it in flank by the valleys of the Drave and the Save."¹ Karl took command of 'one branch of the northern army, consisting chiefly of Franks, Alemans, and Suabians, whom he led along the right bank of the Danube, while another body, under Count Theuderik and the Chamberlain Meginfred,² composed of Saxon and Frison contingents, pursued the other shore. A numerous flotilla at the same time carried down the stream the provisions and equipments, with certain Bavarian reserves, which were to be used by either division in case of need. Pippin had received orders to arrive in Lower Pannonia by the end of August, and a general movement of all the forces was fixed for the first week of September.

It was no easy work which had been undertaken. Not only were the Avars bold and dashing warriors, but their country was defended alike by the difficulties of nature and a system of almost impregnable fortifications. Nine concentric hedges, each twenty feet high and twenty broad, filled in with stones, mud, and chalk, topped with brambles and trees, and surmounted with towers, inclosed their habitations. As soon as one of these ramparts might be taken, the defenders withdrew into another, and from the second to the third, and so on to the last, where the wooden palaces of the Khan, ornamented in fantastic Eastern profusion, were built, and the treasures of the race, spoils of the wars of centuries in Thrace, Greece, Italy, and Gaul, preserved.³ Protected by ditches and streams, flanked by mountains, and running often through the most impenetrable thickets, these hedges opposed a barrier at almost every step to an invading army, and

¹ Thierry (*ubi sup.*), whose admirable collation of the old authorities I have followed closely in this outline of the Hunnic war.

² Annal. Lauresham., ad Ann. 791.

³ Monach. Sengall. (Vit. Karol. Mag., Part ii., c. 2).

could only be overcome by the utmost skill and energy of the assailant. But the genius of Karl was equal to every occasion.

Partial conquest of Hunnia. Passing the Ens and the Ips without encountering the enemy, he seized the strong position of Lemara,

now Moelk, without resistance, and was not arrested till he reached Mount Cummeoberg (the ancient Comagena, now Haimburg), a spur of the Styrian Alps, which shelters on the east Vindibona, then an inconsiderable hamlet, but since the imperial city of Vienna.¹ There the first rampart, covered by a fortress and protected by the mountains, compelled a regular siege. Many assaults were made upon it in vain; and the missiles of the Huns were dealing destruction upon the Franks, when the timely arrival of the army which had crossed the Kamp under Theuderik, and of the fleet of the Danube, filling the Huns with a fear lest their retreat should be cut off, caused them to abandon the defense. The stronghold was soon dismantled, the hedge leveled, and the machines of war destroyed. A second circle, erected at some distance from Vienna, was gained by means of a fierce battle, and the Franks next advanced as far as the Raab, where they were stopped by the third circle. This the fleet, aided by the two armies, after a bloody contest of three days, succeeded in penetrating, when the Huns surrendered, and submitted to tribute.² Meanwhile, the young King of Italy, with his Lombards and Friulians, had carried the ring of Lower Pannonia, between the Drave and the Save, and was ready to push forward to the head-quarters of Karl. But the season was advanced; the rains were abundant; a winter amid those marshes and rocks threatened nothing but calamity; and an epizootic disease had already destroyed nine tenths of the horses. Under these circumstances, the commander deemed it prudent to order a return, reserving the completer conquest of Hunnia for the ensuing year. He celebrated the festival of Christmas, says the annalist, at his palace of Regensburg;³ but in Thrace and Macedonia, and at the imperial palace of Byzantium, the Greeks beheld with feel-

¹ Thierry, *ubi sup.*

² This last passage of arms, not mentioned in the contemporary Latin chron-

icles, Thierry describes from later Hungarian traditions.

³ Annal. Lauresham., ad Ann. 791; Einhard (Annal., ad Ann. 791).

ings of undisguised consternation the near approach which the great monarch of the West had made to their own confines. The fame of his victories pierced even the remoter East, so that a few years later the envoys of the Grand Calif Haroun-al-Raschid related how Asia as well as Europe shared in the admiration of his power and greatness.¹

Karl did not resume his conquests, as he had anticipated, the following year. His splendid achievements in war, though they might dazzle the imaginations of his subjects, were not unproductive of exhaustion and discontent. As, after the close of his Saxon campaign, in which Witikind had been subjected, he was called upon to suppress a conspiracy among the Thuringian nobles,² so now, on the heels of his new glory trod a darker trouble. Pippin, his son by an early concubine, described as both a humpback and a dwarf, having been utterly disregarded in the divisions of Karl's estates, and even robbed of his name for the sake of the King of Italy, and smarting too, perhaps, under the jealous scoffs of Fastrada, had entered into a plot with many nobles to compass the death of the king and his legitimate children.³ In a midnight conclave of the conspirators, however, held in the church of St. Peter at Regensburg, their scheme was overheard by a poor Langobard deacon, named Fardulph, who instantly ran to the palace to communicate it to the guards. By nine o'clock of the next morning the parties to the parricide were arrested, and soon after they were all condemned to death, although Pippin was saved by his father, to be tonsured and immured for the rest of his life in a monastery.⁴ Escaped from this peril, Karl made ready for a second campaign against the Huns, but was once more thwarted by rumors of insurrection in Saxony. A detachment of troops, raised by Count Theuderik in Friesland, and ordered to proceed to Hunnia by way of Bohemia, as in the previous year, was surprised and cut to pieces at Rustringan by a body of Saxons who pretended to

¹ Monach. Sangall.

² It is ascribed by the annalists to the cruelties and rigors of his haughty queen, Fastrada, but had evidently political motives.

³ Einhard (Vit. Karol. Mag., c. 20); Poet. Saxon., l. iii., p. 156.

⁴ Monach. Sangall., l. ii., cc. 8, 9; Chron. Moissiac. Many of the counts degraded for complicity in this affair were replaced by persons taken from the lower orders, even from the class of *lites* of the royal domains.

join them. At once the conflagration spread to all the tribes. The royal officers were driven away from their charges, the churches burned, the bishops and priests murdered, Christianity abandoned, and the old idols restored. Simultaneously, at the opposite extremity of the kingdom, the Beneventine subjects of Duke Grimoald, who, with their leader, had shown themselves hitherto grateful vassals of Karl, conspired with the Greeks of Italy and the East to enthrone the ancient Lombard dynasty.¹ By a rapid transportation of troops from Aquitain, Karl was enabled to send his sons Pippin and Ludwig to the suppression of this rebellion. But the withdrawal of forces from the southwestern frontier encouraged the Saracens, who had for a year or two past made rapid incursions into Gaul, to undertake more dangerous inroads. They burned the suburbs of Narbonne, gained a bloody victory over Wilhelm the Short Nosed, Duke of Toulouse, and pillaged the country far and wide, to enrich with the spoils the splendid mosque which Mussulman devotion was raising at Cordova.² Even the persecutions of nature were added to the desertions of fortune which Karl now experienced. The project of a canal from the Altmühl to the Rednitz, designed to connect the affluents of the Danube and the Rhine, and to furnish a readier transport for the merchandise of the Oriental marts, miscarried in the execution.³ He had caused it to be undertaken at this time in order to employ the reserves of troops gathered near Regensburg, but the incessant rains filled the trenches and washed away the banks as fast as they could be made, and his workmen were too unskilled to provide against the disaster. Added to this disappointment came a fearful famine, which visited Gaul and Italy, producing wide-spread distress and sullen uneasiness among the people.

Karl took his measures against these thickening troubles with rapidity yet precaution. He did not march at once upon his three principal enemies—the Saxons, the Huns, and the Saracens—but he spent a year in preparations, to render his blows, whenever they should be struck, more de-

Council of Frankfurt, A.D. 794.

¹ Annal. Loiseliani.

² Chron. Moissiac. See, for details

(Hist. Générale du Languedoc, l. viii., cc. 82-91).

³ Einhard, Annal., ad Ann. 798.

cisive. In the mean time, such was the versatility as well as energy of his mind, that we find him employed, not in warlike efforts, but in the discussions of an ecclesiastical council. Felix, Bishop of Urgel, in the Spanish March, and Elipand, his friend, Archbishop of Toledo, had promulged in Spain a modification of the dogmatic error of Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople in the fifth century. They taught that Christ, in his human nature, was only the Son of God by adoption. This was an opinion which struck at the heart of that doctrine of the Trinity which orthodoxy cherished, and, in the estimate of Karl, a more serious offense even than a revolt of the Saxons or a conspiracy in Lombardy. He summoned a council at Frankfurt, composed of three hundred leading prelates, over whom he presided, to consider the heresy. The recusants had once before been condemned at Regensburg, but, on their return to Spain, had recanted; and as many thousand converts followed them in their aberrations,¹ Pope Adrian, through two of his legates, who attended the meeting, demanded a more peremptory treatment. After patient deliberation, a unanimous decree, signed by all the bishops, and supported by a letter of Karl, in which he learnedly argued the subtle points of controversy,² arrested the spread of the infection, if it did not convince the delinquents.³ Another question, also, of more practical moment, was debated and decided in this sacred assembly. It was that relating to the worship of images, which for so many years had stirred the religious society of the East to its depths, convulsing the Church and even overturning dynasties. The advent of Irene to the Eastern throne (780) gave a new impulse to the superstition, which was both defined and stimulated by the decrees of an œcumenic council held at Nicæa (787).⁴ These distinguished clearly between the adoration due to God and the love and reverence paid to the effigies of saints, but by the warmth of their theoretic approval confirmed the exaggerated feelings and practices of the multitude. Rome, of course, which had separated from the East

¹ Paul. Diacon., Supp., ad Ann. 794; Annal. Fuldenses; Chron. Lamberti.

² Labbe (Concilia, p. 1022 *et seq.*); Karol. Mag. Epist. ad Epis. Hisp.).

³ Felix yielded, but afterward re-

canted again. On the niceties of the dispute, and its relations to other heresies, see Neander (Hist. Christ. Relig., vol. iii., § 4, pp. 157-163).

⁴ Mansi, xii., 951; xiii., 820.

because of its iconoclasm, rejoiced in the decision; but to the simpler minds of the Frankish Christians every semblance of bowing down to the works of men's hands seemed idolatry. Karl's more spiritual conceptions of religion were especially affronted, and, three years after the close of the council, he issued a work of great learning and eloquence, not only against the doctrine of the Greeks, but the authority of the synod by which it had been promulgated.¹ It somewhat unfairly represents the Nicene language, but rebukes with just severity the Nicene spirit. "God, who fills all things," Karl wrote, "is not to be sought after in sensible images, but in the purity of the heart." Again: "We, who follow not the letter which killeth, but the Spirit which giveth life—who are not the fleshly, but the spiritual Israel—we, who look not at the things which are seen, but fix our minds upon those that are unseen, rejoice to have received from the Lord mysteries greater not only than images, which contain no mysteries, but even greater and more sublime than the cherubim and the Tables of the Law—for the latter were the antitypes of things future—but we possess truly and spiritually what had been prefigured by those symbols."² Admirable good sense, in the midst of some acerbities, provoked, doubtless, by the unfriendly relations of the courts of the East and West, was the chief characteristic of the work. Its principles were sustained by the council at Frankfurt; and Karl sent the decision, with the book, to Pope Adrian.³ A temperate, perhaps elusive reply, obviated controversy; no remonstrances against this assertion of independence by a transalpine assembly were put forth; and the canons of the half-savage German prelates received the same apparent sanction as the canons of the more refined Greeks. Neither were the personal relations of Karl and Adrian disturbed by the event; and when the latter died, a few years later (795), the former wept his decease as that of a dearly-beloved friend.⁴ He instituted prayers in his

¹ The *Quatuor Libri Carolini*, which I have not read, and describe at second-hand from Neander's full and impartial analysis. (Hist. Christ. Relig., vol. iii., pp. 235-242).

² Neander (*ubi sup.*). Karl was doubtless assisted in the composition of this work, which evinces both sacred

and classic erudition, by Alcuin and other prelates of his court, but it bears internal evidence, according to Ampère, of his own mind and inspiration. (Hist. Litt., t. iii., c. 8, p. 49).

³ Epist. Hadriani ad Carol. R. (Mansi, xiii., 759).

⁴ Einhard (Vit. Karol. Mag., c. 19).

own domains, and sent presents to the prelates of Britain to offer masses for the repose of the pontiff's soul. A Latin epigraph, written by Karl, engraven on marble in letters of gold—the transcript of which has come down to us—testified the sincerity of his tears.¹

As soon as the council separated, Karl began to execute what seems to have been the plan of a three-fold campaign. He undertook himself to chastise the Saxons, while his son Ludwig should expel the Saracens from his frontiers, and Pippin, of Italy, go on with the Hunnic war. They were all more or less successful, though it cost them several years of toil. Karl invaded Saxony in the fall of 794, and again in the spring of 795, both times making free use of fire and sword. His allies, the Abodrites and Wiltzi, having been in the interval dreadfully scourged by the Saxons, he resolved not merely to conquer the nation, but to crush it—to extinguish utterly every germ of revolt. Every where, on the slightest show of disobedience, he burned the villages and killed the inhabitants; or, when they were disposed to be submissive, he asked hostages in sufficient numbers almost to depopulate the districts.² These were carried into Gaul and Italy, and scattered among the people, while their places were supplied with Franks. All the country between the Elbe and the Weser, marshy and intractable as it was, was overcome in this manner before the spring of 798. His winter quarters, indeed, were established on the Weser, at a place he named Heerstall, and at Minden, that he might be in the midst of the enemy; and he pushed his ravages so far beyond the river and toward the Baltic that he at length came in contact with the Normans.³ In a first battle they were worsted by the Franks; but the defeat was the prelude only to many a dreary day of reckoning, as we shall see hereafter.⁴ Karl was yet employed upon the Elbe (795) when he heard assuring news from Pannonia. The Huns had been unable to recover

During the sessions of this council the queen, Fastrada, died, and Karl in a very short time married Luitgarda, his fourth wife.

says he transported one out of every three persons.

² Einhard (Annal., ad Ann. 795-798).

¹ It is to be found in Bouquet, t. v.

³ One chronicler (Annal. Lambec.)

⁴ Chron. Moissiac.; Annal. Mettens., etc.

from the murderous campaign of 791. Although the Saxons had proposed to them an offensive and defensive alliance, they were too much broken to engage in it, and while one party clamored for war, another favored peace. The latter, in fact, murdered the reigning khan, elected another, and sent an embassy to Karl, offering submission and the reception of Christianity.¹ But already (796) King Pippin and Duke Herrik of Friuli had passed the Carinthian Alps, and were making sad havoc of the ill-defended palisades of the Huns. Despite the prayers and promises of the new khan, they were chased beyond the Theiss; their most central ring, where all their treasures were gathered, was pillaged, the royal residence demolished, and the tribes disorganized. "It was the most terrible expedition," says Einhard, "the Franks had ever undertaken, except some of the Saxon wars; but never in the memory of man had an army been repaid with such abundance of booty. Before they had been poor, now they were opulent; for the gold and silver they took from the khan was the accumulated spoil of many nations."² Nor were the campaigns of the young Ludwig, King of Aquitain, against the Saracens, much less glorious than those of his father and brother. The Emir of Cordova, Hascham, having died in 796, his brothers, Soliman and Abdallah, disputed possession of the throne with his son Hakem. Spain was again convulsed with civil wars; an Arab chief, named Zaid, who had seized Barcelona, delivered it to the Franks; and soon one of the pretenders, Abdallah, sought the aid of Karl against the new emir, Hakem (797). It was an admirable opportunity for recovering the sway of the Franks, which had been disturbed, to the north of the Ebro, and the army of Ludwig eagerly avenged the outrages of 793. The Mussulmans were driven across the Pyrenees; the Walis of Pampeluna and the Oriental frontier were beaten, and compelled to submit; Gerona, Huesca, and Lerida surrendered; and the Frankish supremacy was once more established in all the Spanish March. Hakem, rushing from Cordova at the head of the masses of the faithful, was enabled to recapture Saragossa; but the diversion created by his uncles at Toledo was too pow-

¹ Poet. Saxon., ad Ann. 794-796; Annal. Bertini; Einhard, ad Ann. 796.

² Einhard, Vit. Karol. Mag.

erful to allow him to maintain the advantage. The Franks, after many brilliant exploits, returned into Aquitain the acknowledged masters of their former Spanish dominions.¹ Their success was doubly important, as it aided Alphonso the Chaste, monarch of the Christian Goths of the Asturias, in the fierce struggle he was carrying on against the Moors, and gave to the Franks a command of the western coasts of Spain, which had become the retreats of those predatory armaments with which the Saracens were beginning to sweep the islands and the shores of the Mediterranean.

By this triple series of victories the monarch of Gaul attained the height of his power and greatness. Beyond his more direct dominions, which extended from the Oder to the Ebro, and from the North Sea to Calabria, he was both feared and revered by many tributary nations. His court advanced in splendor with the growth of his prosperity. Barring at his favorite residence of Aachen (Aquis Grania, Aix-la-Chapelle) a chapel which might vie in architectural magnificence with the basilicas of Rome and the mosque of Cordova, he ravished the ruins of the ancient world to restore the monumental arts. A new Rome arose in the depths of the forests of Austrasia—palaces, gates, bridges, baths, galleries, theatres, churches—for the erection of which the mosaics and marbles of Italy were laid under tribute, and workmen summoned from all parts of Europe.² It was there that an extensive library, was gathered,³ there that the school of the palace was made permanent, there that foreign envoys were pompously welcomed, there that the monarch perfected his plans for the introduction of Roman letters and the improvement of music;⁴ and there, too, that, in the spring of 799, he heard of events in Rome which were destined to raise his simple barbaric royalty to what was deemed the loftier glory of imperialism.

At the death of Adrian, on Christmas-day of 795, Leo, a

¹ Astron. Anon. (Vit. Ludovici Pil); Annal. Tiliani.; Annal. Einhardi; Chron. Adonis.

² See the curious but exaggerated description of these edifices in the Monk of Saint Gall.

³ He not only imported Roman literature, but the Roman written alphabet, which supplanted the rude characters employed under the Mérovingans.

⁴ He caused the Gregorian music to be used and taught in the churches.

^{Revoltagainst Pope Leo in Rome.} priest of the Lateran, was elevated to the pontifical throne with a rapidity which, considering how often the occasion had been made a scene of tumult and bloodshed, may be regarded as proving either the unanimity of the electoral college or the precipitancy of a faction in it which feared delay.¹ For three years and two months, however, no one openly questioned the validity of choice, although it became more and more evident that a secret disaffection was fermenting in the minds of many people. The nephews of the late Pope, Paschalis and Campulus, whom he had invested with the high ecclesiastical dignities of Primacerius and Sacellarius, are darkly connected with a scheme for the usurpation of the holy office, and, after the event of their failure, with a conspiracy for an atrocious and sanguinary revenge.² On the 25th of April, the day of St. Mark, as the pontiff conducted the solemn procession of priests and penitents from the Church of St. John of the Lateran to the Church of St. Laurence, a band of armed men suddenly sprang upon him from an ambush, struck him from his horse, and attempted to cut out his eyes and his tongue. Paschalis and Campulus dragged him into a church near by, beat him ferociously, and left him there, weltering in his blood. A faithful servant, Albin, his chamberlain, rescued him and carried him to St. Peter's, where he was protected until the arrival of Winighis, the Frankish Duke of Spoleto, who removed him for safety to his own capital.³ In his desertion and distress his thoughts recurred to Karl, the Patrician of Rome, to whom, on his accession, he had sent the keys of St. Peter, the standard of the city, and a request for some royal agent "who might receive the oath of fidelity and obedience of the Roman people."⁴ As soon as he recovered (his eyes and tongue being restored by miracle, as the chroniclers aver), he visited that monarch at Paderborn, where he was entertained not only with friendly, but sumptuous courtesy.⁵

¹ He was chosen the day after the death of Adrian.

² Anastasius, *Bibliothecar. in Vit. Leonis III.*; Paul. Diacon., *De Gest. Langobard.*, Supp.; *Annales Lambeciani*.

³ Anastas. (*Vit. Leonis*); Johannes Diacon. (*Vit. Episc. Neapol.*, apud

Script. Rerum Ital., p. 312); *Annal. Lambeciani*; *Chron. Moissiac.*

⁴ Einhard (*Annal.*, ad Ann. 796), who could not more positively state, I think, than he does in this passage, the recognized feudal supremacy of the Frankish king.

⁵ See *Poema de Adventu Leonis* ad

What engagements were made between them is not revealed. But on the Pope's return, escorted by four bishops and many counts, his passage through Italy is described as a triumphal procession rather than as the entry of an expelled and unpopular ruler. The letters which he bore from the terrible Karl, perhaps, counseling peace, and promising a fair investigation of all offenses, contributed to this respectful reception.¹

Karl was not prepared either to acquit the Pope of all wrong, or to leave his own dominions on the instant. Accusations of some dark and nameless crime, purporting to come from the Roman people, had followed Leo into Gaul, which could not be summarily dismissed. Moreover, the Normans, whose approaches Karl never saw without a prophetic shudder,² were harrying his northern coasts, and he spent some time in inspecting and fortifying the line from Batavia to Rouen. Alcuin, now comfortably installed in the Abbey of St. Martin, had to be visited, and while Karl was yet at Tours, his queen, Luitgarda, died.³ These various delays postponed his visit to Italy for a year. But at length he departed from Aachen in August, by way of Southern Germany, and arrived in Rome in November. He was received, of course, by the Pope, the clergy, and the people, with all those demonstrations of respect and gratitude which became his rank and his services. Summoning, eight days after his arrival, a solemn conclave in the Church of St. Peter, over which he presided as judge, to consider the crimes imputed to the holy pontiff,⁴ Paschalis and Campulus, with the other no-

Karl sets his own dominion in order and visits Italy, A. D. 800.

Trial of the Pope.

Carolam, apud Bouquet, t. v., p. 394, commonly ascribed to Angilbert, which says nothing, however, of the negotiations that must have taken place between the Pope and king, and refers mainly to the ceremonies of reception and the convivial glee of their rich banquets.

¹ Alcuin (Epist., apud Bouquet, t. v., p. 612). Alcuin adds that Karl was disposed to treat the offenders leniently, lest he should kindle a new flame of revolt and provoke another interference of the Greeks.

² See the curious story of the Monk

of Saint Gall, who tells that once, when Karl was at a port on the Mediterranean, he rose from the table and gazed out of the window with his eyes full of tears. When asked by his attendants why he wept, he said, "See, those are Norman barks in the distance, which have come even to insult these shores. Myself they can not hurt, but woe to my descendants and their subjects!"

³ Einhard says he took no more wives, but solaced himself with four concubines. See note, *post*, p. 477.

⁴ No clew is any where given to the crimes with which the Pope was charged.

bles of their faction, were asked to step forward and maintain their indictment. Failing to appear, or to make good their charges with any sufficient proofs, they were condemned to death, although the penalty was commuted, at the merciful instance of the accused, into imprisonment for life. The Pope himself was neither acquitted nor condemned; for the clergy of the synod denied their authority to sit in judgment on the apostolic see—the head of all the churches of God, the vicar of Christ, by whom they could be judged, but whom they could not judge.¹ Yet some vindication of Leo appears to have been deemed requisite, and he arose to declare, “according to the custom of his predecessors,” that he would the next day purge himself by oath. At the appointed time, he ascended the pulpit with the Holy Gospel in his hands, and appealed to the presence of God, and the angels of God, to St. Peter, prince of apostles, who knew his inmost conscience, to attest his complete innocence of the wickednesses of which he had been accused.² By this procedure he was held to be justified by the public opinion of the time.

Then came the great festival of the Nativity of our Lord, when all Rome was accustomed to flock to the basilica of the Vatican to participate in the imposing ceremonies of the holy season. Karl and his daughters, and a numerous retinue, were present in their sumptuous dresses; the nobles and clergy of Rome carried thither their ensigns and banners; and the Pope himself chanted the solemn mass. While the assembly was yet absorbed in the raptures of devotion, the Pope suddenly rose again at the close of the service, advanced with a crown of gold in his hand toward the place where Karl was kneeling at the altar, placed it on his head, and exclaimed, “Long life and victory to Karl Augustus, crowned of God, great and pacific Emperor of the Romans!”³ The clergy and the people caught up the words, and with unanimous acclamation shouted, “Life and victory to Karl Augustus, crowned of God, great and pacific Emperor of the Romans!” Afterward

¹ Anastas. (in Vit. Leonis III.).

² Annal. Loiseliani, Tiliiani, Mettens.; Chron. Moissiac. The account

of Anastasius is the most complete, but most partial.

³ This was the formal salutation at the coronation of the ancient emperors.

a laudamus was sung; and then the pontiff, kneeling in adoration, or doing homage to the new monarch, abandoned the name of patrician, and said that thereafter his name should be Emperor and Augustus.¹ As a conclusion to the ceremony, he anointed the king and his eldest son Karl, who had not yet received the title.

Einhard adds to his account of the incidents of this day that Karl, in proceeding to the church, had had no suspicion of the Pope's design; that when he was accosted with the august titles of the Cæsars, he was both surprised and grieved; and that, if he had possessed the least knowledge of what was about to be done, he would not have gone to the church, even on the occasion of a festival so profoundly solemn and obligatory.² There are some reasons which might render it probable that Karl was not so ignorant of the honor prepared for him as he represented,³ if we did not know his freedom from hypocrisy, and the circumstances of his life and policy, which would naturally disincline him to this assumption of imperial dignity. It is true, he rewarded the Pope with many magnificent presents—tables of silver, chalices of gold, and patenæ enriched with gems; he ever afterward used the title of emperor in his official documents and in his addresses to his brothers of the East; his coins were struck in the joint names of the emperor and St. Peter; but, nevertheless, Karl was a thorough German in humor and inclination, devoted to the social peculiarities of the Germanic constitution, and unwilling to risk his popularity as a king with the stern but sensitive warriors who considered themselves as in some sort his equals. He might well have doubted, then, whether the act of the Pope, in augmenting his consideration among his southern subjects, would not detract from his real power among those of the north. What is confirmatory of this view is that, in his subsequent diplomas, the title *Rex Francorum* always preceded the title of *Romani Rector Imperii*. He either estimated the former more highly, or was careful to consult the prejudices of his race. In his

¹ Einhard (Annal., ad Ann. 800), compared with Anastasius and other chroniclers.

² Vit. Karl. Magn., c. 28.

³ These are discussed by Gaillard (Vie de Charlemag., t. II., l. 2, c. 1), but I do not admit his conclusions.

legislation for the Franks he showed no desire to subject them to the Roman jurisprudence, but simply corrected and enforced the codes of the Salians and Ripuarians, which dated at least from the era of Chlodwig. Moreover, when he came to divide his estates in 806, he distributed them among his three sons, as we shall see, according to the traditionary German usages, and without making much account of the empire. Those sons, in their relations to each other, were placed on an equal and independent footing, without the slightest assertion of supremacy in favor of either, or any reference to the unity of their kingdoms beyond the ties of habitual friendliness and peace.¹

At the same time, Karl could not have been indifferent to the

¹ See this division in Bouquet, t. v. On these several points Kohlrausch, in his *History of Germany*, has this note, which presents them in another aspect: "It is scarcely to be conceived that a proceeding so grave and highly important could have been arranged without the knowledge and concurrence of Karl, who, indeed, in all his actions, never allowed himself to be led by others. Besides, it is already evident, from what is shown by other good testimonies (*Annal. Laurisham.*), that the renewal of the imperial dignity had been discussed and resolved upon, for Alcuin himself knew of it beforehand, he having given to one of his pupils a Bible and a letter, both of which he was deputed to present to the emperor at the Christmas festival in Rome, and in which letter the learned master wished the mighty sovereign all happiness and splendorem imperialis potentie. But what struck Karl, no doubt, with sudden surprise and momentary vexation was, that the Pope should merely have *presented to him the imperial crown*, and that it had not been left to him, the sovereign, to place it upon his own head himself, or *to command* it to be done by the Pope (as his bishop), as was the custom with the Greek emperors, who were crowned by their patriarchs; thence, there is little doubt, arose the expressions attributed to him by Eginhard. This, indeed, is clearly shown subsequently, when, at Aix-la-Chapelle,

he ordered Ludwig to place the crown upon his own head. Karl always considered himself as chief ruler over Rome, and styled the Romans in his decrees as his subjects, and included Rome in his will among the chief cities of his empire. The popes again, on their part, placed his own name, as well as those of his successors, on their coins, and included them in their bulls. In his letters Karl henceforth calls himself 'Carolus serenissimus augustus a Deo coronatus magnus pacificus imperator Romanum gubernans imperium, qui et per misericordiam Dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum.' To him it was important to hold dominion over those other nations which had not devolved upon him by hereditary right by some other means than the mere sway of conquest, and he well knew that among the German tribes the title of Roman emperor always connected itself with the idea of supreme government. Besides, to the emperor all were equally bound to yield allegiance — counts, bishops, freemen, and servitors; while in obedience to the king, the freemen varied materially from the vassal, and the bishop from the layman. It likewise established his position toward the clergy, for the Pope became now the first bishop of the empire, and Alcuin says distinctly (*cap. if.*) that the imperial power is higher than any other, even that of the Pope."

Significance of
the act.

larger consequences of this act, or to those motives of policy which made the idea of the imperial unity so agreeable to many people. Ever since the deposition of Augustulus by Odoaker, a vague yearning for it had been cherished with more or less fondness by the subjects of the ancient empire. They had even inoculated with it several barbaric chieftains who succeeded to the Roman power, although the abortive attempts at reconstruction made by the Mérovinges in Gaul, by Theodorik in Italy, and by Athanagild in Spain, had left it in the domain of mere theory, a glorious reminiscence rather than a living hope. It recurred perpetually, also, as a sacerdotal fantasy. The priests had always mourned the downfall of the imperial throne, and longed for its return. "The popes, in particular, who had realized in the religious sphere the benefits of unity, through their subjection of all the Churches of the West to the See of Rome, were led, by the habitual preoccupations of their politics, and still more by the sentiment of their personal danger, to desire the re-establishment of it in the state."¹ They hoped, by restoring the empire in Italy, to disconcert the pretensions of the Greeks, and extinguish forever the aspirations of the Lombards.² Thereby, also, the whole of western Christendom would be consolidated under one monarchy, and that monarchy the appropriator, not only of all the sentiments of reverence and majesty which invested the sceptre of the Cæsars, but, in a certain vague sense, of all its ancient rights. Karl was unquestionably familiar with the same thought. He must have felt, in accepting the imperial crown, that he accepted the high, self-imposed mission of the old polity as the organ of civilization and social order. His authority, in the greater part of the west, it is true, was already recognized; but it was the authority of the barbaric chief who founds his rights upon the sword, rather than of the legitimate monarch whose throne is hallowed by traditionary and religious sanctions. Moreover, if a great central power was ever to be revived in the West, what time more suitable than that in which the sovereignty of the East was completely annulled; when it had abandoned the people and was abandoned by the people; when

¹ Lehuéron (*Inst. Caroling.*, t. ii., p. 352 *et seq.*). ² *Ibid.*, p. 367.

it had fallen into the irretrievable odium of the Church because of its heresies; and when it was, for the first time in its history, in the hands of a woman, and that woman detestable as the successor of a son whom she had murdered?¹ Why not replace it by a sovereignty already paramount in the greater part of what had been the Western Empire, either by conquest or the consent of the people?² Above all, if capacity, if fitness, if merit can ever be a test of legitimacy, were they not united in his case? By whom could universal order be so appropriately revived as by that great warrior, whose administration of thirty years had proved him capable alike of restraining the encroachments of barbarism, of restoring tranquillity, of raising up the deserted arts and sciences, and of opening to the moral and religious influences of the Church a sphere commensurate with his own secular dominion?

The Papacy, in consecrating Karl, by virtue of its functions as the head of the Roman senate and people, doubtless supposed that it gave a sacerdotal imprint to his power, and placed itself in a position to recall the empire at all times to its duties by recalling its origin. Yet what was the nature and the limit of the authority thus revived? Was Karl invested with all the prerogatives of the ancient emperors? Under those potentates, the Popes admitted themselves to be subjects, and were sometimes treated as rebel subjects; even under the barbaric kings, Odoaker, Theodorik, and Athalarik, the election of a pontiff could only be made with their consent; but long before the era of Karl they had definitively emancipated themselves from the dependency of the Eastern emperors, and asserted for themselves a certain supremacy in Rome and the exarchate. Whether they were equally independent of the Emperor of the West after the establishment of the new empire, history fails to decide.³ Two hundred years of war, in later times, between the Papacy and the Empire, prove the in-

¹ Annal. Lauresham., ad Ann. 801.

² Annal. Moissiac., ad Ann. 801; Fleury, Hist. Ecc., t. x., l. 14, n. 21.

³ On this subject, see Cenni (Monumenta Domin. Pontif., t. ii., dissert. 1); Gaillard (Vie de Charlemag., t. ii., l. 2, c. 1); Fleury (Ecc. Hist., t. x., ll.

45, 46); Leblanc (Dissert. sur Quelques Monnaies de Charlemag., c. v., p. 80); Bossuet (Defens. Declarat., l. ii., c. 38, § 1); Gosselin (Power of the Popes, pt. i., c. 2), and other authorities cited by the latter.

definiteness of their original understanding. Karl himself obviously believed himself emperor at Rome as elsewhere, and the lord and master of the Pope in temporal affairs, as of the least of the Pope's spiritual subjects. He administered justice in Rome personally and by his officers, and his laws and ordinances, in their commands and prohibitions, made no exception of the incumbents of the pontifical chair.

The whole world seemed to rejoice in the recognition of Karl's newly-acquired glory. For the Franks, it was Greatness of Karl recognised. a consummation of power which none of their predecessors, neither Goths, nor Herules, nor Lombards, had been able to achieve. The court of the East, troubled and frightened at first by the accession of such a chief to such a dignity, proposed at length a union of the two empires by a marriage which should join the great name of Karl to the great name of Irene.¹ The little monarchs of Britain and Spain hastened to avow their vassalage to the supreme head of Christendom; and even the Edrizites of Fez, and the Grand Calif of Bagdad, the immortal hero of the Thousand and One Nights, who, with kindred tastes and ambitions to those of Karl, had raised the empire of the Moslem to new heights of splendor and renown, solicited his friendship with imposing embassies and munificent presents.² "Haroun prefers the alliance of Karl," said the deputies, "to that of all the kings and princes of the earth," and in token of his sincerity he subjected to Karl's authority the holy places of the sepulchre and resurrection of Christ.

The winter after his coronation Karl was occupied "in regulating the affairs, not only public, but individual and Karl returns into Gaul, A. D. 801. ecclesiastical, of the city of Rome, of the Apostolic See, and, in fact, of the whole of Italy."³ Having finished these labors, he returned into Gaul. It seemed for a time as if the renewed empire were about to restore that universal and majestic peace which mankind had enjoyed under the Antonines. With the exception of small wars, which Pippin waged

¹ On the negotiations for this marriage, see Theophan. (Chronograph.).

² Einhard (Vit. Karl. Mag., c. 16), and Annal. Loiseliani.

³ These are the words of Einhard,

the best authority of the time. They show clearly what I have just said of Karl's own conception of his powers (Annal., ad Ann. 801).

with the Lombards of Beneventum, and Ludwig with the Saracens of the Spanish March, both in the extremities of the empire, and in both of which the Franks were successful,¹ the extensive domains of Karl were tranquil for two years. This interval he employed in improving the legislation of the Franks. "Seeing," says Einhard, "that the laws were imperfect, he tried to supply their defects, to harmonize their irregularities, and correct their errors. But in these projects he did not fully succeed." Too wise to enter upon the impracticable task of reducing the mass of conflicting customs which prevailed in different parts of his dominions to a single uniform code, he left to each nation its ancient statutes, and only added to them such rules as might be deemed indispensable to the preservation of order.² In one respect, however, Karl introduced a great monarchical innovation. At the Synod of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), held in 802, he ordained that every man, lay or cleric, who had taken the oath of fidelity to him as king, should renew it to him as Cæsar, and that all other persons above twelve years of age should repeat the same. Before that the kings of the Franks received oaths only from their antrustions, vassals, or beneficiaries, while the independent proprietors and sub-vassals did not swear allegiance directly to the prince. His object was to assimilate the duties of every subject of the empire toward its chief to the duties of the vassal in respect to his lord,³ and thereby enable himself to control with more ease the powerful leudes who, in their reliance upon the exclusive fidelity of their retainers, were often apt to grow factious.⁴ He centralized, if we may so say, the personal obligations of feudalism, and made himself the single authoritative head of both Church and state.

¹ On the first, see Annal. Loiseliani; Theoph., Chron. and Astronom., Vit. Ludovici Pii; and on the second, Ermoldi Nigelli (Carmen de Rebus Gestis Ludovici Pii, l. 1). This Ermold the Black wrote a poem in celebration of Ludwig about A.D. 825, which contains no facts not to be found elsewhere, but is full of details as to the manners and customs, and modes of thinking in the ninth century. A French translation is to be found in Guizot, Collect. des Mémoires.

² His edition of the Salic Codex, with the few changes he made, is given by Pardessus (Loi Salique, p. 265). The alterations in the Lombard, Saxon, and Riparian codes are to be found in Baluze (Capitularia, *passim*).

³ Martin (Hist. de Franc., t. ii., p. 467).

⁴ This was the great source of difficulty under the Mérovingans. The leuds were all little independent sovereigns, each with his own band of faithful.

Nevertheless, the essential aristocratic constitution of the Germanic government and society was preserved; the nobles participated regularly in every act of legislation, whether it concerned the general interests of the state, private affairs, or even the domestic economy of the royal household. A precious document (*De Ordine Palatii*), written by Adalhard, Abbot of Corbie, in the ninth century, and recorded by Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims,¹ throws a flood of light upon the political institutions and procedures of the time. "Two general *placita*, or diets," it says, "were held every year, the one on the return of spring, and the other in the autumn."² In the first, they regulated the whole administration of the kingdom, and nothing could change the resolutions there taken except some imperious necessity common to the whole extent of the empire. To this plaid all the lords (*majores*), as well ecclesiastical as lay, were convoked without distinction; the elders (*seniores*) to form resolutions, and the younger (*minores*) to consider them and give their assent, not through constraint or fear, but according to their convictions. The second assembly was only brought together in order to offer the annual gifts to the king, and was composed of the most aged and considerable councilors only. It was occupied with the immediate and pressing wants of the following year, so far as they could be provided for." For instance, if the governors of the frontier had concluded a peace with the neighboring tribes, it debated what was to be done after the conclusion of the truce, whether it should be renewed or not. If, at any point of the kingdom, a war threatened, it determined how it should be begun, or if peace had been established, by what means it might be assured. "But the councilors agreed with the king that every thing that was said familiarly in these meetings, whether on the general state of the kingdom or on the affairs of individuals, should be kept secret, and never revealed to any one except with the consent of all the others." According to this account, the spring meeting was a general deliberative assembly, while that of the autumn had more the character of a privy council. In both, proceeds Hincmar, "they submitted

¹ Hinc., Opera, t. ii., p. 211, § 29. huërou (Inst. Caroling., t. ii., p. 301),

² I translate from the French of Le- not having the Latin before me.

to the examination of the nobles, by the order of the king, the articles of law, named *capitula*, which the king himself had drawn up by the inspiration of God, or the necessity of which had been made manifest to him in the interval of the meetings. After having received these communications, they deliberated upon them one, two, three, or even a greater number of days, according to the importance of the matter. Messengers from the palace, going and coming, received their questions and reported the answers; and no stranger approached the place of their meeting until the result of their deliberations had been put before the eyes of the great prince, who then, with the wisdom which he received from God, adopted a resolution which all obeyed. The things, accordingly, went on thus for one, two, or more capitularies, until, with the aid of God, all the necessities of the times were provided for. While his affairs were treated of in this manner out of the presence of the king, the prince himself, amid the multitude which generally came to the general councils, was occupied in receiving presents, saluting the most considerable men, discoursing with those whom he rarely saw, testifying an affectionate interest in the more aged, making merry with the younger, and doing these and similar things alike for ecclesiastics as for seculars. Still, if those who deliberated upon matters submitted to their examination manifested a desire therefor, the king repaired to them; remained with them as long as they wished; and they reported to him with complete familiarity what they thought of every thing, and what were the friendly discussions which had been raised among them. I must not forget to mention that, if the weather was fine, all this passed in the open air; if not, in distinct buildings, where those who had to deliberate upon the propositions of the kings were separated from the multitude of persons who came to the assembly, and then the less considerable men could not enter. The places destined for the meeting of the lords were divided into two parts, so that the bishops, abbots, and priests high in dignity could be united without any mixture of the laity. In the same way the counts and other principal men of the state were separated in the morning from the rest of the multitude, until, the king present or absent, they were all met together; and the above-mention-

ed lords, the priests on their side and the laity on theirs, repaired to the hall assigned to them, and where they had honorably prepared their seats. When the lay and ecclesiastical lords were thus separated from the multitude, it remained in their option to sit together or separately, according to the affairs of which they had to treat—ecclesiastical, secular, or both. So if they wished any one to come, whether to demand nourishment or to ask a question, and again to dismiss him after having received what they wanted, they could do so. Thus passed the examination of the affairs which the king proposed to their deliberations. The second occupation of the king was to demand of every one what he had to report to him, or to teach him concerning the part of the kingdom whence he came. Not only was this permitted to every one, but they were strictly recommended to inquire, in the intervals of the assemblies, what passed within or without the kingdom; and that they should seek to know this from foreigners as well as countrymen, enemies as well as friends, sometimes by employing envoys, and without taking much care as to how the intelligence was acquired. The king wished to know whether, in any part, any corner of the kingdom, the people murmured and were agitated, and what was the cause of its agitation, and whether it had come to a disturbance upon which it was necessary that a general council should be employed, and other similar details. He also wished to know if any of the subdued nations thought of revolting; if any of those who had revolted seemed disposed to submit; if those who were still independent menaced the kingdom with any attack, etc. Upon all these matters, wherever a disturbance or a danger became manifest, he principally asked what were its motives or occasion." The initiative of all measures, as well as the definitive action thereon, appears to have belonged to the king; but he in no case decided arbitrarily, and the consent of the nobles was expressed or implied in every decision.¹

The capitularies of Karl; their character and various provisions.

The capitularies, enacted by the king and his councilors, are not to be regarded in any sense as a systematic code of laws, although the compre-

¹ Guizot (*Hist. Civilization*, t. ii., sec. 20) exaggerates the authority or influence of Karl, I think, and is well corrected by Lehuërou (*ubi sup.*).

hensive mind of Karl must have contemplated the advantages of a uniform rule of action for all his subjects; but he was too well aware of the miscellaneous character of his empire, of the radical diversities of custom and inveterate prejudices of sentiment, to attempt to inaugurate a jurisprudence like that of Theodosius and Justinian. His legislation, consequently, is rather a jumble of desultory principles and provisions than a regular body of statutes. At the same time, we are able to gather from it many indications of the organization and conduct of the government and of the condition of society.¹

¹ Mr. Guizot (Hist. Civil., lec. 21) has given the most admirable and thorough analysis of the capitularies, and I avail myself of his account, at the hazard of a very long note, as the best idea of them that can be conveyed to the reader.

"At the first glance, it is impossible not to be struck with the confusion which pervades this word (*capitula*): it is applied to all the acts inserted in Baluze's collection; and yet, in point of fact, the greater portion of those acts differ essentially from capitularies, properly so called. What would be the effect, if, some centuries hence, a compiler were to take all the acts of a government of our times, of the French administration, for instance, in the last reign, and, throwing them promiscuously together in one heap, under one undistinguishing title, were to give the collection forth as the legislation, the code of the period? The result would manifestly be an utterly absurd and fallacious chaos; laws, ordinances, decrees, briefs of the crown, personal judgments, departmental circulars, would be mixed up together, haphazard, in utter confusion. This has been exactly the case with the capitularies. I will proceed to analyze the collection of Baluze, classifying according to their nature and objects the acts of all kinds which we meet with there. You will at once see how great is their diversity. We find there under the general title of capitularies:

"1. Ancient national laws revised; the Salic law, for example.

"2. Extracts from the ancient laws, Salic, Lombard, Bavarian, etc.; extracts evidently made for a particular purpose, a particular place, a particular moment of time, for a special necessity, the nature of which there is no longer any thing to indicate to us.

"3. Additions to the ancient laws, to the Salic law, for instance, to the law of the Lombards, to that of the Bavarians, etc. These additions seem to have been made in a peculiar form, and with peculiar solemnities; that to the Salic law is preceded, in an ancient manuscript, by these words: 'These are articles which the lord Charles the Great, emperor, caused to be written in his councils, and ordered to be inserted among the other laws.' The Legislature, indeed, appears to have required the adhesion of the people to these additions more expressly than to the other parts of the law; thus, in 803, the year in which the additions to the Salic law were made, we find Charlemagne issuing the following direction to his *missi*: 'Let the people be interrogated touching the articles which have recently been added to the law; and, after they have all consented to them, let them affix to the said articles their signature in confirmation.'

"4. Extracts from the acts of the councils, and from the entire body of canonical legislation; the great capitulary enacted at Aix-la-Chapelle in 789, and a host of articles in the other capitularies, are nothing more than such extracts.

"5. New laws, of which some were

Ecclesiastical rules occupied a chief place in these enact-

passed by the general assemblies of the people, with the concurrence of the great laymen and great ecclesiastics together, or of the ecclesiastics alone, or of the laymen alone; while the rest appear to have been the work of the emperor himself, or to have been what we now call ordinances. The distinctions between these two classes of laws are not, on a close examination, very precisely marked, but they are perceptible.

"6. Instructions given by Charlemagne to his *missi*, on their departure for the provinces, and designed sometimes to regulate the personal conduct of the *missi*, sometimes to guide them in their inquiries, very often as simple communications to the people in particular districts, which the *missi* were to convey. Acts of this description, very foreign, in part, at all events to our notions of legislation, are of frequent occurrence in the capitularies; articles of a totally different nature are sometimes mixed up with them.

"7. Answers given by Charlemagne to questions addressed to him by the counts or bishops, or *missi dominici*, on the occasion of difficulties occurring to them in the course of their administration, and wherein he solves these difficulties, which have reference sometimes to matters which we should call legislative, sometimes to points in executive administration, sometimes to private interests.

"8. Questions which Charlemagne proposed to put to the bishops or counts at the next general assembly, and which he had noted down on paper that they might not, meantime, pass out of his recollection. These questions, which are among the most curious documents in the whole collection, bear in general a character of censure and reprimand of those to whom they are to be addressed. I will read a few of them to give you a practical idea of the liberality and good sense which characterized the mind of Charlemagne. My translation is literal: 'How does it happen that, both on the frontiers and with the

army, wherever there is any great measure to be taken for the defense of the country, one man will not give aid to another?' 'What is the meaning of these continual suits by which every one appears seeking to wrest from his neighbor that which he possesses?' 'To ascertain on what occasions and in what places the ecclesiastics and the laity seek, in the manner stated, to impede each other in the exercise of their respective functions. To inquire and discuss up to what point a bishop or an abbot is justified in interfering in secular affairs, and a count or other layman with ecclesiastical affairs. To interrogate them closely on the meaning of those words of the Apostle, "No man that warreth for the law, entangleth himself with the affairs of this life." Inquire to whom these words apply.' 'Desire the bishops and abbots to tell us truly what is the meaning of the phrase always in their mouths, "Renounce the world;" and by what signs we may distinguish those who have renounced the world from those who still adhere to the world: is it merely that the former do not bear arms or marry publicly?' 'To ask them farther, whether he is to be considered as having renounced the world whom we see laboring, day by day, by all sorts of means, to augment his possessions; now making use, for this purpose, of menaces of eternal flames, now of promises of eternal beatitude; in the name of God or of some saint despoiling simple-minded men of their property, to the infinite prejudice of the lawful heirs, who are, in very many cases, from the misery in which they are thus involved, driven by their necessities to robbing and to all sorts of disorders and crimes.' Clearly such questions as these do not at all resemble articles of law.

"9. Some of the *capitula* are not even questions, but mere notes, memoranda of particular things which Charlemagne from time to time conceived the idea of doing, and which he had put down on paper, lest he should forget

ecclesiastical
provisions.

ments.¹ It was a part of the policy of Karl, as it had been of his ancestors, to conciliate the clergy, not only because of their general intellectual superiority and influence with the people, but because, being incapable of transmitting their powers, they might be used as a counterpoise to the secu-

them. We read, for instance, at the end of the *capitula*, or instructions to the *missi dominici* in 803, these two articles: 'Recollect to order that they who send us horses as presents inscribe their names on each horse. And so with dresses that may be sent us from abbeyes. Recollect to order that whenever vicarious persons are found doing evil, or suffering it to be done, they be expelled from their post, and replaced by others of a better character.' I could cite many *capitula* of this description.

"10. Other articles contain judgments and briefs of the crown and the courts, collected evidently for the purpose of jurisprudence: thus we read in a capitulary of the year 808, 'A man had suborned a slave, induced him to kill his two young masters, the one aged nine, the other eleven, and then killed the slave himself, and threw him into a ditch. Adjudged, that the said man pay a *wehrgeld* for the boy of nine years old, a double *wehrgeld* for the boy of eleven, and a treble *wehrgeld* for the slave; and undergo, moreover, our ban.' This is obviously a judicial decree in a particular case, inserted among the capitularies as a precedent in future cases of a similar description.

"11. We meet, in like manner, with acts of pure domestic financial administration, relative to the administration of Charlemagne's own domains, and which enter into the most minute details on this subject. The famous capitulary *De Villis* is an example of this, and there are several other articles of the same character scattered through the collection.

"12. Besides the so various acts I have enumerated, the capitularies contain purely political acts, occasional documents, nominations, recommendations, decisions upon personal and pass-

ing differences. I look, for instance, at the capitulary rendered in 794 by the assembly of Frankfort, and among the 54 articles of which it is composed I find:

"(Art. 1.) Letters of pardon granted to Tassilon, duke of the Bavarians, who had revolted against Charlemagne.

"(Art. 6.) Arrangements for the settlement of a dispute between the Bishop of Vienne and the Archbishop of Arles and others respecting the limits of the sees of the Tarentaise, Embrun, and Aix. It sets forth that letters from the Pope on these matters were read, and that it was determined to consult anew with his holiness.

"(Art. 7.) As to the justification offered, and the pardon received, by Bishop Pierre.

"(Art. 8.) As to the deposition of the pretended Bishop Gerbod.

"(Art. 53.) Charlemagne procures the assent of the assembly of bishops to the Pope's license authorizing him to retain about his person Bishop Hildebold as his minister of ecclesiastical affairs.

"(Art. 54.) He recommends Alcuin to the good wishes and prayers of the assembly. There is obviously nothing legislative here.

"Thus, at first glance, on the most simple examination of the nature of these various acts, and without entering into any close inspection of their contents, you see how wholly erroneous is the general, the common idea entertained of these capitularies; they constitute any thing but a code; they comprise any thing but laws."

¹ In this resumé I have consulted, besides the Capitularies themselves, Sismondi's brief digest (*Hist. des Français*, t. i., p. 460 *et seq.*), Lhuërou (*Instit. Caroling.*, t. ii., l. 2, c. 6), and Guizot (*ubi sup.*).

lar nobles, who kept up an incessant struggle to render their estates and privileges hereditary. "The bishops, therefore, voted in all the national assemblies; they had introduced into them the usage of Latin, scarcely understood by the lay lords; they had the habit of speech, and nearly the whole legislation was abandoned to them. Moreover, the monarch and his councilors believed that they might sanctify their laws by rendering in each capitulary a homage to religion by a repetition of some of its precepts. Nevertheless this, the most prolix part of the laws of Karl, is also the most imperfect. Often they are merely the precepts of the Decalogue, or of Leviticus, which the King of the Franks lays hold of, as if in publishing them anew he gave them a new authority; often, again, he seeks to inculcate only the respect which is due to the priests, the churches, and their possessions. One capitulary, put forth at Worms in 803, dispenses the ecclesiastics from military charges, frees them from the obligation of marching to the armies, and places all their property under a special protection."¹ If, however, Karl was conciliatory toward the clergy, he was not lax or indulgent. Another capitulary of the same year restricts the privileges granted to the churches as sanctuaries; it authorizes the count of each province to reclaim from the bishop or abbot any one accused of crime who should take refuge there, in order to examine him; and it would seem that the intention of the legislator was to reduce the churches into a mere shelter for those pursued for private offenses, and not those who were culpable under the sovereign laws of the state.² Other laws made the payment of nones and tithes obligatory, and provided for the repairs of the churches; others guaranteed the free election of bishops by the clergy; others restricted their judicial authority to special ecclesiastical cases; and others were meant to correct and improve their manners, and teach them sobriety and discretion.³

The constitution of a feudal society is essentially military, and in Karl's regulations of the mode in which each
Military reg-
ulations. Frank contributed to the defense of the country, how he must march when the herrban was published, or be punish-

¹ Sismondi (*ubi sup.*).

² Ibid., t. i., §§ 2, 3, p. 387.

³ Baluze (*Capit.*, t. i., p. 405).

ed when he failed in the duty, we get a glimpse of social life, of the quality of the persons called to the service, and as to the relations of the service to the possession of lands.¹ Wars were still of two kinds, private and public (*fehde* and *wehr*); and though Karl had made some efforts to repress feuds, he found them too inveterately rooted in the national habitudes of the Germans to be eradicated; he allowed and licensed them, but circumscribed their sphere.² The vassals of a lord were obliged to follow him in every expedition, whether on his own account or that of the nation; but the emperor had a superior right to their services. With the Germans of Tacitus the summer was the peculiar season of military operations, the winter that of repose or festivity, and this distinction was still observed. When the month of May arrived, the prince sent forth his *ban*, addressed to all his officers, counts, bishops, and abbots, appointing a general rendezvous, and ordering them to repair thither with their men, and the proper equipments and provisions. This was immediately repeated by the counts and others, each in his own district, to all the warriors in his allegiance. Originally, in Germany, every freeman was bound to march when the chief thus gave the signal; but after the long settlement in Gaul, and society had assumed more of a fixed order, it was found that the small proprietors and cultivators of the soil could not well endure the loss of time and the expenses incident to military expeditions. Under Karl, therefore, though the holder of a benefice or fief was, of course, compelled to serve, since military and court service were among the essential conditions of the grant, certain categories and distinctions were yet made as to the mode in which each should contribute to the common charges of war. The proprietor or holder of three or more *mansî* (a *manse* being about twelve acres) must attend the host personally; he who had but two *mansî* joined to another of the same class to furnish forth a third, who had but one manse, as a soldier.³ It was obligatory on all who repaired to the army to bring with them "the arms, utensils, and other in-

¹ Sismondi (*ubi sup.*).

² Comp. Capit. Aquisgran, ad Ann. 813, with Capit. de Theodonis, ad Ann. 805.

³ Capitularies, ad Ann. 807, c. 2.

Changes, however, were made from time to time in these requirements. Lehuërou (Inst. Carl., t. ii., p. 482 *et seq.*).

struments of war, together with subsistence for three months, and clothing for six, so that each knight should have his shield, lance, sword, two-handed sword, his bow and quiver of arrows."¹ In case any one who was liable to duty refused to appear at the summons of his chief, he was condemned to a forfeit of sixty *solidi* of gold, or, if he was unable to pay it, to slavery till his friends or death discharged the debt.² If the refractory person chanced to be a count, he lost his office; and if a vassal, his benefice; while abbots and abbesses who retained near them more servitors than were needed were deposed.³

Nothing was more novel or peculiar in the legislation of Karl than his institution of imperial deputies, called *Missi Domini*. *Missi Dominici*, who were regularly sent forth from the palace to oversee and inspect the various local administrations. Consisting of a body of two or three officers each, one of whom was always a prelate, they visited the counties every three months, and held there the local assizes, or *placita minora*. In the provinces the agents of the emperor were of two kinds: first, dukes, counts, vicars, hundreders, and scabini, who were resident magistrates, charged to raise forces, to render justice, to maintain order, and to receive tribute; and, second, vassals or beneficiaries, who held from the emperor, sometimes hereditarily and sometimes for life, but generally without stipulation or rules, estates or domains in which they exercised certain domestic jurisdictions. Over both of these the *Missi* maintained a periodical supervision, being empowered to enter into their possessions, inspect the state of them and the state of their account, detect abuses, and indicate reforms. Even religion and morals were not exempted from this scrutiny; and when the *Missi* returned, they made a faithful report of the results of their researches to the emperor.⁴ They may be said to have been the eyes with which he watched the complicated affairs of his realm.

The Capitular
De Villis

As to the exactitude of Karl in every part of his administration, the capitular entitled *De Villis* is often

¹ Karl. M. Encyclica de Placita Generale Habendo, ad Ann. 806.

² Capit., ad Ann. 812, §§ 4 and 8.

³ The fine, however, was adapted to the circumstances of the offender by other statutes (Lehuërou, *ubi sup.*).

⁴ Capit., ad Ann. 802, §§ 1 and 24;

Chron. Moissiac., ad Ann. 802; Guizot, *ubi sup.*

cited. It related to the management of his numerous farms, and entered into the minutest details of agricultural and domestic life. "We wish," said the master of Europe, "that the farms we have acquired for our own use should be absolutely at our own disposal, and not at that of any of our subjects, so that our family may be independent, and no one be able to reduce it to poverty." Accordingly, his own orders, and those of the queen, or of such stewards as they should appoint, were alone to be regarded by the occupants. He showed how the products of the vines should be transported to his palaces for his yearly consumption; what trees, fruits, and vegetables should be cultivated, specifying even his favorite flowers, the lily, the rose, the heliotrope, the iris, etc.;¹ how the forests should be treated, how the mills should be made profitable, how the stalls for the cattle should be cared for, how the fish-ponds should be inclosed and the fish caught out of them sold, how any superfluity of hen's eggs should be disposed of for his benefit, and how the business of the bakeries and the kitchens should be carried on. A strict account of every utensil was to be kept, "so that we may have a precise knowledge of what we possess," said the emperor. Such traits of economy and vigilance evince the largeness of his nature, which grasped all the interests of life, and the versatility of a mind capable at once of organizing the vastest warlike enterprises and the smallest domestic labors; but they had another object, doubtless, than the mere right ordering of his own personal domains. He was a centre of influence in every respect, and the example he set, even in the cultivation of his gardens, if followed by his numerous leudes, might become a means of introducing those orderly habits which are the germs of higher civilization.

Perhaps, however, none of the regulations of Karl cast more light on the condition of society in his time than the miscellaneous edicts in which he strove to stem the prevailing ignorance, disorder, and barbarism, and to lift his contemporaries—not without showing how much he still had in common with them—to his own intellectual and moral level.

¹ Karl's enumeration of plants, medicinal, culinary, and ornamental, is a precious document for the history of ancient agriculture, and shows that the variety of field and garden products was nearly as great then as it is now.

Sorcerers and magicians were severely dealt with unless they recanted their errors; adulterers, excommunicates, persons of vile condition, serfs, and slaves, could not be witnesses in courts; various superstitions—among the rest, the baptism of bells—were forbidden; drunkenness was prohibited; the nuns and abbesses were enjoined not to write love-letters nor cause them to be written; the bishops not to keep hounds, or hawks, or falcons, nor entertain wandering minstrels (*jongleurs*?); lepers were sequestered from the rest of the people; a poor-rate was provided for mendicants; in times of famine, fixed prices were set on commodities; various sumptuary regulations appear, and generous liberality was enjoined upon all in the entertainment of pilgrims.

The empire of Karl shone with great splendor externally; it enjoyed some degree of prosperity and peace within;¹ but, in spite of all his efforts, it was but too evidently a forced union of incompatible elements. Many disasters had been suppressed, many enemies subdued, much new life infused into the mass of society, but the condition was still feverish, fretful, and uncertain.² With the Eastern court, on the deposition of Irene by Nicephorus (802), Karl had concluded a treaty, which secured him Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia, but Venice was left under the nominal supremacy of Byzantium, to become a future source of trouble. In 806, John and Maurice, the doges of that city, refused to recognize the government of Pippin, and were supported in their revolt by Paul, Duke of Zara, in Dalmatia, and Nicephorus, the Emperor of the East, who sent a fleet of Greek corsairs to cruise in the Adriatic. Nor was it till 810 that peace was measurably restored.³ With Haroun-al-Raschid, the great calif of the Eastern Mussulmans, Karl exchanged embassies and presents,⁴ but the Mussulmans of Spain and Africa incessantly harassed his coasts, and made destructive descents upon Corsica and Sar-

¹ On the interior disorders of Karl's empire, see Schmidt (*Hist. des Allemands*, t. ii., pp. 45-49).

² See the capit. of 811 against the various oppressions of the counts, bishops, hundreders. Bouquet, t. v., p. 682.

³ Sigonius (*De Reg. Ital.*, t. iv.).

⁴ The chroniclers speak with a garrulous simplicity of admiration of the elephants, a wheel-clock, the fine stuffs, the spices, and other munificent presents, by which they supposed Haroun had almost drained the East of its wealth.

dinia, and the other islands of the Mediterranean. Ludwig, of Aquitain, in the course of a few years, lost and recovered, and lost and recovered again, his possessions in the Spanish March.¹ If Karl also received the submission of Theodore, the Khan of the Huns, who had been converted to Christianity, and through whom the Church was established among the people, he was by their means involved in a war with their neighbors the Bohemians. His eldest son, Karl, spent the year 805 in a combat with this new enemy, in which he was successful, but not without experiencing severe losses.² Even the Saxons, who had not yet forgotten their ancient feuds, were still so turbulent that they could only be subdued by a violent uprooting of the nation. In 804 ten thousand of them were transplanted from their natal soil to that of Gaul and Italy, and those that remained were treated as strangers in their own country, and shorn of their rights of property.³ Some of them, however, escaped into Denmark, and brought upon the Franks the most furious and formidable foe they had encountered for some years. Godfried, King of the Danes, rallying to his standard the chosen warriors of Scandinavia, and all the fugitive Saxons, overran the territories of the Abotrites, allies of Karl, in 808, and again, in 810, descended upon Friesland with a fleet of two hundred sail. The Frisons, defeated in three battles, submitted to tribute. Karl put himself once more at the head of his armies, caused a fleet to be built, raised walls and fortifications along the menaced coasts, and prepared to repulse the invaders with something of his ancient vigor. Godfried's assassination by one of his own people alone prevented an obstinate and sanguinary war (811).⁴ The same year he dispatched troops beyond the Elbe against the Livonians, who had in some way offended; into Pannonia, to terminate the quarrels of the Huns and Schlaves; and into Brittany, "to chastise the perfidy of the inhabitants."⁵ On all sides he was threatened,

¹ These skirmishes are narrated, often from Arabic sources, by M. Renaud (*Invasion des Sarrasans en France*, ed. Paris, 1836), and also by Fauriel (*Hist. de la Gaul. Mérid.*, tt. iii., iv.).

² Annal. Tiliani, Loiseliani, et cæst.

³ This applies, however, only to the

Nord Liude (Angrivarians), the Westphalians and Ostphalians continuing to be submissive. Annal. Loiseliani, Mettens., Einhardi.

⁴ Annal. Loiseliani up to 807; after that, Einhard and Chron. Moissiac.

⁵ Einhard (Annal., ad Ann. 811).

and yet on all sides his resources and energy were sufficient to maintain or acquire peace.¹

In these expeditions Karl took little personal part; he was now approaching the threescore years and ten which is the appointed term of man's life; the infirmities of age were creeping over him; and domestic sorrows, as well as public calamities, had turned his thoughts upon the possible future of his immense dominion. Calling his leudes together (806), he read to them his will, which he caused them to confirm by their oaths, and the Pope also to subscribe. It gave to Ludwig, in addition to his kingdom of Aquitaine, a large part of Neustria, Southern Burgundy, and Provence; to Pipin, Italy, Bavaria, a part of Alemannia, and some countries on the Upper Rhine; and to Karl, Austrasia, and all the rest of his dominion, which now was called Frankenland, or Francia. This was a division which differed from the usual divisions of the Mérovinges in that it consulted the conveniences of geography and race. Nothing, however, was said of the transmission of the imperial dignity, nor of the sovereignty of the city of Rome.² It was simply provided that in the event of the death of any of the brothers leaving a son, that son should be chosen to his place if the people approved. In case of a dispute between them, they were enjoined to decide it by "the trial of the cross,"³ and not by combat. With a sad and prophetic fear, he adds, "As to our grandchildren, born or to be born, we forbid our sons expressly from putting them to death, mutilating them, or cropping their hair by force, or, if they are accused, without examination and discussion."⁴ By a subsequent testament (811), he divided his movable property into three parts, two of which were destined as a fund for the poor

¹ I have passed rapidly over these later events because they do not seem to me necessary to be described in detail.

² The omission of Rome from the will is made an argument by those who deny that the emperor exercised sovereign power in the city of the Pope. Gosselin (*Temp. Power of Pope*, t. i., p. 260). But by a similar logic it might be shown that Karl did not suppose himself emperor, since he made no

provision for the maintenance of that dignity.

³ The trial of the cross was an ordeal which is not clearly explained. See, however, Ducange in *Gloss. (Judicium Crucis)*.

⁴ *Charta Divisionis Imperii*, apud Bouquet, t. v., p. 771. Karl's daughters were also liberally provided for, and they might choose with which brother they would live, if they did not marry or enter a convent.

of his metropolitan cities; and the other to other poor, his children, and his servants of the palace.¹ But his children did not all live to enjoy these benefactions; his son Pippin died in 810; and Karl, his eldest, the following year; so that Ludwig alone was left to inherit his power.

Profoundly saddened by the inroads of death in his family, and feeling more and more the advances of age, and not unapprehensive of the fate of his empire, Karl resolved to associate his son in the administration of the government. To a great assembly of his lords and bishops, held in the church of Aix-la-Chapelle, he communicated his intention and desire. They approved his scheme with loud shouts. Invested with the imperial robes, and wearing the imperial crown, Karl took the hand of Ludwig, and advanced with him toward the altar, on which another crown was laid. They knelt and prayed devoutly together, and then rising, Karl addressed his son in words full of solemnity and tender solicitude. "The rank, my son," he said, "to which Almighty God hath this day raised you, compels you more than ever to revere the Sovereign Majesty, to love his excellencies, and to observe faithfully all his ordinances and commandments. In becoming an emperor, you become the father and protector of his Church. On you chiefly will depend the good order and purity of his ministers and people. Though you be their master, consider them as your brethren; treat them as your friends, even as the members of your family; make yourself happy in advancing and securing their happiness. Fear not to employ justice and the authority with which you are clothed to humble and restrain the wicked. Be the refuge and the consolation of the poor. Make choice of governors and judges who fear God, and whose spirit is above partiality and corruption; and beware of ever suspecting easily the integrity and good behavior of those whom you have once honored with offices of dignity and trust. Study to live and reign unblamably before God and man, remembering the account you must finally give to the Sovereign Ruler and Judge of all." Out of his own heart and life Karl spake thus, amid the plaudits of all who heard him, when he directed Ludwig to lift the crown from the altar and put it on his head, in token

¹ Einhard (Vit. Karl. Mag., c. 33), who gives the will at length.

that he received and held it from God alone. After partaking of the sacrament together, Karl tottered on the arms of his son in the procession which moved toward the palace.¹

The last years of his life, though he did not withdraw entirely from the cares of government, Karl spent in hunting — an amusement of which he was passionately fond — in religious devotions, and in correcting the Greek texts of the Gospels. In the month of January (814), as he came from the bath, he was seized with a violent fever, and took to his bed. Steadily refusing nourishment, as was his wont when ill, in order to triumph over the disease, he declined from day to day. The anxiety of his people caused them to discern in the common accidents of the time the fatal presages of his death. The sun and moon were eclipsed, the palace shaken by an earthquake, the great bridge of Mentz burned, and the portico of the church crumbled, in monition of his departure. On the 28th of the month, seven days after he was seized, having partaken of the holy communion, crossed his arms on his breast, and exclaimed, "Now, Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit," he died. His body, solemnly washed and embalmed, was intombed on the same day in the basilica he had himself founded at Aachen. He was placed on a chair, in a sitting posture, with a golden sword on one side, a golden Gospel in his hand, and a diadem of gold, in which the wood of the cross was inserted, on his head. Over the imperial robes hung the pilgrim's scrip, which he used to wear on his visits to Rome, and before him lay the shield which Pope Leo had blessed. They wrote on his tomb, "Here reposes the body of Karl, the great and orthodox emperor, who gloriously enlarged the kingdom of the Franks, and governed it happily for forty-seven years."² "No one can tell," says a monk, "the mourning and sorrow that his death occasioned every where, so that even the Pagans wept him as the father of the world."³ Well might the world have wept, for the bravest and noblest soul that it then knew was gone from it forever.

¹ Thegan (Vit. Ludovici Pii). This Thegan was a Frank, Chorbishop of Trèves, who died about 845. Dom. Rivet: (Hist. Litt. de France, t. v., p.

46). His work, though short, is one of the principal monuments of the epoch.

² Einhard (Vit. Karl. Mag., in fine.).

³ Monach. Engolismensis, apud Bouquet, t. v., p. 186.

In figure Karl was tall and robust, but well proportioned.¹ The top of his head was round; his eyes large and piercing; his nose a little long; his neck short; his countenance open and lively; and, whether standing or sitting, he exhibited rare dignity and command of presence. He walked with a firm step; was an excellent rider in a nation of riders; surpassed all his fellows in swimming; while his health, up to the last four years of life, had scarcely been broken. In his tastes, both in dress and eating, he was remarkably simple, preferring the rude costumes of his fathers to the robes and ornaments of the Roman fashion, and plain meats and drinks to costly viands or exquisite wines. He detested drunkenness. His conversation was eloquent and appropriate, though his voice was too thin for his size, and Einhard intimates that he talked too much. He was in general serious, but had a certain child-like glee in him, and now and then gave way to jests and even practical jokes. Once he forced a company of his nobles, who were too superfinely dressed, to follow him to a hunt through sleet, and mire, and brambles, till their silks and satins were all torn and bedraggled, and afterward to sit through their dinner in that plight. At another time he conspired with a Jew to palm upon a bishop, who was an extravagant virtuoso in specimens of natural history, a curiously-preserved rat, as a wonderful product of some distant country.² A favorite amusement of his, showing the familiarity and good-humor of his conduct, was to contend with his friends and soldiers, two or three hundred at once, in a swimming-match. Toward his friends he was generous, toward his enemies placable, and to his children only too affectionate. His daughters, whom he caused to be instructed in the liberal arts as well as the use of distaff and needle, and whom he kept with him both at home and on his journeys, did not gratefully repay the kindness of the paternal heart.³

¹ Seven times the length of his own foot, says Einhard. Gaillard fixes his stature at five feet nine inches, French, or about six feet one inch English measure. The romancers make him eight feet high, endowed with prodigious strength, and an appetite equal to his force. With one stroke of his good sword *Joyeuse* he cut asunder a

rider and his horse; his meals were only less than those of Gargantua's, as described by Rabelais.

² The Monk of St. Gall, who is a good deal of a gossip, gives other instances of his practical joking.

³ Karl had six sons and eight daughters; of the daughters, two of them had children, but not husbands. One was

Nor was his own conduct always exemplary. He was a saint only in the calendar. After having married four wives, he took to illicit connections.¹ One of the first duties of his son, on his accession to the throne, was to purify the purlieus of his palace from brawlers, minstrels, and improper women.² Vigilant as Karl was, he could not prevent the license of his retainers; yet in his edicts he was extremely severe in the denunciation and punishment of every form of vice, and it can not be doubted that he cherished a genuine regard for morality—not that which consists in the decorous observance of external forms, but in a deep, inward love of truth and goodness. His piety, though colored by the peculiar superstitions of the times, was spontaneous, sincere, and earnest. In an age of ignorance and barbarism, he clung to every thing that made for the advancement of mankind. His appreciation of intellectual men; his constant personal supervision of his schools; his efforts to improve himself in knowledge; his delight in literature, evinced by collecting the old sagas of his nation, by his reading of the classic authors, and his corrections of the texts of Scripture; and his zeal for the introduction of music, architecture, and the more elegant arts into his realm, all show his elevated intelligence and purposes.

As a warrior he is known to us rather by the celerity of his movements, and the greatness of the results he achieved, than by any peculiar military endowments. His strategy is unexplained. Critics pretend to discover in his modes of warfare "the art by which a general compensates for the numerical inferiority of his forces to that of his antagonists—the art of moving detached bodies of men along remote and converging lines with such mutual concert as to throw their

the mother of Nithard, the historian, his father being a bishop.

¹ Einhard says, "After the death of Fastrada he married Luitgarda, by whom he had no children, and when she died he took four concubines," but he does not say whether this was simultaneously or in succession. Velly defends his reputation from the charge of having maintained four women at once, alleging that these later connections

were a kind of morganitic marriages (*Hist. de Franc.*, t. i., p. 269, ed. Paris, 1770). It confirms this view that no member of the Church is known to have remonstrated against the immorality. What does Hallam mean when he speaks of Karl's "nine wives, whom he divorced with little ceremony?" (*Middle Ages*, vol. i., p. 12.)

² *Astronom.*, Vit. Ludovici Pii.

united powers at the same moment on any meditated point of attack.” “Neither the marches of Hannibal nor those of Napoleon,” says one, “were combined with greater foresight or executed with greater precision than the simultaneous passages of Karl and Bernard across the same mountain ranges, and their ultimate union in the vicinity of their Lombard enemies.”² He is said, moreover, to have improved, not merely the equipment and discipline of his army, but its entire constitution, by which it was more easily brought into the field, and rendered more effective in battle.³ He turned his whole realm into a camp, ready at any time to do military duty. Nevertheless, it is certain that Karl fought no great and decisive single battles, such as Marathon, Arbela, the Metaurus, Chalons, and Tours, and he conducted few important sieges. But these were not required of him by the peculiar antagonists he had to encounter, or the circumstances under which they were encountered. His foes were wild tribes principally, dwelling in the extremities of Europe, whose simultaneous revolts demanded for their suppression rather swiftness of movement than skill in strategy. Fifty-three campaigns, in which we see him at the head of his troops, often in the course of the same year, now in the north of Germany, now in Spain, now in Aquitaine, now in Hungary, now among the Danes, now among the Beneventins, attest alike his prodigious activity and no less prodigious endurance. Yet his moderation was as remarkable as his energy. With the exception of the massacre of the Saxons, his career as a conqueror was stained by none of those wanton cruelties which seem so inseparable from war. None of his expeditions were undertaken for merely personal ends, to satiate an idle lust of glory or to wreak his revenge upon an enemy. None of them were civil broils, like so many of the wars of the Mérovingans, to test the strength of rival factions or further the pretensions of ambitious families. All his subjects were engaged in the prosecution of them, because their objects were national, inspired by fundamental maxims of policy, and adopted with their own consent at

¹ Sir J. Stephen (Lect. Hist. Franc., p. 67). and those of the Austrian campaign of Bonaparte.

² Ibid. Thierry finds some analogies in the plans of his Hungarian war

³ Wirth (Geschichte der Deutschen, b. i., s. 529).

the malls. When he proposed to the Saxons the savage formula "submit or die," he did so in no native love of blood, but in order to extinguish a ferocious and aggressive paganism, whose existence he deemed incompatible with the security or civilization of Europe. The time had come, as he thought, in the history of the world, when, by a wonderful concurrence of circumstances, barbarism might be suppressed in its northern homes; when the seeds of civil order could be sown broadcast in the waste and fruitless desert; and a new form and new vigor be imparted to the social life of mankind. If his labors, then, like those of Alexander in Asia or of Napoleon in Europe and Africa, were as bloody as they were gigantic, they still assume, in the motives of them, a nobler aspect of humanity.

For the policy of Karl throughout his long reign, whether in war or peace, looked to one great end—the rendering of Europe a single and united Christendom. Born in a rude age, bred among turbulent warriors, and cherishing the profoundest reverence for the memory of his Germanic ancestors, he yet emancipated himself as completely as it is possible for a man to do from the prejudices of race and custom, and devoted his marvelous faculties and unexampled energy of will to the realization of a great scheme of civic improvement. Roman inspirations, it is true, came to his help—inspirations breathed from the remains of those glorious monuments which accosted his mind every where in the south, or taught directly by the ambitious language in which the Church aspired to a spiritual supremacy that should equal or surpass the political supremacy of the Cæsars—but in his adoption of the imperial plans he did not blindly imitate the imperial methods. That had been the fatal error of the Mérovingans. Karl had ideas of his own. If he borrowed from Rome the great thought of European unity—if, like the emperors, he sought to embrace under a single government the diversified lives and interests of the nations, he, however, in the details of his arrangements, remembering that he was a German and that nations were still nations, endeavored to modify the stringent centralism of Rome by the local independency of Germany. Making himself the centre of his vast government, and putting restraints upon the

His policy
as a ruler.

licentious powers of his nobles, he yet left to the different people subject to his empire their own customs and laws. By the discipline and instructions of the Church, moreover, he hoped to fuse their heterogeneous habitudes into a uniformity of faith and practice, which would prepare them for uniformity of government. Thus, his alliance with the Pope, his generosity to the bishops, his sedulous support and encouragement of all religious institutions, were animated as much by comprehensive political motives as by ardent piety. But in this scheme, grand and benevolent as it was, Karl was overborne by the tendencies of his times. All the deeper impulses of the nations were toward independence rather than unity; he could not reverse or control them: Germany was stronger than Rome, feudalism than imperialism. The sublimest legislative genius can do no more than arrest for a moment the great currents of social force. Karl did no more. The grand fabric he had reared speedily crumbled into the dust; it had no foundation in the soil; and, as soon as his plastic genius and powerful hand were withdrawn, there came

“Red ruin and the breaking up of laws,
The craft of kindred and the godless hosts
Of heathen swarming over northern seas.”

CHAPTER XVIII.

DISSOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF THE FRANKS.

(FROM A.D. 814 TO A.D. 848.)

THE government of the great Karl was too heavy a burden for any shoulders less broad than his own. All the nations, according to the chroniclers, had been proud of the glory of his rule; but, as soon as he was no more, the enchantment was broken, and they began to stir with their own natural life. Ludwig,¹ his son and successor, now in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and who since his fourth year had been the King of Aquitain, was unequal to the ponderous heritage. Not destitute of martial energy, having worsted the Saracens of the Spanish March in many a well-fought field, he was yet more of a saint than a king. Like his uncle Karloman, he would willingly have resigned the splendors and troubles of his royal rank for the quiet devotions of the monastery. Gentle, just, generous, and devout, the time which he was not forced to spend in affairs of state, he surrendered to alms-giving and prayer; when the mimes and minstrels, by their wild merriment, set the whole court in roars of laughter, he was never seen to smile; and his tender compassion, his eagerness to do justice, to right the wrong, and to restore what had been improperly taken, reduced him to a poverty which left him nothing to give but his blessing.²

The advent of this pious monarch was naturally hailed by the clergy with some degree of hope; the nobles, who had been kept in their places by the strong hand of Karl, counted for themselves on Ludwig's greater weakness and amiability; and the people, who had been exhausted and oppressed by the frequent wars of the father, expected relief under the more clement reign of the son. But the gratulations were not universal, and the first acts of administration, after his

¹ "From *Alu*, signifying famous, dus the Black, in his poem on the glory of Ludwig Pious." says Ermol-
and *wig*, Mars (warrior)," says Ermol-

² Astron., Vit. Ludovici, c. 7.

arrival at Aachen on the death of Karl, were earnest of a sharp and vigorous reform. The concubines of his father, and the paramours of his sisters, with all the losel hangers on of the court, were driven away from it, together with the proud prelates, counselors of the emperor, who had misused their trusts, and a brood of bastard relatives, grandsons and grand-nephews of old Karl Martel, who, as counts and abbots, gathered about the seat of power.¹ An early diet, summoned to the imperial palace (August 1st, 814), sent forth into all the realm *Missi Domini* empowered to receive complaints, to investigate wrongs, and to redress all grievances. Many injustices were repaired, many of the oppressed restored to their rights, many freemen, reduced to servitude by force or fraud, enfranchised once more.² Ludwig's benevolent solicitude extended even to his barbaric dependents, the Saxons and Frisons, whom the rigid politics of Karl had stripped of the right of inheriting their fathers' properties. He placed them on a footing with the other subjects of the empire, and won their eternal gratitude.³ Between the Pope and his refractory people new discords had broken out, and he intervened with marked though transient success. Leo III., in punishment of a conspiracy against his life and power, had shown an intolerable severity, and excited the Romans to a bloody insurrection. His death in the midst of the disturbances, and the unpopular choice of his successor, Stephen IV. (June, 816), only inflamed the fiery rage of the factions. In the third month of his pontificate Stephen fled to the emperor at Rheims for protection. The awe of the imperial name assuaged the conflict for a time; the Pope was pardoned the haste with which he had assumed the papal office without the consent of the emperor; and, in return, consented to consecrate him Cæsar of the West. "Peter," said the pontiff, placing the diadem on the head of the monarch, and eager to turn the incident to the advantage of the Church—"Peter glorifies himself in making thee this present, because thou hast assured him the enjoyment of his just rights."⁴

The weak and gentle character of Ludwig hastened the pro-

¹ Astron., Vit. Ludovici, c. 21.

² Ermoldi Nigelli Carmen, c. 2.

³ Astron., Vit. Ludovici, c. 24.

⁴ Thegan, De Gestis Ludovici, cc. 16-18; Astron., Vit. Ludovici, c. 26; Annal. Einhard, ad Ann. 816.

The imperial constitution, A.D. 817. clivity of institutions toward their fall. The nations were growing more impatient of imperial domination. In his anxiety to strengthen the administration, and give permanence to the constitution of the state, he, at a second diet, held at Aachen, proposed to the assembled lords and bishops a division of his estates and the regulation of the succession. After three days spent in religious exercises and prayers for the divine grace, it was resolved that two royal appanages, with the title of king, should be assigned to Ludwig's sons: to Pippin, Aquitain, the Basque provinces, the Marches of Toulouse, and four countships in Septimania and Burgundy; to Ludwig, Bavaria, Bohemia, Carinthia, and the provinces of the Schlaves and Avars; while the eldest son, Lothar, should be associated in the empire, with a right to the undivided sovereignty on the death of the father. Bernhard, son of Pippin, the elder brother of Ludwig, was simply confirmed in the royalty of Italy, which he held by an unrevoked grant of his grandfather, Karl the Great. That the unity of the empire, "wonderfully sustained thus far by the favor of God," might never be broken, it was decreed that none of the subaltern kings should make war, conclude peace, surrender a city, contract marriage, or send envoys to foreign lands, without the consent of the emperor. If either died without heirs, his appanage reverted to the empire, or, if he left more sons than one, the people, with the sanction of the emperor, were to choose which of them they would have for king.¹ At the same assembly comprehensive laws for the government of the Church were enacted. The archbishops and bishops were authorized to force the clergy to live together under the rigorous rules of the canonical discipline. They were prohibited from bearing arms, from wearing belts of pearls, fine apparel, and gilded spurs, from accepting donations or bequests to the wrong of near relatives, and from persuading youths to receive the tonsure or take the veil without the consent of their parents, or admitting unfree men into holy orders. Monasteries were subjected to the severe rules of Benedict of Aniana, to whom the rules of the elder Benedict seemed too lax, and no one was to be enticed into them with a view to appropriating his property. But, in compensa-

¹ Einhard, *Annal.*

tion for these stricter requirements, the clergy were endowed with ampler and more independent powers. The election of bishops was confined to them and the people, to the exclusion of the nobles and even the crown, while the bishops, once installed, were invested with almost autocratic prerogatives. Not only were the inviolable goods of the Church placed at their supreme disposal, but they might depose or expel priests. Teutonic Christianity seemed to be completely in the ascendant. German ambition had seized the principal places of the Church and gave the impulse to its councils. All the leading ecclesiastics bear German names, and Adalhard of Corbie, Ebbo of Rheims, Agobard of Lyons, Theodulf of Orleans, and Witiza (better known as Benedict of Aniana), are the animating spirits of the times.

The imperial constitution of 817 was designed to increase the stability of the Empire, but it had the effect of stirring up the elements of discord. As sons of the emperor, Pippin and Ludwig were dissatisfied with the superiority conceded to Lothar, so contrary to Germanic usages; and Bernhard, who was scarcely named in the settlement, broke out into open revolt. Italy, weary of the Frankish lordship, indignant at the minor part assigned her, and instigated by her nobles, who were, many of them, descendants of the conquered Lombards, eagerly supported his cause. Pope Paschal, the successor of Stephen IV., was supposed to be not indifferent to his success, and there were bishops in Gaul that secretly sympathized with the outbreak. Bernhard, with a numerous army, possessed himself of all the passes of the Alps leading into Italy; but the Italians were not entirely united; the powerful dukes of Spoleto and Friuli clung to the Empire, together with the Bishop of Verona and the Count of Brescia, and the cause of the king was rendered desperate from the outset. Ludwig gathered his forces at Châlons-on-the-Saône, only to receive the submission of the impetuous but unhappy nephew. A capital sentence was pronounced by the offended nobles of the Empire against the rebel, which the compassionate interposition of the emperor softened into imprisonment, with the loss of his eyes. The penalty, however, was inflicted in so wanton or barbarous a manner that the victim of it perished within three

Revolt of Bernhard in Italy.

His punishment.

days. His leading followers suffered the same torture, and the prelates who had shown them favor were confined to monasteries. The dominion of Italy passed to Lothar, who was crowned as king.¹

Thus far the reign of Ludwig had been marked by wisdom and energy, and attended by prosperity and splendor. Ludwig grows more monkish. If the remote vassals revolted, they were vigorously subdued; if the Normans ravaged the northern coasts, they were repulsed; successive assemblies had confirmed the dispositions of 817; and foreign nations still sent their obsequious embassies to the monarch of the west, the son of the great Karl. Loses his wife. But in 818 Ludwig lost his wife Hermengarda, and the event touched his mind with a sombre sorrow. His religious feelings assumed a deeper tinge of melancholy and despair. He withdrew more and more from the world, and it was feared that he might resolve to seek the congenial gloom of monastic seclusion. In order to divert his mind and win his affections back to society, his councilors proposed that he should take a second wife. They caused to be brought before him the fairest of all the noble-born women of his realm, when his choice fell upon Judith, daughter of the Count Welf of Bavaria, Takes a second wife. allied on one side to the Lombards of Italy, and on the other to the Saxons (819). She was possessed of marvelous beauty, was young and fascinating in her manners, a skillful musician and dancer, and as learned as she was eloquent.² Over the monarch she soon acquired an ascendancy which made her the actual ruler of the court, if not of his entire dominions. She could not, however, win him from his devotions and his penances. On the contrary, his temporary lapse into weak human passions seemed to inspire him with more ardent longings for divine joys. "He felt that he was diminished, that a virtue had gone out of him."³ His sensitive and morbid conscience brooded over the possible errors of his career; he condemned himself for the severity that he had practiced toward his nephew Bernhard and the insurgent bishops; and he urged himself to undergo the humiliations of a public penance. At

¹ Thegan, Vit. Ludovici, cc. 22, 23; Nithard, Hist., l. i., c. 2.

² Astron., c. 32; Thegan, c. 26; Bouquet, t. vi., pp. 355, 356.

³ Michelet, t. ii., l. i., c. 2.

Ludwig's public penance, A. D. 832. an assembly convened at Attigny-on-the-Aisne, assuming the habit of a penitent, he confessed his faults; he craved the pardon of his sins from the members and of the people; he supplicated their prayers; he promised indemnity to those he accused himself of wronging; and he distributed abundant alms among the churches.¹ There was something profoundly touching in this solemn act of remorse, in this voluntary humiliation of one, whom no earthly tribunal could reach, before the tribunal of the heavens; and some contemporaries regarded it as superior in dignity and grandeur to the public penance which Theodosius endured at the command of Ambrose, but the majority of the brutal natures of the time saw in the act the degradation of the royalty and the feebleness of the man.

A secret discontent was slowly fermenting against the emperor. The bishops found him irksome as a rival religious authority; the barons were impatient of the centralism of the Empire; and the people were made to despise him, by the stories sedulously spread of the criminal relations of Bernhard, his chamberlain, with the youthful queen. At length, when a son (afterward Karl the Bald) was born to Judith (828), and the emperor made him King of Alemania, a new kingdom formed out of Helvetia and Transjuran Burgundy (Switzerland and Suabia), the storm burst (829). Summoned to follow the emperor in a war upon the revolted Britons, his warriors deserted him and gathered about his sons, who were jealous of the young half brother, or about their separate leaders. Poor Ludwig found himself alone. His rebellious sons and subjects banished the offending Bernhard into Barcelona, maltreated or killed his relatives, shut up the empress in a convent, and held the emperor himself as a kind of prisoner of state (830). "Among all his children, that wretched old Lear found no Cordelia." Lothar wished to be sole emperor.

"But neither the grantees nor the brothers of Lothar," says Michelet, "were disposed to submit to him. Weighing emperor against emperor, they preferred Ludwig. The monks, whose captive he was, labored to restore him. The Franks

¹ Astron., c. 35; Einhard, Annal., ad Ann. 822.

perceived that the triumph of the child of Ludwig deprived them of the Empire. The Saxons and the Frisons, who owed him their liberty, exerted themselves on his behalf. A diet was assembled at Nimeguen amid the nations that supported him. 'All Germany flocked thither to the emperor's succor.' Lothar, in his turn, found himself solitary, and at his father's mercy. Wala, and all the heads of the faction, were condemned to death. The good emperor chose to spare them."²

"Bernhard the Aquitanian, however, being supplanted in the favor of Ludwig by the Monk Gondebald, one of his Second revolt, A.D. 833. liberators, rekindled the war in the south, and excited Pippin to action. The three brothers plotted together anew. Lothar brought with him the Italian Gregory IV., who excommunicated all those who should disobey the King of Italy. The armies of the father and of the sons met in Alsace. The latter made the Pope speak, and exerted some unknown means by night. In the morning, the emperor, seeing himself abandoned by a part of his followers, said to the rest, 'I will not have any one die for me.'³ The theatre of this shameful scene was called the Field of Falsehood."

"Lothar, having become again the master of the person of Ludwig, determined to put an end to the matter at once, and to finish his father. This Lothar was a man who did not recoil from bloodshed. He caused one of Bernhard's brothers to be butchered, and he had his sister thrown into the Saône,⁴ but he dreaded public execration if he laid parricidal hands upon Ludwig. He conceived the design of degrading him by imposing on him a public penance so humiliating that he never afterward could raise his head. Lothar's bishops laid before the prisoner a list of crimes of which he was to avow himself guilty. First upon the list was the death of his nephew (he was innocent of it); then the perjuries to which he had exposed the people by the new divisions of the Empire; then his having waged war in Lent; then his having been too severe toward the partisans of his sons (he had saved them from death); then his having allowed Judith and others to justify themselves by oaths; sixthly, his having exposed the state to murders, pil-

¹ Astron., c. 45.

² Ibid., c. 46

³ Thegan, c. 42.

⁴ Ibid., c. 52.

lages, and sacrilege, by exciting general war; seventhly, his having excited those civil wars by arbitrary divisions of the Empire; lastly, his having ruined the state, which it was his duty to defend."¹

"When the absurd confession was read in the church of St. Médard at Soissons, poor Ludwig disputed nothing. He signed the whole, humbled himself as much as they pleased, confessed himself thrice guilty, wept, and demanded permission to do public penance in reparation of the scandals he had caused.² He put off his military baldric, donned the haircloth, and in this miserable, humbled, degraded plight, his son led him away to the capital of the Empire, to Aachen, the same city in which Charlemagne had formerly caused him to assume the crown upon the altar."³

"The parricide thought that he had killed Ludwig, but a huge pity arose in the Empire. That people, itself so wretched, found tears for its old emperor. Men told each other with horror, how the son had kept him at the altar weeping, and sweeping the dust with his white hairs; how that second Ham, exposing his father's nakedness to the scoffs of the multitude, had searched out his father's sins; how he had drawn up his confession—and what a confession! filled from end to end with calumnies and lies. It was the Archbishop Ebbo, the fellow-student of Ludwig and his foster-brother, one of those sons of serfs whom he loved so much,⁴ who had plucked off his baldric and had clothed him in haircloth. But, in taking from him the girdle and the sword, in divesting him of the costume of the tyrants and the nobles, they had made him appear to the people as one of the people, as a saint and as a man, and his history was none other than that of Adam in the Bible. His Eve had ruined him, or, if you will, one of those daughters of the giants who in Genesis seduced the children of God. Again, in this marvelous example of suffering and patience, in this man insulted and spit upon and blessing all those who heaped him with outrages, the people thought they beheld the antitype

¹ *Acta Exaurationis Lud. Pii.*,
ap. *Scr. Rer. Fr.*, vi., 245.

² *Ibid.*, 246.

³ *Chron. Moissiac.*, ap. *Scr. Rer. Fr.*, v., 88.

⁴ *Thegan*, c. 44; *Astron.*, c. 4;
Mon. S. Gall., iv., 81.

of Job's patience, or rather an image of the Savior. No detail had been lacking, neither the vinegar nor the wormwood."

"Thus the old emperor found himself raised up again by the very depth of his degradation; every body recoiled from the parricide. Abandoned by the *grandeos* (834-5), and now no longer able to seduce his father's partisans,¹ Lothar fled to Italy. Himself in ill health, he saw all the heads of his party die in the course of one summer (836). The Bishops of Amiens and Troyes, his father-in-law Hugues, Counts Matfried and Lambert, Agimbert de Perche, Godfreid and his son Borgarit, prefect of his chases, and a multitude of others.² Ebbo, deposed from the see of Rheims, passed the rest of his days in obscurity and exile. Wala retired to the monastery of Bobbio, near the tomb of St. Colomban. A brother of St. Arnulf of Metz, the ancestor of the Karlingans, had been abbot of that monastery. He died there the very year in which so many of his party perished, exclaiming every moment, 'Why was I born a man of quarrel, a man of discord?'"³ This grandson of Karl Martel, this political monk, this factious saint, this harsh,⁴ fiery, passionate man, shut up by Karl the Great in a monastery, then become his counselor, and afterward almost King of Italy under Pippin and Bernhard, had the misfortune to associate a name till then unblemished, with the parricidal revolts of the sons of Ludwig."

"Ludwig the Pious, however, swayed by the same counsels, did just what was likely to renew the revolt, and to cause his fall again. On the one hand, he summoned his *grandeos* to restore to the churches⁵ the estates they had usurped. On the other hand, he diminished the portion of his eldest sons, who, it is true, had very well deserved this, and he endowed at their expense the son of his choice, the son of Judith, Karl the Bald. The sons of Pippin who had just died were despoiled. Ludwig the German was reduced to the possession of Bavaria alone; every thing was divided between Lothar and Karl. The old emperor is reported to have

Third revolt of
the sons, A.D.
840.

¹ Nithardi Historie, i., 4, ap. Scr. Fr., vii., 12.

² Astron., c. 56.

³ Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened., § 4, p. 463.

⁴ Ibid., *passim*.

⁵ Annal. Bertiniani, Ann. 837, ap. Scr. Fr., vi., 198; Astron., c. 53.

said to the former, 'Here, my son, is the whole realm before thine eyes; divide it, and Karl shall choose; or if thou wilt choose, we will divide.' Lothar took the east, and Karl was to have the west. Ludwig of Bavaria took up arms to hinder the execution of this treaty, and, by a strange mutation, the father on this occasion had France upon his side, and the son had Germany. But old Ludwig sank under the sorrow and distresses of this new war. 'I pardon Ludwig,' he said, 'but let him look to himself, he who, despising God's law, has brought down his father's white hairs to the grave.' The emperor died at Ingelheim, in an island of the Rhine, near Mentz,² in the centre of the Empire, and the unity of the Empire died with him."³

On receiving news of the death of his father, Lothar, who Lothar asserts his rights to the empire. was in Italy, sent messengers among all the Franks to announce that he was about to take possession of the empire, and to require an oath of fidelity from its subjects, but promising, at the same time, that he would preserve to each man his honors and benefices. Many leudes hastened to accept the terms, and declared themselves the partisans of the young monarch; but two distinct tendencies opposed his renewal of the factitious unity of the empire: the first and most powerful, the instinctive disposition of different regions to gather into separate nationalities, and the second, the ambition of great individuals to reign as sovereigns on their own independent estates. The younger sons of Ludwig Pious became the nucleus, to a certain extent, of the nationalizing impulse. Karl collected about him Neustria and a strong party in Aquitain, while Ludwig, the Germanic, was the acknowledged leader of Bavaria and the German tribes. Pippin the Second, son of Pippin of Aquitain, made a show of authority in the domains of his father, where he was aided by Lothar, whose aspirations to the empire he in turn supported. All the nations of the west were soon involved in the quarrels of the brothers, which were also their own quarrels. Karl and Ludwig, having a common interest in resisting the pretensions of Lothar, joined their forces, and challenged him to submit their

¹ Astron., 64.

² Nithardi, i., 8; Astron., 64; Wan-

dalbertus, in Martyrol., ap. Scr. Fr., vi., 71.

³ Michelet, l. ii., c. 2, Kelly's trans.

differences to the judgment of God, or, in other words, to the arbitration of battle. At length their armies met near the little village of *Fontanetum* (Fontainelles), in the neighborhood of Auxerre.

It is conjectured that one hundred and fifty thousand troops were collected on each side, although nothing definite can be known as to numbers. Lothar, who had not yet been joined by Pippin II., delayed the encounter by various expedients. Karl and Ludwig themselves were not over anxious to proceed to extremes, and sent deputies to their brother, more than once, to propose an amicable division of the estates of their father. Lothar prevaricated. Weary at last of his constant evasions, the brothers gave orders to try the issue. On the morning of the 25th of June, the combat opened along the whole line of the masses of men drawn up in front of each other. Nearly all the people that had been subject to the great Karl were represented in the frightful conflict: the Italians and Austrasians, with some Aquitanians, fought for Lothar, and the Germans, the Neustrians, the Burgundians, and other Aquitanians, for Ludwig and Karl. The struggle was bloody and obstinate, and for more than six hours the victory seemed undecided. Lothar finally withdrew, leaving forty thousand dead on the field of battle;¹ an equal number fell on the side of the brothers; and the victors themselves were consternated by the horrible cost of their victory. All the flower of the Frankish nobility were destroyed, says the annalist, so that they were no longer able to repulse the inroads of the Saracens and Northmen.² The allied brothers, in their fright at the havoc committed by their own hands, appealed to the priests to know what they should do. The men of the church reassured their consciences by declaring that as they had appealed to the judgment of God, the result might be regarded as his decision; that no one who, either by word or action, had befriended them was guilty of sin; and that all that

¹ Nithard, the best authority for these times, and who was engaged in this battle, says nothing of the numbers engaged or killed. The statements in the text are taken from an Italian writer, who was, however, a contempo-

rary (Agnelli Ravenn. Liber Pontificalis, apud Script. Rerum Italicar., t. ii., p. 185).

² Annal. Mettens.; Annal. Bertiniani; Nithard (Hist., l. ii., c. 10).

was needed was a fast of three days to secure the remission of the sins of the dead and a continuance of the divine assistance. Lothar having withdrawn into Aachen, next made his way among the Saxons, while Ludwig repaired to Bavaria, and Karl to Aquitain.

The interval of a year was passed in preparations for another contest. Lothar was unwilling to abide by the judgment of God; and, in his desperation, made common cause with the Saxon serfs (*lazzi*) and freemen (*freilingi*) against their nobles (*edelingi*), suffering them to return to their ancient idolatries, and even promising them grants of land. On the other hand, Ludwig and Karl strengthened their alliance, and appealed to the people of their respective dominions. "You know," they said, "how many times since the death of our father, Lothar has endeavored to destroy us. Neither brotherhood, nor Christianity, nor any other means, has been able to maintain justice between us or preserve peace. As a last resort we appealed to the will of God, and became victors. We might have pursued our brother, but in pity to the Christian people as well as himself, we did not; we only asked to be allowed to govern our realms in quiet. This he has refused; he visits our lands with fire and sword; and we are compelled to band together, as of old, against a common enemy." By the 14th of February of the next year (842), the brothers collected in the environs of Argentaria (Strasbourg) a considerable army, before which, after repeating the addresses they had made to the people, they pronounced an oath of mutual friendship and fidelity. That it might be understood by all, the solemn adjuration was repeated, not in the usual language of all treaties and councils, the Latin, but in the popular speech of Gaul and Germany. The King of the Germans spoke in the Romance tongue, as it was called, a peculiar mixture of Keltic, Latin, and German; and the King of the Franci or Gauls, in the Tudesque or German.¹ Ludwig, as the eldest of the brothers, read his obligation the first. "Pro Don amur, et pro Christian poblo, et nostro commun salvamento, dist di in avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me du-

¹ Nithard (Hist., l. iii., c. 5) writes *Mémoires*, by Guizot, there is a *fac simile* of his writing. in Latin, but gives these oaths in the original dialects. In the *Collection des*

nat, si salvareio cist meon fradre Karlo et in adjudha, et in cad-huna cosa, si cùm om per dreit son fradre salvar dist, in o quid il mi altre si fazet. Et ab Ludher nul plaid numquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meo fradre Karle, in damno sit." Ludwig having sworn, Karl repeated the oath in German: "In Godes minna indum tes christianes folches, ind unser bedhero gehalt-nissi, fon thesemo dage frammordes, so fram so mir Got gewi-zei indi madh furgibit so hald in tesan minan brudher soso man mit rehtu sinan bruder seal, inthui thaz er mig soso ma duo; indi mit Lutheren inno kleinnin thing ne geganga zhe minan vvillon imo ce scadhen vverhen."¹ A confirmatory oath was then uttered by the people, each in its vernacular. The Franci said, "Si Lodhuvigs sacrament que son fradre Kar-lo jurat, conservat, et Karlus meos sendra de suo part non los tanit, si io returnar non lint pois, ne io ne nuels cui eo returnar int pois, in nulla adjudha contrà Lodhuwig nun lin iver." The Germans repeated, "Oba Karl then eid then er sineno brud-her Ludhuwige gessuor geleistit, ind Ludhuwig min herro then er imo gesuor forbrihchit, ob ina ih nes irrwenden ne mag, nah ih, nah thero, noh hein then ih es irrwenden mag, vrindhar Karle imo ce follusti ne wirdhit."² In the Romance form of this oath, we have the earliest monument of the tongue out of which the modern French was formed. The people of the West had come to be divided, with more and more distinctness, into two classes, those composed of Franks and Germans, who still adhered to the Teutonic dialects, and those, composed of Franks, Gallo-Romans, and Aquitanians, who used the Ro-mance dialects, or the patois which had grown out of a cor-rupted Latin. The former clung to the name of Germans, while the latter, not to lose all share in the glory of the Frar-

¹ This is in English. "For the love of God and for the Christian people, and our common safety, from this day forward, and as long as God shall give me understanding and power, I will support my brother Karl here present, by aid and in every thing, as it is right that one should support one's brother, so long as he shall do the same for me. And never will I make any agreement with Lothar which by my will shall be to the detriment of my brother."

² The English is as follows: "If Ludwig keep the oath which he has sworn to his brother Karl, and if Karl, my lord, on his part does not keep it, if I can not bring him back to it—and neither I nor any others can bring him back to it, I will aid him in nothing against Ludwig now or ever." The Germans in repeating this changed the order of the names.

ish name, began to call themselves *Franci*, and their country *Francia Nova*, or New France.¹

This new alliance of the kings, and the favor and enthusiasm with which it was received by the people of all parts, disturbed the confidence of the partisans of Lothar. The nations and the nobles were alike weary of the war. Gradually the army of the emperor withdrew from his support, and he was obliged to offer concessions. He vacated the imperial palace of Aachen, which his brothers immediately occupied, and fled into Burgundy. The bishops, assuming to themselves the right to dispose of the kingdoms, declared that Lothar had neither the knowledge nor the will to govern the state aright, and enjoined his brothers "by the divine authority to take his kingdom, and govern it according to the will of God." Lothar saw the pass to which his affairs had come, and, inviting his brothers to a conference at a little island of the Saône near Mâcon, proposed an amicable settlement. A commission of three hundred members was appointed to distribute itself over the surface of the empire, and by an exact examination of the wealth of each region, and the wishes of its people, acquire a knowledge of the best means of making an equitable division.² The next year the commissioners reported the result of their researches to the three kings, assembled at Verdun, and a treaty of separation was drawn up and executed, which gave Gaul, from the Meuse and Saône as far as the Pyrenees, to Karl; which gave Germany, beyond the Rhine, to Ludwig the Germanic; and which secured to Lothar Italy, with a broad strip on the Rhine, between the dominions of Karl and Ludwig, under the name of Lotharingia or Lorraine.³ This was the first great treaty of modern Europe: it began a political division, which lasted for many centuries; the great em-

¹ Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, t. ii., p. 38). *Francia* was the Latin name of Frankenland, and had long before been applied to the dominions of the Franks on both sides of the Rhine. Their country was then divided into East and West Francia; but in the time of Karl the Great and Ludwig Pious, we find the monk of St. Gall using the terms *Francia Nova*, in oppo-

sition to the *Francia*, *que dicitur antiqua* (Monach. San Gall., apud Bouquet, t. v., p. 115). See Thierry (*Lettres sur l'Hist. de Franc.*, p. 149).

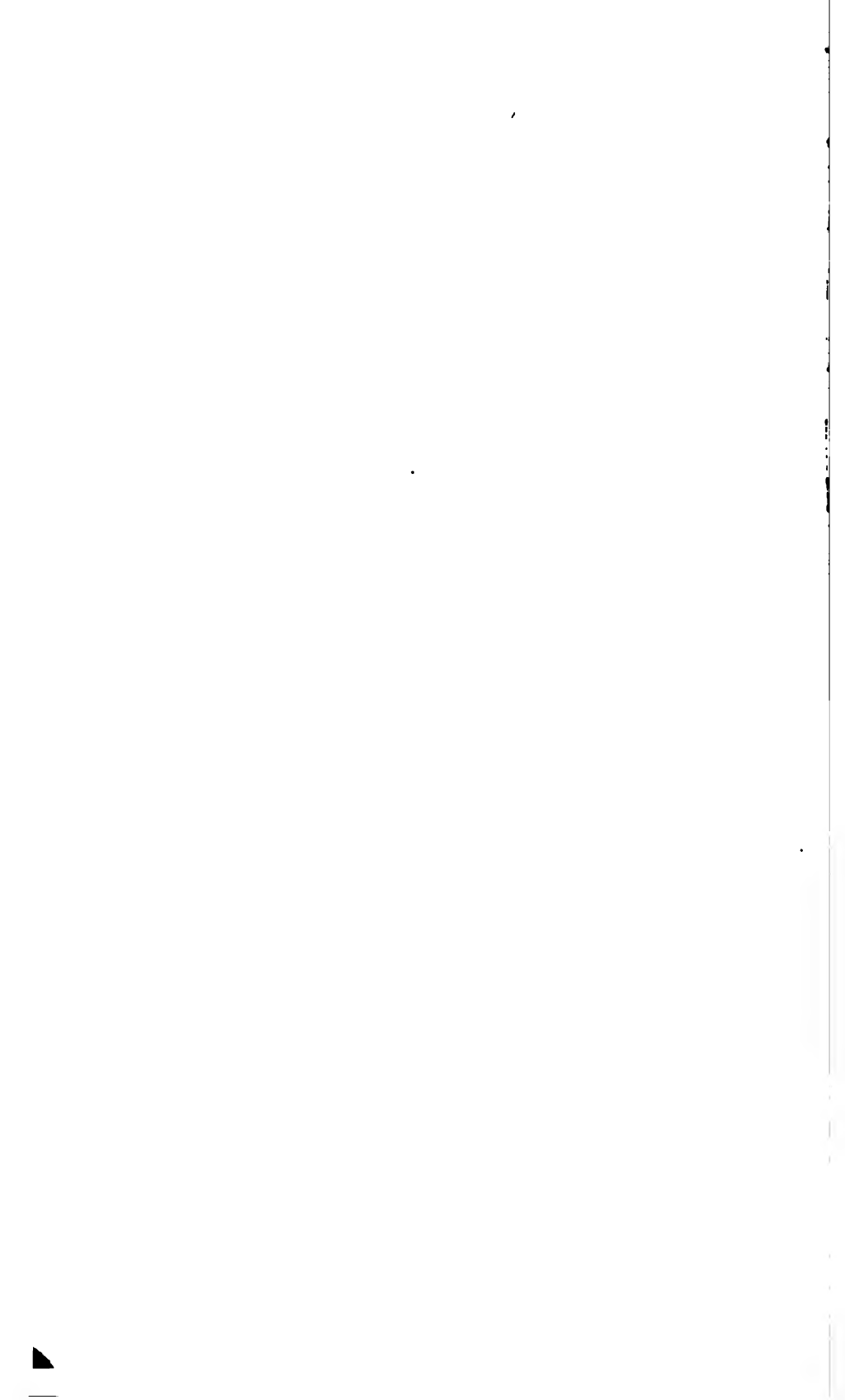
² Nithard., *Hist.*, l. iv., c. 5.

³ *Annal. Bertiniani, et Fuldens.* This part was reserved to Lothar probably that he might have space in a good wine region.

pire of Karl was formally dismembered by it, and the pieces of it scattered among his degenerate descendants. "Weep for the race of the Franks," sings Florus, deacon of Lyons, and friend of Agobard—"weep for the race of the Franks! A beautiful empire, which flourished under a single and brilliant diadem; which had judges, and laws, and councils; where the young men read in the holy books, and the minds of the children were formed to letters; which was maintained in perfect accord, by fear on one side and love on the other; to which foreign kingdoms, Greeks and barbarians, and even the Senate of Latium, sent their ambassadors; to which the race of Romulus, Rome herself, mother of nations, was subject; which, in short, had Rome for a citadel and the key-holder of heaven for a founder—this empire is fallen, alas! gone is its glory and its name, and what now is to become of the people?"¹ It might well have seemed to a contemporary an hour of affliction and darkness. The great race of the Pippins and Karls, which for two hundred years had furnished giants to the world; which had restored order among the Franks devouring each other; which had arrested the predatory inroads of the Saracens at the south, and the Germans at the north, establishing Christianity among the latter; which had given permanence as well as sway to the spiritual monarchy of the Church, and revived in the bosom of Western Europe the most majestic form of government the world had yet known, the empire—this noble race was fallen into decay, and its glorious deeds were about to disappear with it. But a more penetrating vision would have seen that the Church remained, that Christianity would not recede, that the name of the great Karl would become a civilizing inspiration of the West, and that the fragments into which his empire split were not the broken and useless pieces of a magnificent fabric overthrown, but themselves the corner-stones of more imperial structures. The enforced unity of Roman contrivance was shattered forever, but the seeds of vital nationalities were sown, and already Italy, Germany, and France sprouted out of the earth.

¹ Flori Diac. Lugdun. Querela de Divisione Imper., apud Bouquet, t. vii., p. 302.









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